

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT**

ENDC/PV.148
30 July 1963
ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 30 July 1963, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. G. MACOVESCU

(Romania)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J. de CASTRO

Mr. E. HOSANNAH

Mr. J. LENGYEL

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. LUKANOV

Mr. S. TEHOV

Mr. G. YANKOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. S.F. RAE

Mr. A.E. GOTLIEB

Mr. R.M. TAIT

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. L. SIMOVIC

Mr. M. ZEMLA

Mr. Z. SEINER

Mr. F. DOBIAS

Ethiopia:

Lij Mikael IMRU

India:

Mr. A.S. MEHTA

Mr. S.V. PURUSHOTTAM

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

Mr. A. CAVAGLIERI

Mr. R. d'ORLANDI

Mr. P. TOZZOLI

Mexico:

Mr. L. PADILLA NERVO

Miss E. AGUIRRE

Mr. J. MERCADO

Nigeria:

Mr. L.C.N. OBI

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mr. R. KRZYZANOWSKI
Mrs. L. WOLSKA

Romania:

Mr. G. MACOVESCU
Mr. E. GLASER
Mr. N. ECOBESCU
Mr. O. NEDA

Sweden:

Baron C.H. von PLATEN
Mr. G. ZETTERQVIST

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN
Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV
Mr. S.A. BOGOMOLOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A.F. HASSAN
Mr. M.S. AHMED
Mr. Ahmed OSMAN
Mr. M. KASSEM

United Kingdom:

Mr. Peter THOMAS
Sir Paul MASON
Mr. J.G. TAHOUDIN
Mr. J.M. EDES

United States of America:

Mr. C.C. STELLE
Mr. A.L. RICHARDS
Mr. L.D. WEILER
Mr. R.A. MARTIN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (Romania): I declare open the 148th meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

We commence the fifth session of the proceedings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament under the token of an event of outstanding significance for international life and for inter-State relations. As representatives well know, on 25 July the treaty^{1/} agreed upon between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was initialled in Moscow, and in a few days the signatures of the three Foreign Ministers will be put under the last words of the agreed text. We warmly greet the conclusion of that treaty, and we congratulate the three Powers who have brought the negotiations to a happy end.

The peoples everywhere have received this news with relief and satisfaction. They have received it with a sense of relief because the danger which the man-triggered nuclear blasts in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water represent for the health of the present day's as well as future generations has been finally removed. They have received it with satisfaction because here is the first tangible, hope-giving indication that the atom-age world can and must be moving forward towards a bright future, without wars or weapons, in which man would devote all his resources to the production of material and spiritual assets, not of means for destruction and self-annihilation.

The Moscow Treaty is the fruit of long and difficult negotiation. Is there in the world a single substantial achievement which has not had to be paid for by great effort? What is of interest, however, is not this, but the emerging conclusions.

Once again the axiom that in our times, at the present stage of the development of society, the only rational way for the solution of international issues is negotiation has proved right. The other alternative -- settlement by arms of war -- is inconceivable in the era of atom and hydrogen bombs and of ballistic missiles. No matter how difficult and how long the negotiations, and no matter how lacking in results they sometimes seem, they are still preferable to uttering bellicose statements or pushing the fatal button.

When issues are analysed in a calm and realistic spirit, and when negotiations are being pursued with a desire to reach agreement, solutions are found, results are obtained. A wise proverb says: "If there is a will, there is a way".

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(The Chairman, Romania)

The fact is undisputed -- and we are all in agreement -- that the Moscow Treaty contributes to a large extent to the lessening of international tension, to the termination of the cold war, to the setting-in of a climate propitious for the co-operation of the peoples the world over. Any achievement of this kind must be greeted, must be supported; for it can only serve the general interests of those who work with their hands and their minds to build up a new world -- a wealthier and happier one.

At the same time we have to emphasize that the agreement reached by the three nuclear Powers is only a beginning, a first step. The basic problem mankind is facing remains unsolved -- and that is general and complete disarmament.

In our days, when the alternative, peace or war, is of concern to all peoples; when science and technology have reached summits which no one dreamed of in the past; when an inconceivable catastrophe would happen if the tremendous achievements of human genius were used for destruction -- in these days the problem of preventing war, of safeguarding peace, and in the first place of general and complete disarmament, remains in the foreground. It is on this issue that we must concentrate all our efforts, because here are the main goals of the whole of mankind. In order to secure the general and entire support of all peoples, broader agreements, more essential for world peace, must be reached.

Of course, not all great international issues can be solved at once and in a short lapse of time. But, working with good will and perseverance, patiently and calmly, keeping in mind the major interests of humanity, looking towards the future and not into the past, good results are to be expected.

The negotiations on collateral measures are quite welcome, and the achievement of results in this field cannot but contribute to the solution of fundamental problems. In this context we should recall that part of the final communique issued in Moscow on 25 July^{1/} in which it is stated:

"The heads of the three delegations discussed the Soviet proposal relating to a pact of non-aggression between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the participants in the Warsaw Treaty. The three Governments have agreed fully to inform their respective allies in the two organizations concerning these talks and to consult with them about continuing discussions on this question with the purpose of achieving agreement satisfactory to all parties".

(The Chairman, Romania)

I am convinced that representatives will all join me in expressing the desire that the fifth session of our Conference may continue and develop what can and must undoubtedly be considered as a positive element of our painstaking negotiations -- the good working atmosphere which characterizes our exchanges of views. I hope also that they will support my desire that all the delegations taking part in our labours should regard the issues facing us, not as battle-fields where there are defeats to be avoided and victories to be won, but as opportunities for co-operation, as possibilities to carry on, by common, constructive and rational efforts, the cause of general and complete disarmament, the cause of establishing a lasting peace.

As for the position of the Romanian delegation -- and here I beg permission to leave for a while my duties as the Chairman of this meeting -- I should like to stress that our position has been in the past, and will be in the future, in keeping with the idea expressed by the President of the State Council of the Romanian People's Republic, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, in the following words:

"Outstanding international issues demand a thoughtful approach, in a realistic spirit, a settlement by negotiation and understanding. No matter how thorny those issues, they can and must be solved by way of negotiations".

The Romanian delegation will endeavour to contribute to the progress and success of the negotiations we are resuming today.

Taking up again my duties as Chairman, allow me to greet on the Committee's behalf the presence in our midst of the new representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Karlo Lukanov, and of the new leader of the United Kingdom delegation, Mr. Peter Thomas, whom we wish success in fulfilling their missions.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work after a five weeks' recess, and we must say that it is doing so in a more favourable situation than that which prevailed before the recess. During the recess a very important event has taken place in international life: on 25 July there was initialled in Moscow a treaty between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Very soon that treaty will be signed in Moscow by the original Parties, who, we hope, will be joined by other States. Under that treaty three nuclear Powers have undertaken to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion or any

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other nuclear explosion in the aforesaid environments. They have undertaken also to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion anywhere -- in the atmosphere, in outer space or under water.

In proceeding to state our views we should like fully to associate ourselves with the highly positive assessment of the agreement achieved in Moscow which has been expressed by our Chairman, the representative of Romania, Mr. Macovescu. I think that he was expressing the opinion of all the representatives present here when he said that the nuclear test ban treaty was an important step which would undoubtedly contribute to the development of further progress in solving the problems before us on a mutually-acceptable basis. We also fully share the hopes and wishes he has expressed. The achievement of agreement between the three nuclear Powers on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests is an important first step towards the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace.

All those who have at heart the preservation of peace and are sincerely striving for the relaxation of international tension and the reduction of the threat of a thermonuclear war welcome this agreement wholeheartedly as an event of great international importance. We cannot but feel deep satisfaction that after long years of negotiation we have at last succeeded in achieving agreement on the prohibition of nuclear tests. This agreement, which is fully in keeping with the peace-loving and humanitarian aims of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States and of all men of goodwill, is aimed at putting an end to further radioactive contamination of the atmosphere and preventing the dangerous consequences which the carrying out of further nuclear weapon test explosions would entail for the health of all mankind. We want the air over our planet to be clean, and we are confident that this will cause all people to rejoice in every part of the world.

We note with great satisfaction that the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting nuclear weapon tests has met with wide approval everywhere. That treaty was approved at the conference of the Heads of Governments of the Warsaw Treaty States which took place recently in Moscow. In the resolution of that conference it was stressed that the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests would help towards reducing international tension and would be a positive factor in the struggle of the peoples for peace and against the threat of another world war. The conclusion of the treaty has been welcomed by the Presidents of Brazil, Mexico, Chile and the United Arab Republic, and by the Prime Ministers of India, Italy, Canada, Ceylon, Greece, Australia, New Zealand,

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Ireland, Denmark and a number of other States. We note with great satisfaction that many governments have already declared their readiness to accede to the treaty as soon as it has been signed by the original Parties.

The Soviet delegation, on behalf of the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, requests that the text of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water,^{1/} as well as the text of the communique,^{2/} be published as documents of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

The positive result of the negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, the achievement of agreement on a treaty banning such tests, has shown the correctness and the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence between States regardless of their social and political systems, which is being carried out by the Soviet Union and the other socialist States. At the same time the reaching of agreement on a treaty banning nuclear tests in three environments shows that, when there is goodwill, willingness and a sincere desire on the part of the States concerned, satisfactory solutions to important and complex international problems can be achieved on a mutually-acceptable basis, and that the efforts that are being made in the direction of lessening international tension and averting the threat of a thermonuclear war are not in vain. It is precisely in that direction that the Soviet Union has always acted and is still acting, being firmly convinced that on the road towards the establishment of lasting peace there are no insuperable obstacles or barriers, and that the will of the peoples for peace in these days is stronger than the antagonism of those who are against the lessening of international tension.

The achievement of agreement on the prohibition of nuclear tests makes a definite improvement in the international situation and opens up favourable opportunities for the solution of other questions and problems that have long been ripe for solution. In the communique signed in Moscow at the conclusion of the negotiations between the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom it is stated that the heads of the three delegations agreed that the test ban treaty constituted an important first step toward the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace. We hope that further progress will be achieved in this direction.

In the favourable conditions which have now been established the Eighteen-Nation Committee must intensify to the utmost its efforts to solve the problems of general and complete disarmament. This task has been assigned to the Committee by the General

1/ Circulated as ENDC/100 /Rev.1

2/ Circulated as ENDC/101

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Assembly as its fundamental commission, and this commission must be the focus of our efforts. In this connexion we should like to quote an extract from the reply of the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, to questions put to him by correspondents of Pravda and Izvestiya.^{1/}

"We must realize quite clearly that the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests does not yet mean the cessation of the arms race and, consequently, cannot in itself avert the danger of war. Nor does this measure liquidate the burden of armaments, on the production of which States are spending vast material resources.

"The main task consists precisely in putting an end to the arms race, in disarmament. Only along this path can we really secure the elimination of the threat of war and relieve States of the burden of military expenditures.

"That is why the Soviet Government considers that at the present time, as a result of the achievement of agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, there have emerged favourable opportunities which enable us to make progress in solving the main international problems. To do so, however, it is necessary to exert fresh efforts which will lead step by step to the consolidation of peace and to the realization of the age-old dream of mankind -- general and complete disarmament. It is necessary, and in the first place for the great Powers, to set about this work without delay."

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? In order to put an end to the dangerous arms race we must come to agreement on a concrete plan of general and complete disarmament and take decisions on concrete disarmament questions. Here we have a lot of work before us. The participants in the Eighteen-Nation Committee are heavily in debt to the peoples of the world. Whereas the nuclear Powers -- the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom -- have now inspired some hope in the minds of the peoples by reaching agreement in Moscow on the cessation of tests, in the field of general and complete disarmament our Committee has so far been unable to give world public opinion anything to be glad about. The success of the negotiations in solving the problem of the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, we must say quite frankly, has created favourable conditions for progress in solving the problem

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of general and complete disarmament. The Committee should speed up a thorough examination of all aspects of this urgent and vitally important problem, which calls for an immediate solution.

We have already tentatively discussed a number of items from the agreed Procedure of Work (ENDC/52) regarding measures for stage I of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. In particular we have studied here items 5a, b, c and d of the agreed Procedure of Work. We think that now, provided, of course, that there is no objection from the Western Powers, we could pass on to the discussion of other important aspects of general and complete disarmament which we have not yet considered, and in particular to the discussion of item 5e of the agreed Procedure of Work concerning measures for Stage I of disarmament.

As is quite obvious, the problem of disarmament is linked in the most direct way with the task of lessening international tension. The Soviet delegation considers it opportune to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to a number of primary international problems the solution of which would lead to increased international confidence and the creation of more favourable conditions for the negotiations on general and complete disarmament. Those problems were mentioned by the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, in the speech he made in Moscow on 19 July 1963 and in his replies to questions put to him by the correspondents of Pravda and Izvestiya. The most important place among the measures aimed at lessening international tension belongs to the question of the earliest possible conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty States.

Life itself is bringing this question ever more imperatively to the fore. As is well known, during the negotiations in Moscow a useful exchange of opinions took place on this question. The parties to the treaty, having discussed the Soviet Government's proposal for a non-aggression pact (ENDC/77), agreed to continue discussions on this question, after consulting with their respective allies, in order to achieve agreement satisfactory to all participants.

There is no doubt that the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two groups of States which possess the greatest military potential in the world and which include all the nuclear Powers would perceptibly improve the whole international situation. A solemn undertaking by these States not to attack one another, not to use force, and not to threaten one another with war, would be a most important prerequisite for the liquidation of the cold war and the prevention of dangerous international crises. In fact, the point

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in question is that a solemn pact of peace should be concluded between the nuclear Powers which bear so great a responsibility for the fate of mankind. The situation at the present time is favourable for this new and important step forward. The Soviet Government considers that, provided there is good will on both sides and a real desire to achieve agreement, it would be possible without delay, following the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, to reach agreement in regard to the conclusion of a non-aggression pact.

This would demonstrate the willingness of States belonging to opposing social and political systems to seek for ways of peaceful co-existence with each other without war, on the basis of mutually-acceptable agreements. At the same time, the improvement of the international situation and the liquidation of the state of cold war that is hampering the negotiations on general and complete disarmament would be greatly facilitated by the implementation of such important measures as the freezing or, better still, the reduction by States of their military budgets, which swallow up a huge part of the national income of most countries in the world, as well by the implementation of measures aimed at preventing surprise attack. Here we are referring to the establishment of control posts, the reduction of foreign troops in Western Germany and in the German Democratic Republic, and the despatch of Soviet representatives to the troops of the Western Powers in Western Germany in exchange for the despatch of Western representatives to the Soviet troops in the German Democratic Republic. It is also necessary to consider and to implement without delay such a measure for reducing international tension as the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world.

Those are the urgent questions relating to disarmament measures and to measures which contribute towards disarmament. For its part the Soviet Union is prepared to conduct negotiations and to make every effort to achieve agreement, both on the question of general and complete disarmament and on measures that contribute to the lessening of international tension.

I should like to conclude my statement by welcoming our two new colleagues, the representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Lukanov, and the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Peter Thomas, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We are convinced that Mr. Lukanov's great political experience will enable him to play an important part in the work of our Committee. We should like to wish him every possible success in his new post as representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We hope to find in Mr. Thomas a convinced

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advocate of disarmament, and we trust we shall meet with full co-operation and understanding on his part, which will no doubt be of great assistance in achieving mutually-acceptable solutions with regard to disarmament and to measures aimed at lessening international tension.

Mr. STELLE (United States of America): I should like to associate myself with you, Mr. Chairman, and with my co-Chairman in welcoming the new leader of the United Kingdom delegation, Mr. Peter Thomas. I would ask him to convey the congratulations and best wishes of my delegation to his distinguished predecessor Mr. Godber, whose wisdom and wit so much enlightened our work. I should like also to welcome the new representative of Bulgaria, Mr. Lukanov, and to ask him to convey my delegation's best wishes to Mr. Christov.

Last Friday President Kennedy addressed the American people in a speech which I have asked the Secretariat to circulate as a document of this Conference.^{1/} The President said he was speaking in "a spirit of hope". That is the spirit in which the United States delegation returns to this Conference.

All delegations here are aware, of course, of the reason why such words can in good conscience be spoken. On 25 July -- last Thursday -- in Moscow Mr. Gromyko, Lord Hailsham and Mr. Harriman initialled an agreed text of a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and the signature of that treaty is expected to take place in Moscow in the very near future.

After so long a time, so many words and so much effort by so many, something of a change has taken place in man's efforts to control the arms race: the aspirations of negotiation have been replaced by the fact of agreement. None can be more keenly conscious of the significance of this change than the representatives in this room who have struggled so long and so diligently in efforts to produce a first-step agreement. Each representative here knows the long gap that separates an apparent common aspiration from a specific agreement, and each representative here can take his measure of satisfaction from the efforts made by this Conference prior to the Moscow meetings -- efforts which in varying ways laid the groundwork for the agreement reached there.

Were history more gracious than it usually is, it would record all the names of the many persons who throughout the years have made their contribution to what has now been achieved. Those men and women, however, will accept as just reward the acknowledgement

^{1/} Circulated as document ENDC/102

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of their own conscience that they played their role well. I should like, however, to take this opportunity to express a personal comment regarding one of those individuals -- my Soviet colleague Mr. Tsarapkin. In a sense Mr. Tsarapkin stands as a symbol of the many who have laboured for so long to achieve a test ban, for he has been continuously at this task longer than any of us, since July 1958. He has supported the position of his country with determination and skill, but he has always done so without loss of personal courtesy. And, most of all, he has over the years given those who have known him the clear impression that he sincerely wanted an agreement, and that has helped to preserve hope.

The President, in his speech to the American people, commented on the past eighteen years of man's unsuccessful efforts to escape from the darkening prospect of mass destruction. He said:

"In these years, the United States and the Soviet Union have frequently communicated suspicions and warnings to each other, but very rarely hope.

Our representatives have met at the summit and at the brink; they have met in Washington and in Moscow, at the United Nations and in Geneva. But too often these meetings have produced only darkness, discord or disillusion."

The President continued, however, and he was speaking on Friday: "Yesterday a shaft of light cut into the darkness." In a very real sense that is what the Soviet, United Kingdom and United States delegations have to report to this Conference upon its resumption: that a shaft of light has cut into the darkness. The sun has not yet risen, but the shaft of light is there. It is not as wide as might be wished, but it is as bright as man's hopes will make it.

The treaty that has been initialled in Moscow does not accomplish the strongly-preferred objective of the United States -- a comprehensive treaty banning tests in all environments. The objections of the Soviet Union to the inspection that such a treaty would require are well known here, and they remain. However, the preamble to this limited treaty clearly states the objective of the parties to achieve a comprehensive test ban and their determination to continue negotiations to that end.

When this first step of a limited treaty has been completed, the world will then have firmer footing for completion of the whole task with respect to nuclear weapon tests. This treaty will not halt the arms race in all its elements, nor begin the reduction of armaments. They remain the challenges we must face in future meetings; and in our coming meetings my delegation will wish to make further contributions to our

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discussion of item 5(d) of our agenda (ENDC/52) dealing with nuclear disarmament. Nor will the treaty bring an end to international tension or the dangers of modern armaments. However, every delegation here will recognize the great benefits that can flow from this agreement. As the President pointed out, it can be "a step toward reduced world tensions and broader areas of agreement." We should in future sessions discuss what direction our efforts here should take towards this end. As the President commented:

"If this treaty can also be a symbol -- if it can symbolize the end of one era and the beginning of another -- if both sides can by this treaty gain confidence and experience in peaceful collaboration -- then this short and simple treaty may well become an historic mark in man's age-old pursuit of peace."

Moreover, one clear and immediate result of this treaty will be a step towards the elimination of the concerns and hazards of radioactive fallout. This accomplishment is the one that in the long run may be regarded as the most significant by our children and by history.

This agreement will also have marked benefits in the efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing them, and thereby prevent both an increase in the danger of accidental war and a reduction of the chances of effective disarmament. As the President observed in his address of 26 July:

"It opens the door for further agreement on the control of nuclear weapons. And it is open for all nations to sign. For it is in the interest of all nations ..."

It is clear that this agreement has been reached because of a recognition that a nation's security does not always increase as its arms increase, and that unlimited competition in the testing and development of new types of nuclear weapons will not make the world a safer place for anyone.

The long years of noble words and bleak results have tended for some to jade and to dampen hope. There was, however, a small first sign of something new with the agreement signed here in Geneva on 20 June this year by the Soviet Union and the United States for a direct communications link (ENDC/97). After that event, the United States delegation spoke of the need to maintain the momentum of movement. That momentum has indeed been maintained by the agreement we report to this Conference today.^{1/} The United States delegation pledges itself to carry forward this momentum in further negotiations.

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As the President said last Friday, "... Now, for the first time in many years, the path of peace may be open." We may well be on the verge of new horizons. While prudence dictates continued awareness of the possibility of the mirage and the pitfall, we should do less than justice to the heritage of man were we to fail to recognize that the new horizons can be as wide as the wit of man, for we have taken, as the President said, "a step towards reason".

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom): This is the first time that I have had the honour of addressing this Conference. In the British House of Commons, to which I belong, there is a convention that a Member of Parliament making his maiden speech should be brief and uncontroversial. I shall try to follow that admirable convention here today. The tone of the speeches that we have heard this afternoon and the atmosphere in which we meet make my task in these respects easy and pleasant.

I should like to thank the United States representative for the kind tribute which he has paid to my predecessor Mr. Godber. I shall, of course, convey to Mr. Godber what Mr. Stelle said, but in the meantime I know he would want me to express his appreciation. I am sure too that he would want the Committee to know that he will continue to follow with close and sympathetic attention the vital work of this Conference in which he himself participated so actively for many months.

I should also like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States for the very kind greeting they have given me as the new leader of the United Kingdom delegation. I regard it as a great privilege to be taking part in these negotiations. I am also most fortunate, for a newcomer to this Conference could hardly have expected to arrive in Geneva at a more propitious moment. May I say at once that Her Majesty's Government and its representatives here intend to play a full part in the work of the Conference during this new session, as we have done in previous sessions? We shall continue to do all we can to ensure that the discussions in this Conference open the way for fruitful negotiations which, we earnestly hope, will lead in due course to the conclusion of sound and practical agreements on the many complex issues still before us.

We in the United Kingdom delegation are of course greatly encouraged by the developments which have taken place in Moscow since the Committee last met. As my Government shared in the initiative which brought about the talks in Moscow, I need

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hardly say how very welcome the treaty initialled last week^{1/} is to us in the United Kingdom. We hope that other countries will lose no time in adhering to the treaty, and that the countries represented here will play their full part in urging them to do so. I am sure that all representatives will agree with me that tribute is due to all who took part in the Moscow talks. The spirit in which the negotiations were conducted and the intentions of the three Governments concerned are well set out in the preamble to the treaty.

As has been said, the treaty itself is the result of efforts made over many years. It is the realization of hopes too long deferred. I think everyone will agree that it is a major contribution to the cause of peace. As we have always made clear, and as was mentioned by the United States representative, we should of course have preferred a comprehensive test ban, and we shall of course continue to work for such a ban. But the gap between East and West on verification of underground tests has, as we all know, proved for the moment unbridgeable. We can therefore congratulate the negotiators on finding a practicable way in which a first step forward could be made.

Mention has been made of the fact that all representatives in this Conference can share in a legitimate feeling of pride in the successful outcome of the Moscow talks. Although many factors have obviously contributed to this happy result, we in the United Kingdom are very conscious that this Conference has played a significant role in preparing the way for the treaty which has now been initialled. I hope that my colleagues will feel that the hard and often tedious spade-work put in by the Conference has in the event been well justified. We can draw for our future work the lesson that perseverance pays.

I hope too that we shall put this partial test ban treaty, welcome as it is, in its proper perspective. Clearly it will not in itself reduce armaments. Moreover, it may not necessarily prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, it could be a significant first step in those directions. In addition to possibly opening the way to further steps towards controlling and ultimately reducing the arms race, the treaty will in itself prevent or radically reduce pollution of the atmosphere, and curtail one important dimension of the arms race so far as the three signatory Powers are concerned. We can all legitimately hope that the nuclear genie will shortly be -- at any rate partly -- back in its bottle. Perhaps the main value of this agreement lies in the fact that it represents the first breakthrough for many years. We now have a real opportunity to pursue, more hopefully than hitherto, discussions on other matters. As Mr. Macmillan said the other day, although in itself this agreement may be only a

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small step, it could be the first of many. It gives us a new opportunity that we must not fail to seize.

We must not, of course, lose sight of the fact that we still have immense tasks and many difficulties in front of us.

While I think no one would deny that this treaty, especially when other States have adhered to it, will give a powerful stimulus to the work of this Conference, on certain issues some time will obviously be required for reflexion and consultation among allies in the light of the Moscow talks so that the next steps can be carefully prepared. This is essential so that the impetus stemming from the success of these talks can be maintained and developed.

Our primary task and responsibility in this Conference still remains, of course -- as the Soviet representative mentioned -- general and complete disarmament. In the preamble to the treaty initialled at Moscow the three Governments proclaim as their principal aim:

"... the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations, which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons."

I therefore suggest that during this session we should press on with our discussions of the disarmament items on our agenda. We have already had some discussion, for example, of measures in the field of nuclear disarmament (ENDC/52, item 5(d)), and I am sure that we should renew our consideration of this fundamental problem at an early date.

So far as collateral measures are concerned, the Conference is in our view a forum which has an important contribution to make. The United Kingdom delegation hopes that our co-Chairmen will be able to recommend to the Conference arrangements for discussion of collateral measures which will be acceptable to all. No doubt in doing so they will bear in mind the special interests of those countries which are not represented here, and the contents of the Moscow communique.

Finally, a word on general procedure. The Committee will recall that a number of suggestions have been made in the past by various delegations, including the United Kingdom delegation, about the best way in which the Conference can fulfil its responsibilities and make the most of the time at its disposal. I do not propose this afternoon to enumerate those suggestions, although we may wish to revert to this question in more detail in the future. I only want to say that the opening of a new session --

(Mr. Thomas, United Kingdom)

and this is especially true of this particular session -- provides us with an opportunity to reconsider whether our procedural arrangements are as effective as they might be. Obviously the less time we spend on exchanging formal set speeches with one another, the less risk there will be of our polluting by verbal fallout, as it were, the atmosphere in which we conduct our negotiations and which I sincerely hope will be immeasurably improved by the conclusion of the treaty in Moscow.

I can assure the Committee that, so far as my delegation is concerned, we shall do all we can in the coming weeks to avoid polemics and political controversy. We shall search for those areas which offer the best prospects of fruitful negotiation and, we hope, agreement.

Mr. de CASTRO (Brazil) (translation from French): The Disarmament Conference is resuming its negotiations in a very different psychological climate from that which prevailed during the early stages of its work: there is now a climate of general optimism. After many years during which all efforts, all attempts, all proposals made for the purpose of ending the disastrous armaments race appeared to be doomed to failure, the first decisive success in negotiations on universal disarmament was achieved a few days ago in Moscow.

In a statement made during the Eighteen-Nation Committee's meeting of 27 May 1963 we supported the thesis that a first step along the road to disarmament must be made through the immediate signing of a treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests, even if this treaty were incomplete or imperfect either through insufficient control or, on the contrary, through abuse of control. I shall read out a passage from that statement:

"With that point in mind the Brazilian delegation again urges that these tests, which are tests of preparation for death, be stopped and that we go on to experiments and tests which will rid us of this threat and thus serve the interests of human life. The chief and most urgent experiment, the experiment most essential to the interests of mankind would be the experiment of banning nuclear tests. Obviously, it would only be an experiment. Let's admit it. As in any experiment, we cannot exactly foresee its positive results. But what we can say beyond shadow of doubt is that negative results can never be more negative than those of the other kind of experiment, nuclear tests, of which we do not know where they may lead us." (ENDC/PV.137, p. 37)

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

Well, the risks of an incomplete or imperfect treaty are obviously smaller than those represented by an unlimited pursuit of all types of nuclear tests.

In our opinion, the great significance of the Moscow Agreement^{1/} is that it shows a visible and profound modification in the political attitude of the great nuclear Powers, which have been led into the path of reason by realizing the grave consequences of an atomic war, and still more by the irresistible pressure of world public opinion mainly represented at the Disarmament Conference by the eight non-aligned Powers. This change in the political attitude of the nuclear Powers, which shows a more realistic approach to the realities of the world today, gives us every reason to foresee for the Geneva Conference a period of decisive achievements consolidating the results of the immense and praiseworthy efforts exerted in the Committee by representatives of seventeen nations with such unflagging tenacity and patience.

The Brazilian delegation is happy to note that the position it has always defended in the United Nations General Assembly and in this Committee has been recognized as valid by the great nuclear Powers, namely that general and complete disarmament, which at the present moment represents the highest aspiration of the whole of humanity, can only be reached by successive stages. In this context the Moscow Agreement represents the first stone of the foundations on which the edifice of universal peace will be erected, on the basis of general and complete disarmament. It matters little that it is but one stone, that the foundations are not yet strong enough to support the entire framework of the edifice under construction; this stone has been laid at the right time and in the right place to enable other materials to be added so as to support the gigantic structure which our task of world pacification represents.

By defending the principle that it was essential to take the first step in order to escape from the situation of apparent immobility in which our Committee's negotiations languished, the Brazilian delegation, in successive statements made at the meetings of 16 March, 25 July and 27 August last year, advocated the signing of a partial agreement which would constitute a preliminary to the final prohibition of nuclear tests. These our country has always condemned whatever their origin and whatever reason may have been invoked to justify them, and they were also condemned by the United Nations during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly (A/RES/1762 (XVII)).

^{1/} Circulated as ENDC/100/Rev.1

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

has given rise to in Italy, and indicated the sentiments which will inspire the Italian Government when the question of Italian accession to the nuclear treaty is raised. In that connexion I cannot, of course, in my statement today prejudge the decisions of the Italian Government and Parliament. Nevertheless, I can say that the Moscow Agreement is fully in keeping with the aims pursued by Italian policy, which are to seek peace and promote the consolidation of confidence among peoples. I should like to ask you, Mr. Chairman, to accept the statement of the Italian Foreign Minister as a document of the Conference and to have it circulated by the Secretariat.^{1/}

Mr. Chairman, after listening with great attention to your very eloquent words, and to the very interesting statements made by the representatives of the nuclear Powers and of Brazil, I should like to add a few words on behalf of the Italian delegation, so as to associate myself with the expressions of satisfaction and hope uttered here today in connexion with the conclusion of the Moscow Nuclear Agreement.

This agreement, in my opinion, has a content which is both objective and technical, psychological and methodological. From all these points of view it is very important.

First of all, its objective content. The treaty, as we all know, will, through the assumption of a solemn reciprocal obligation, put an end to the dangers of radioactivity. We have on many occasions insisted here on that terrible danger, and I do not think there is any need to revert to it again. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this treaty will bring inestimable relief to the whole of mankind. Moreover, still on the technical plane, the Treaty represents the first concrete, compulsory and contractual limitation in the armaments race. Of course it is only a limitation in quality, but nevertheless it is both useful and valuable for putting a check on the vicious circle of atomic weapons.

Secondly, the conclusion of the agreement confirms that the great nuclear Powers are fully conscious of atomic dangers while endeavouring to improve the international climate and to restore confidence among the peoples.

Thirdly, the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement appears to show that both sides now desire to adopt realistic and effective methods in the disarmament negotiations. While wishing to arrive at general and complete disarmament as soon as possible, we have always been of the opinion that in negotiations like ours the thesis of "all or nothing", or the tactics of bid and counter-bid, could only lead to disappointment. In our

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

system of work, the "approach", which was adopted in Moscow, and which we regard with satisfaction, not only because of the valuable results it has already given, but because we hope that the same constructive method will be pursued here in Geneva.

I should like to point out that the agreement which has been reached in Moscow is the outcome of an initiative taken by two Western Powers -- an initiative providing a fresh token of goodwill at a time when our negotiations here were at a deadlock. It will be remembered that my delegation immediately supported this gesture by the United States and the United Kingdom Governments and most sincerely encouraged it.

Having recalled that, I should now like to pay tribute to the sense of responsibility and understanding displayed by the Soviet Union in welcoming this Western approach. We are most happy that the Soviet Union should have renounced its intransigent opposition to a partial nuclear agreement, and we consider the Soviet attitude to be a good omen for our future work.

The nuclear agreement could not, of course, have been concluded without the mutual desire of the three nuclear Powers to come to such an agreement, but I believe, as Mr. de Castro has just pointed out, that in the rapprochement between the nuclear Powers the role of the delegations of the non-nuclear countries at this Conference -- in other words the role of this Conference -- has not been negligible, that it has in fact been very effective. Our debates here may sometimes have appeared sterile, but they have in reality formed the foundation on which the Agreement was built. The Geneva discussions have above all served to maintain contacts between the East and the West and to improve the atmosphere through their friendly and relaxed character.

Furthermore, the non-nuclear delegations did not remain inactive. They repeatedly addressed appeals to the nuclear Powers, and on a number of occasions formulated concrete and constructive proposals. We should not forget that some delegations, including the delegation of Italy, last year put forward the idea of a partial prohibition treaty in view of the Soviet Union's opposition to any inspection of underground tests, and it is precisely on the basis of this idea that agreement has at last been reached.

Of course, when we proposed a limited agreement we never lost sight of the need for a complete agreement banning all nuclear tests. We knew and we still know that only the method of partial and progressive agreement which now appears to have been accepted by the Soviet Union can produce concrete results. Mutual confidence cannot be restored in a day, but only little by little, gradually, by reciprocal proofs of goodwill. It is thus, by this gradual method, that a first important success has been gained in Moscow. Other agreements, many other agreements should follow in order to bring us closer to our goal: general and complete disarmament. We now have greater hopes of success.

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

The Eighteen-Nation Committee is here to accomplish this immense task, the accomplishment of which should protect all the peoples once and for all from the dangers of war, whether waged with atomic or conventional arms. I am confident that the Committee will be encouraged by the Moscow Agreement and pursue its efforts without respite.

The Italian delegation is anxious to stress once more that, following its Government's instructions, it will participate with increased energy in all these efforts and, without underestimating all the difficulties which, alas, are still facing us, will not leave a single avenue unexplored, and will do everything in its power to promote the speedy conclusion of agreements essential to world peace.

Mr. MEHTA (India): I should first like to associate my delegation with the warm welcome extended to the new leaders of the United Kingdom and Bulgarian delegations, and through them to convey our best wishes to their predecessors.

Since the Committee was first convened in March last year we have had several periods of recess, some longer than the others, but always beginning on a note of hope and expectation of some kind of breakthrough which might yield a positive move forward. But this is the first occasion that we have come back from a recess on a note of satisfaction and in a spirit of hope and confidence. This is occasioned by the announcement from Moscow of the three-Power agreement on the conclusion of a treaty^{1/} banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, for which all credit must go to the negotiating skill and statesmanship of the representatives of the three participating Powers. We offer our felicitations to them on this achievement. In the words of my Prime Minister, "It is good news for them, good news for us, and good news for the whole world".

Humanity has been hopefully looking forward to this event for a long time, and we welcome the conclusion of this treaty warmly and enthusiastically, even though it falls short of the total ban for which all mankind had hoped. The agreement between the three nuclear Powers is an important landmark in international co-operation and understanding, and my Government trusts that this welcome beginning will lead to wider agreements on other collateral tension-reducing measures and to the speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

I do not wish to take the time of the Committee in going over the long and tortuous history of the test ban negotiations over the years; but I should like to say that we in India are particularly gratified at the conclusion of this agreement since it was

(Mr. Mehta, India)

our Prime Minister who was among the first to take the initiative in the matter, as far back as April 1954, when he appealed to the nuclear Powers to enter into at least a standstill agreement to suspend test explosions even if arrangements about the discontinuance of production and stockpiling of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons must await broader agreements. Since then my country has year after year voiced in the United Nations our deep concern and anxiety at the continued testing of nuclear weapons, with its attendant dangers and evils, both physical and psychological, and has stressed the urgent and vital need for the suspension of all nuclear and thermonuclear tests.

We have noted with satisfaction that the preamble to the treaty sets forth that the principal aim of the Three Parties is the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations, which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons. The language in the treaty also makes it clear that the goal remains a comprehensive ban on all tests, including those conducted under-ground; and the three parties have reasserted their determination to work towards that end. We hope no efforts will be spared in that direction.

Further, by specifically banning tests in the three forbidden environments on their own territories, and by undertaking not to encourage or in any way participate in such testing anywhere, the three Powers have agreed to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We attach particular importance to that.

My country has decided to sign the treaty as soon as it is available for signature. My Government hopes that all countries which cherish peace and are concerned with the health and progress of humanity will sign the present treaty. It is also our hope that the prohibition envisaged in the treaty will soon be extended to underground tests as well.

In his broadcast on 26 July President Kennedy, speaking of the perils of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, said this:

"Neither the United States, nor the Soviet Union, nor the United Kingdom, nor France, can look forward to that day with equanimity. We have a great obligation -- all four nuclear Powers have a great obligation -- to use whatever time remains to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to persuade other countries not to test, transfer, acquire, possess or produce such weapons."

(ENDC/102, p.5)

(Mr. Mehta, India)

That imposes upon the nuclear Powers a special responsibility for seeing that the treaty is observed by other countries. If they fail, the result will be false security, with nuclear confusion. To give full measure of substance to the treaty it is therefore important that all present and potential nuclear Powers should be signatories to it. Indeed, the world at large cannot feel free from fear and look to the future with any sense of confidence until the treaty has been signed by all States and has universal application.

The greatest danger confronting mankind is a continuation of an arms race that can end only in world catastrophe. Fortunately this is well recognized by the leaders of both East and West, and they are committed to strenuous efforts to end the existing tensions and to the idea that the test ban could be the first step in that direction. It is in this sense that the news of the successful conclusion of the talks in Moscow has been hailed by the bulk of mankind all over the world. However, one hears rumblings of disapproval from one solitary quarter -- which is not surprising, since that country seems bent upon pursuing a policy of violence and hatred rather than the path of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence. In the context of the treaty this is a significant factor which cannot but be the cause of deep concern to all, and in particular to my country, which happens to be its close neighbour.

No one will pretend that the agreement just concluded is basically a disarmament step in itself, as it does not remove the danger of nuclear war. However, it is a step in the right direction, and it is our fervent hope that it will lead to a slowing-down of the arms race. It will also help to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear Powers, remove the danger to mankind from radioactive fall-out, and, we hope, lead to a complete test ban before long. President Kennedy has described it as "an important first step -- a step towards reason -- a step away from war." (ibid., p.2) We could not agree more. The treaty is to be welcomed also as a symptom of more confident relations growing up between East and West, creating a climate which is an essential preliminary to more general disarmament agreements.

In the communique issued at the conclusion of the Moscow talks^{1/} the three participating delegations have agreed that the test ban constitutes an important first step towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace, and that they look forward to further progress in this direction. We also note that the three

^{1/} Circulated as ENDC/101

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delegations have discussed the Soviet proposal (ENDC/77) relating to a pact of non-aggression between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the participants in the Warsaw Treaty, and that an exchange of views has also taken place with regard to other measures directed at a relaxation of tension. There are indications of willingness on both sides to extend the scope of negotiations, and there is indeed some optimism that a new era of East-West understanding might be in sight. We warmly welcome this.

As Mr. Tsarapkin said today (supra., p.11), among the other steps suggested by Chairman Khrushchev are the freezing or reduction of military budgets, the reduction of foreign troops in Eastern and Western Germany, and the exchange of inspectors at fixed strategic points of movement as a measure against a surprise attack. These are not all new proposals, and there might be other tension-reducing steps which could fruitfully be discussed. As Prime Minister Macmillan has said, the treaty is important in itself but far more important as the foundation upon which great new developments become possible. Similarly, Chairman Khrushchev said on 26 July -- and I quote from newspaper reports:

"Jointly we have been able to make a beginning, by reaching an agreement on a ban on nuclear weapon tests. Let us now advance further towards the easing of international tension, the liquidation of the cold war. That will pave the way to the solution of the fundamental problem, that is, general and complete disarmament."

No one could disagree with that.

We hope that the new momentum that has been gained during the successful test ban talks will be maintained, and that the treaty just concluded will pave the way to a whole series of East-West agreements that would improve the entire international situation. In our view, given good will on both sides there can be no insurmountable difficulty in reaching agreements on arrangements aimed at reducing tension satisfactory to both sides; and we trust that no procedural or other obstacles will be allowed to get in the way during the further talks which are now envisaged.

Finally, my delegation hopes that in the midst of this welcome break in the clouds we in this Committee will also be able to press on with our task in a more businesslike manner and with a sense of purpose, and move forward speedily towards substantial progress in our discussions on general and complete disarmament, which remains our primary task, as also on the more urgent collateral measures which might contribute towards attaining that objective.

(Mr. Padilla Nervo, Mexico)

In connexion with the last part of the declaration I have just read out, I wish to refer to the statement I made in this Committee as representative of Mexico on Monday, 6 May 1963. I shall quote only two paragraphs:

"On 21 March 1963 Dr. Adolfo Lopez Mateos, the President of Mexico, addressed himself to the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador and submitted for their consideration a proposal on the advisability of adopting a joint 'Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America'.

"This proposal by Mexico was favourably received by the Heads of States of these Republics, whose replies, inspired by the peaceful sentiments of their respective peoples, expressed enthusiastic support for this Declaration, which was therefore formally approved and is now in force in respect of the five nations which drew it up". (ENDC/PV.128, p.12)
The Declaration (ENDC/87) was solemnly adopted by these five Republics on 29 April 1963.

This is one of the items on the provisional agenda of the eighteenth ordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which is to open on 17 September next in New York, where, we hope, it will be given the attention it deserves.

Article III of the Moscow Agreement provides that the Treaty shall be open to all States for signature and that any State which does not sign it before its entry into force may accede to it at any time.

Mexico has already expressed its wish to subscribe to this Treaty, as may be seen from the official statement which I have just read out. Other States have expressed their intention to sign it, and we hope that it will soon enjoy the support of all States, which will thereby help to diminish international tension, open the way to the conclusion of other agreements, and ensure that this first attempt at internationally controlling the nuclear peril will have good results and will be followed by other and farther-reaching steps along the long and difficult road towards general disarmament and the consolidation of peace. These objectives, which are reaffirmed in the preamble to the Treaty in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations, are endorsed by public opinion in all nations, whose governments will not be able to ignore that opinion.

We also hope that the escape clause in Article IV of the Treaty, based on the right and duty of every State to safeguard its national security, will never be invoked and that no necessity or occasion to make use of it will occur. We are confident, above all, that third States which opt to remain outside the Treaty will not be able to hinder its operation by any action of their own, and that the right of signatories to withdraw from the Treaty will never be exercised.

(Mr. Padilla Nervo, Mexico)

The major nuclear Powers undertook in Article I of the Treaty:

"... to prohibit, to prevent and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, at any place under its jurisdiction or control:

(a) in the atmosphere; beyond its limits, including outer space ..."

In view of this pledge it now seems particularly desirable and necessary that this agreement should be supplemented by another agreement, in the same spirit, whereby those Powers would undertake not to place nuclear weapons in orbit nor to station in outer space devices equipped with nuclear weapons, thermonuclear weapons, or weapons of mass destruction.

The projects for the denuclearization of certain parts of the globe have no meaning if outer space is not denuclearized. To keep in orbit and to suspend the nuclear threat over the territories of all the peoples of the world would lead to a competition in nuclear weapons in cosmic space more dangerous than that at present in progress, and would increase to an extent which we can only surmise the risks of a conflagration due to accident, miscalculation, or fear of surprise attack.

For these reasons my delegation ventures to submit for the fourth time to the nuclear Powers and to all members of the Disarmament Committee for their consideration the suggestions which we have made at various times and which I repeated before our recess at the meeting on 21 June 1963, as appears in the record (ENDC/PV.147, pp. 41 et seq.). I then circulated working paper ENDC/98 containing an outline draft treaty prohibiting the placing of nuclear weapons in orbit and their stationing in outer space, being convinced that a treaty ensuring the peaceful exploration and use of outer space and the celestial bodies, and bringing international harmony into those fields, would promote the principles and purposes laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

We believe that the conclusion of a treaty such as that proposed by Mexico would meet the universal desire to keep cosmic space clean and free from nuclear weapons, and to maintain peace on earth and beyond as far and as high as science, goodwill and hope can raise mankind.

In conclusion, I wish to join in the welcome given to the new Chairmen of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr. Lukanov, and of the United Kingdom delegation, Mr. Peter Thomas, whose co-operation in the work of this Committee will undoubtedly be of great value; and I ask them to convey to their predecessors the greetings and thanks of my delegation.

Mr. HASSAN (United Arab Republic): It is with a sense of renewed hope and optimism that my delegation welcomes the resumption of the work of our Committee. Many important and significant developments have taken place since our last meeting on 21 June 1963. The Moscow tripartite high-level talks, which were consistent with the expressed wishes and desires of members of this Committee, took place with their blessing and were the subject of their high hopes, have culminated in accord on a partial test ban. The three nuclear Powers which met in Moscow can now come to our Committee and report on a mission accomplished. Our Committee now has every reason to turn its attention to other pending tasks before it with new hope, added vigour and determination.

The signature of a test ban treaty, even though it is confined to the three above-ground environments, is a very significant breakthrough, not only preventing future atomic radiation and fallout but, no less important, signifying the nuclear Powers' determination to respect such a treaty and to live up to it. It also implies determination to put an end to the most flagrant and dangerous aspect of the nuclear arms race, heralding their determination to co-operate in preventing the dissemination of nuclear weapons to other non-nuclear States. Nor should one underestimate the importance of this step with regard to the decreasing of cold-war tensions and the improvement of international relations.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the partial test ban treaty, its signature removes one of the major stumbling-blocks which have impeded the progress of negotiations on disarmament and other collateral measures in this Committee. If agreement on collateral measures appeared to our Committee to be the logical doorway to disarmament, because those measures were intended to lessen international tension, build up confidence, and facilitate and lead to general and complete disarmament, the logical causeway to agreement on collateral measures was a test ban barring the most dangerous and significant tests, which dissipated confidence as fast as it was generated. To close that door to the evil wind of tests was therefore the unanimous wish of all peace-loving members of the international community. That was also the unbending and relentless concerted demand of the United Nations membership, expressed in repeated resolutions, the last of which was resolution 1762 (XVII).

It is to this end also that the non-nuclear and non-aligned members of this Committee, speaking for an anguished but determined international public opinion, have brought all their resourcefulness, determination, power of persuasion and pressure to bear on the deliberations of this Committee, and have devoted their utmost attention

(Mr. Hassan, United Arab Republic)

and all their energy. The unwavering and determined advocacy by the non-aligned members of this Committee of a test ban, partial or comprehensive, is a matter of record and need not be repeated or recalled by my delegation. It has pervaded the work of this Committee ever since its first round and until the very last days of our last meetings. Therefore the welcome signature by the three major nuclear Powers of the partial test ban is in harmony with and in fulfilment of the wishes of the General Assembly, the non-aligned world at large, and all responsible groups and organizations.

The African Summit Conference's resolution passed by thirty-two heads of independent African States at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963 (ENDC/93/Rev.1) was perhaps the most recent appeal for the suspension of nuclear weapon tests. The initiative of the three African member States of this Committee on 10 June (ENDC/94) was an expression of the wishes and aspirations of all the African peoples and governments in this regard. For its part, the United Arab Republic delegation is gratified to see that its Government's unwavering, sincere and dedicated appeal for the suspension of nuclear weapon tests -- at Bandung, at Belgrade, at Cairo, at Addis Ababa, at the United Nations successive General Assembly sessions, and here in Geneva -- has finally been answered.

The National Charter of the United Arab Republic, which solemnly and formally proclaims the guide-lines of its internal and external policies and defines the framework of its body politic, states unequivocally:

"Nuclear energy for the sake of war is not our goal. But nuclear energy for the sake of prosperity is capable of creating miracles in the battle for national development."

Such is our dedication to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In harmony with this peaceful vocation, President Gamal Abdal-Nasir declared on 28 July 1963 that the United Arab Republic fully supported the partial test ban agreement and would be willing to sign it. He appealed to all other States to do the same, saying --

"We have been greatly relieved by the news of this agreement, which brings the world one step nearer to peace."

The President also called for the continuation of disarmament negotiations aiming at the eventual destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles and the transfer to the service of development and prosperity of the enormous resources heretofore channeled to their manufacture.

(Mr. Hassan, United Arab Republic)

It is for this reason that my delegation, while gratified by the signature of the partial test ban treaty, must remind the Committee that this is only a first step, even though an important one. Other complementary steps should follow. As our Conference knows, a partial test ban is logically and technically tied up with, and could not be complete or safe without, agreement on certain collateral and partial or initial disarmament measures. General Assembly resolution 1762 B (XVII) yet remains to be fulfilled. The high hopes to which the test ban agreement gave rise should not be dispelled. The partial test ban accord should not encourage complacency but should spur our hopes and further our expectations; it should not tie us down to the present, but drive us to look forward and to plan ahead for further agreements.

It is our hope that our Committee will be able to report more than just a partial measure of success to the coming General Assembly.

Mr. SIMOVIC (Czechoslovakia) (translation from Russian): Before beginning my statement I should like to join you, Mr. Chairman, and the other representatives in the Committee in sincerely welcoming, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, the new leader of the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Mr. Lukanov, and the new leader of the delegation of the United Kingdom, Mr. Peter Thomas, and to wish them great success in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

What is significant in all the statements we have heard today in the Committee after the resumption of its work are the expressions of deep satisfaction with the positive results of the negotiations recently concluded in Moscow between the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. For nearly two decades the peoples all over the world have been following with concern the ever-increasing number of nuclear weapon tests the consequences of which imperil the security, life and health of the present and future generations. That is why it is understandable and natural that a wave of approval and satisfaction has been sweeping the world during the past few days in connexion with the achievement of agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

The people and Government of Czechoslovakia have sincerely welcomed the treaty drafted and initialled by the three nuclear Powers in Moscow on 25 July.^{1/} In the communique adopted by the Czechoslovak Government at its meeting on 29 July 1963^{2/} the

1/ Circulated as ENDC/100/Rev.1

2/ Circulated as ENDC/106

(Mr. Simovic, Czechoslovakia)

results of the Moscow negotiations are approved and the view is expressed that the agreement achieved is of great international and political significance, being an important step towards the relaxation of international tension, and that it creates favourable conditions for the solution of other outstanding problems in the interests of the consolidation of peace and security. The conclusion of the treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests is a step of great international significance. It will be a contribution towards improvement of the international atmosphere, and will be conducive to the restoration of the confidence which is so much lacking in the relations between States. It will put an end to the contamination of the atmosphere with radio-active substances, and will limit to a great extent the testing of new types of weapons and consequently the accumulation of new armaments. It will also make more difficult the spread of nuclear weapons to other States.

We set great value on the elaboration of the treaty for the further reason that it is the first important agreement in the field of disarmament to be achieved after eighteen years of negotiations. We sincerely hope that it will break the vicious circle in which the disarmament negotiations have been held since the end of the Second World War, despite all the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This treaty is undoubtedly a great victory for the peace-loving forces of the world, since it is a clear confirmation of the correctness of the principle of peaceful co-existence and of the fact that, given a minimum of goodwill among all the participants in the negotiations, it is possible to achieve mutually-acceptable solutions.

However, with all the optimism and hopes to which the conclusion of the treaty has given rise in the world, we do not forget that the agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests in itself still does not eliminate the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out, nor does it rid mankind of the danger which threatens it while missile and thermo-nuclear weapons still exist and the armaments race continues. We fully subscribe to the words of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, who on 26 July, when replying to questions put to him by the correspondents of Pravda and Izvestia, said that the main task consisted precisely in putting an end to the feverish arms race, in disarmament, and that only in that way would it really be possible to secure the elimination of the threat of war and relieve States of the burden of military expenditures. Such, in our opinion, are the main tasks on which the attention of our Committee should be concentrated now that it has resumed its work.

(Mr. Simovic, Czechoslovakia)

The main task still lies in making efforts to achieve agreement on general and complete disarmament as quickly as possible. In this connexion we deem it useful to stress with satisfaction the significance of the fact that the three original parties to the treaty have reaffirmed their determination to strive in every way to achieve this aim. In order to bring about favourable conditions in this respect, what is needed is that, inspired by the progress achieved during the Moscow negotiations, we should direct and intensify our efforts mainly on negotiations concerning proposals in the field of so-called collateral measures.

The main measure of this kind which deserved particular attention is the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries. The socialist delegations have already had the opportunity of adducing in this forum a sufficient number of proofs of the usefulness and urgency of such a pact and of the favourable consequences its conclusion would have for further international developments. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, in its aforementioned communique of 29 July, expressed once again its full support for the Soviet Union proposal (ENDC/77) for the conclusion of such a pact, which at the present time is of primary importance for improving the situation and ensuring peace in Europe and in the world.

We are glad that during the Moscow negotiations there was a useful exchange of views on this question, and that the three great Powers agreed to consult with their respective allies about continuing discussions on this important question with the purpose of achieving agreement satisfactory to all participants, as the communique states. We hope that the work of our Committee will contribute to the final solution of this urgent problem. We are convinced that after the Moscow negotiations even the question of the form in which the pact is to be concluded will not present any unsurmountable difficulty.

Besides a non-aggression pact and the proposals for the creation of denuclearized zones in various regions of the world, our Committee should direct its attention to the adoption of other measures, such as the freezing or the reduction of the military budgets of States, the reduction and the elimination of the danger of surprise attack, the reduction of the numbers of foreign troops on the territories of the two German States, and a reciprocal exchange of representatives in the troops of the Western Powers stationed in Western Germany and in the Soviet troops stationed in the German Democratic Republic.

(Mr. Simovic, Czechoslovakia)

Czechoslovak public opinion is convinced that, at a time when the main efforts of all governments should be directed towards elimination of the threat of a nuclear war and the ensuring of universal peace, it would be unforgivable not to take the fullest possible advantage of the favourable conditions resulting from the Moscow negotiations for the subsequent stages of the negotiations on international problems. Leading statesmen of all countries who are conscious of their responsibility should do their utmost to solve other unsettled international problems through negotiations and mutual compromises. It is our desire that the achievement of agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests should become a real milestone in international relations, lead to a change in the present dangerous development, and put an end to the cold war.

It is in this direction, as was stated in the communique to which I have already referred, that the Czechoslovak Government, in the spirit of its peaceful policy, will exert, together with the governments of the other socialist countries, the utmost efforts to achieve the solution of controversial international problems on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, and to create the necessary conditions for the achievement of progress in the negotiations on disarmament, which alone is capable of eliminating the risk of war from the lives of the peoples.

Mr. BURNS (Canada): First, on behalf of the Canadian delegation, I wish, like other speakers who have preceded me, to welcome the new leader of the United Kingdom delegation and the new leader of the Bulgarian delegation who have now joined us. The Canadian delegation is sure that they will each make a very effective contribution to our labours here.

The Canadian delegation shares fully the sense of deep satisfaction -- which has been expressed by so many previous speakers -- that the discussions in Moscow have been successful in formulating the terms of a partial ban on nuclear weapon tests.^{1/} As a result, all of us feel, our Conference resumes its work today in circumstances distinctly better than when we adjourned a month ago. Speaking in the House of Commons on 25 July, the Prime Minister of Canada welcomed the outcome of the Moscow negotiations, and with permission I should like to quote from his comments on that occasion which assess the significance of this agreement to ban tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water:

^{1/} Circulated as ENDC/100/Rev.1

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

"This achievement, when it comes into force after signature, will be of the greatest importance not only in removing a major source of harmful radiation, but because of the prospects which it holds out for further improvement in East-West relations. The participants in the Moscow negotiations are deserving of our deep gratitude and our warm congratulations."

Mr. Pearson went on to say:

"... It would be unrealistic to ignore the fact that it is no more than a first step in the direction of the much more basic accord which will be needed to ensure world peace and security. We have still to remove the difficulties which stand in the way of a more comprehensive test ban including underground tests. It is imperative, moreover, to ensure that any such agreement will command world-wide support. Indeed, it will require universal acceptance if it is to be truly effective. Moreover, even in agreeing to a comprehensive test ban binding on all States we shall have dealt only with one small segment of the problems involved in working out a programme of general disarmament and effective methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes. To accomplish this complex task will require a prolonged and patient effort. We must not allow the present atmosphere of success to mislead us into thinking that it will be easily or quickly achieved. At the same time we should in no way underestimate the importance of this unprecedented first step. It not only provides the momentum for further advances but demonstrates that they are feasible and can be achieved through the realization of a common interest and by a concerted and determined effort. ... What has happened does make plain that no one can afford to ignore any opportunity to press forward with negotiations aimed at a broader international understanding. So far as this Government is concerned, we shall use to the utmost whatever influence and power we can bring to bear in assisting the speediest possible realization of this objective."

Speaking of the necessity for the widest possible adherence to this agreement, Mr. Pearson, in conclusion, emphasized that --

"... the present treaty will be open to all States, and it is to be hoped that the original signatories will make every effort to encourage the widest possible participation. ... For its part the Canadian Government is ready now to become a party to the Agreement."

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

The Canadian delegation welcomes the resumption of discussions in this Conference. We should all try to carry forward the spirit and impetus of the Moscow negotiations and reach agreements on further measures which would help to reduce international tensions and end the arms race.

All of us here, and the peoples of the whole world, have received tremendous encouragement from the agreement on a partial test ban; and what is also encouraging is the opening paragraph of the treaty's preamble. I shall not read it out, because it has already been quoted here by the United Kingdom representative; but in stressing the aim of general and complete disarmament the paragraph points the way for our continued work here. The emphasis by the nuclear Powers on ending the arms race reflects a light on the importance of our work in the field of collateral measures.

The representative of the Soviet Union has mentioned several measures that we might work on here, and other collateral measures have been mentioned by other representatives. The Canadian delegation would hope that our co-Chairmen would agree on one or more of these measures which hold the promise of speedy agreement, and that we should be able to work intensively to reach that agreement in the weeks to come. Such an agreement would reinforce the prospects for the achievement of disarmament.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in resolution 1767 (XVII), called on this Conference to persist in its efforts to reach agreement on collateral measures. Soon we shall be submitting a new report to the General Assembly, and discussions will no doubt take place there on the work that has been accomplished this year. The talks in Moscow, and important statements that have recently been made by the Heads of Government of the three nuclear Powers, give us fresh hope that we can approach the subject of collateral measures during the present round of discussions in a new light and in a changed atmosphere.

It is clear beyond all doubt -- and every delegation that has spoken today has made this clear -- that we in the Conference, all of us here, have now the opportunity and the obligation to discuss disarmament and collateral measures in a friendly, cordial and co-operative manner which would reflect the spirit and harmony of the Moscow talks. If we will do that, we can develop a common approach, based on a common interest, to the outstanding problems which are before us.

Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) (translation from French): On taking the floor at this stage of the resumption of our Committee's work I should like, first of all, to convey the Polish delegation's congratulations to the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the happy conclusion of the negotiations on the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. The Government of the Polish People's Republic warmly supports the agreement just concluded in Moscow and fully endorses it. My Government's views have been expressed in the resolution adopted on 25 July 1963 at a meeting of First Secretaries of Communist and Worker's Parties and Heads of Governments of the Warsaw Treaty States, which has been held in Moscow. On behalf of the Polish delegation I propose that the text of this resolution be circulated as a document of our Committee.^{1/}

The Moscow Agreement^{2/} is an eloquent expression of the policy of peaceful co-existence pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist States. It is also a manifestation of the conviction that international problems can be solved only by negotiation. It proves, too, that goodwill is capable of surmounting many an obstacle.

The Moscow Agreement is primarily the work of the three nuclear Powers, but I think it would be wrong to underestimate our Committee's contribution to the results just achieved. The years of the three-Power discussions, and the considerable time we have devoted to the debating of this question, have borne their fruit. The Committee's sessions have undoubtedly enabled the ground to be cleared and the elements of an agreement to be found. It is hardly necessary to recall that in international negotiations it is the final results that count. What is the use of bringing viewpoints closer together if it does not lead to the conclusion of a definite agreement? It matters little whether half or three-quarters of the way has been covered, or whether much preparatory work has been accomplished, if the final steps remain as difficult as ever and if at the last moment the negotiations break down.

Without underestimating the importance of the agreement just concluded in Moscow between the three nuclear Powers, it should nevertheless be emphasized that this agreement is only a beginning. Its value should be estimated not only in relation to the objectives it has set itself, but also in the light of the general prospects that it opens up. The cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space is in itself undoubtedly an important measure. But we should also view it in the wider context of the tasks we have been assigned and of the work that still remains to be accomplished.

^{1/} Circulated as ENDC/107

^{2/} Circulated as ENDC/100/Rev.1

(Mr. Blusztajn, Poland)

The Prime Minister of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, said in an interview he granted on 26 July to Pravda and Izvestia:^{1/}

"It would, of course, be wrong to labour under any delusions regarding the successes achieved and to relax our energies and determination in the further struggle for the solution of questions on which depends the consolidation of peace on earth. We must realize quite clearly that the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests does not mean the cessation of the arms race and, consequently, cannot in itself avert the danger of war."

But, Mr. Khrushchev continued --

"... the Soviet Government considers that at the present time ... there have emerged favourable opportunities which enable us to make progress in solving the main international problems."

I do not think we can overemphasize that the Moscow Agreement should constitute the starting point for other agreements which would reduce international tension, liquidate the after-effects of the Second World War, and open up the way to a world without arms.

We are resuming work in our Committee in an atmosphere modified by the success of the Moscow negotiations. I should like to express the hope that the spirit which reigned over there will also prevail at our discussions. The Polish delegation is ready to do its best to utilize to the full the opportunity we have been offered.

Now, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like to say a few words on procedure. I fully agree with our United Kingdom colleague that our methods of work could be greatly improved. I hope that our two co-Chairmen will soon meet and be able to report to us on their suggestions. I also hope that we shall have the opportunity to discuss this question in plenary session in due course.

Before concluding, I should like to associate myself with the words of welcome addressed here to Mr. Lukanov and Mr. Peter Thomas. I should also like to say how much we regret the absence of Mr. Godber. Our only consolation is in the knowledge that United Kingdom Secretary of State for War is a fervent advocate of general and complete disarmament.

Baron von PLATEN (Sweden): The Swedish Government most warmly welcomes the treaty initialled in Moscow concerning the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We see in this treaty a distinct possibility that health hazards and genetic risks from nuclear testing will now be radically

(Baron von Platen, Sweden)

diminished and perhaps, let us hope, altogether abolished. My Government has consistently protested against such forms of weapon testing as endanger the health and life of innocent peoples, friends and foes alike. Thus I can safely say that the Swedish Government and the Swedish people have a sense of relief, which we believe is shared by all men, when we contemplate the probable value of the Moscow Agreement.

The treaty, however, may open up possibilities which far surpass its intrinsic value. We see in this treaty more than a ray of hope that agreement between East and West is possible on wider and more important issues. We must of course face facts, and admit that difficult problems are likely to arise also in the future between nations and groups of nations. We hope, however, that the Moscow Agreement heralds the day when such problems will not develop into international tension and a perilous armaments race, but rather into international co-operation, in honest efforts to solve them calmly and dispassionately to the benefit of all.

One further point. The negotiators in Moscow, representing the three nuclear Powers, have undoubtedly done a fine and useful job. I feel, however, that we may, without indulging in too much egotism, claim that by and large what has happened in Moscow is that a piece of the canvas painted here in Geneva has been unveiled without having to undergo too many retouches. We see in this a confirmation of the usefulness of this Conference. We hope that we can now concentrate with renewed energy and hope on solving the many technical questions which remain to be studied and settled before political agreement and decision are possible on the wider issues in the field of disarmament. We have made a beginning; we are far from the end.

I may add that the Swedish Government is at present engaged in serious study of the text and the implications of the Moscow Agreement and the possibilities it opens up for other countries to accede to it.

As a last point, I should like to join with previous speakers in welcoming the new heads of the Bulgarian and United Kingdom delegations. We are sorry not to see Mr. Godber, of course, but we do welcome Mr. Peter Thomas.

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI (Burma): I also should like to take this opportunity to welcome to our midst the representatives of Bulgaria and the United Kingdom, who, we are all sure, will make a positive contribution to our work here just as their predecessors have done.

Pending the arrival of the leader of my delegation, I should like to make some very brief initial comments on the recent agreement reached in Moscow. We have indeed witnessed a very significant event, in that it is the first concrete achievement in the many years of negotiations by the great Powers. This agreement could indeed be considered the result of the sincere perseverance on the part of the great Powers in their search for the attainment of the final goal that will enable the whole of mankind to live in lasting peace. We hope that the agreement will pave the way to the achievement of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, as well as to the achievement of other measures of disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN (Romania): Before we adjourn I should like to welcome the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Protitch, and to convey to him our best wishes.

Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for welcoming me. It is a pleasure for me to have been designated by the Secretary-General to serve the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

On 25 July, at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York, a sense of satisfaction was expressed on behalf of the Secretary-General in connexion with the achievement of the agreement on a test ban in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space by the Governments of the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States. The treaty, when signed and ratified by the main parties and, it is hoped, by all the States of the world, should create a favourable atmosphere for better understanding between nations, and could pave the way towards further agreements in the field of collateral measures and of general and complete disarmament.

The Secretary-General is confident that the Eighteen-Nation Committee, taking advantage of the present improved international climate, will persist in its important work and contribute to the achievement of the goals of disarmament and peace which remain the primary tasks of the United Nations.

The Conference decided to issue the following communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its one hundred and forty-eighth plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Macovescu, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and representative of Romania.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Romania, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, Brazil, Italy, India, Mexico, The United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Poland, Sweden, Burma and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

"All the speakers expressed satisfaction with the results of the Moscow Conference on a nuclear test ban.

"The delegations of the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States tabled the text of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water,^{1/} as well as the communique^{2/} issued in Moscow on 25 July 1963 by representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom at the conclusion of negotiations for this treaty.

"The delegation of the United States tabled the text of President Kennedy's address of 26 July^{3/} on the treaty for a partial nuclear test ban.

"The delegation of the Soviet Union tabled the text of answers by the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N. Khrushchev, to correspondents of Pravda and Izvestia dated 27 July.^{4/}

"The delegation of Italy tabled the text of a declaration by Mr. Attilio Piccioni, Vice-President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, made in Rome on 25 July.^{5/}

"The delegation of Mexico tabled the text of a declaration by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico on 27 July.^{6/}

^{1/} ENDC/100/Rev.1

^{2/} ENDC/101

^{3/} ENDC/102

^{4/} ENDC/103

^{5/} ENDC/104

^{6/} ENDC/105

"The delegation of Czechoslovakia tabled the text of a communique of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic dated 29 July.^{7/}

"The delegation of Poland tabled the text of the resolution adopted on 25 July by the Meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Heads of Governments of the Warsaw Treaty States.^{8/}

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 1 August 1963, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

^{7/} ENDC/106

^{8/} ENDC/107