

Foreign Ministers Conference, Geneva 1959 ; Berlin question 1959 ; Outer sp...

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Dag Hammarskjöld's sand.

Disarmament

5 Aug. 59

- D.H.'s Memorandum given to the Western delegations to the U.N.
- Draft Communiqué

*Given to the Western
delegates the minutes of
I was informed. H.*

MEMORANDUM

1. The composition of the Group for further consideration of the disarmament question, as agreed in Geneva, is so composed that it, obviously, cannot be envisaged as an organ of the United Nations. It has a purely bi-lateral build-up and lacks representation for Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as for the neutral countries in Europe. It seems to follow that the relationship between the Group and the U.N. must be based on a declaration of intentions by the big powers directly concerned, which does not imply any claim that the Group acts on behalf of the U.N. or as a substitute for any organ of the U.N., but only as^a basically bi-lateral, preparation of the work of appropriate U.N. organs.
2. The General Assembly has set up the Disarmament Commission as its organ for the treatment of the disarmament question. It is admitted that the Disarmament Commission as a "committee of the whole" cannot do the necessary work properly. However, this does not mean that the big powers (or the big powers plus the six countries invited by them) can disregard the existence of the Commission or flout the decision of the General Assembly. Somehow, therefore, the line not chosen by the big powers must be developed in such a way as to reconcile it with the decision of the General Assembly. This is a sufficient reason why the decision of the big powers should be reported to the Commission (and not to the General Assembly or the Security Council), and why the Group established through the big powers agreement itself should report to the Commission. Another reason leading to the same conclusion is that the General Assembly is in session only some ten to twelve weeks and, therefore, is not the proper body to receive supposedly continuous reports on the work of the Group, while, on the other hand, the Security Council presents other difficulties and in practice has been side-tracked in favour of the General Assembly as regards the disarmament question. To regard the setting up of the new Group

and its reports as matters directly concerning the General Assembly might seem tempting but would, in fact, represent a slight to the General Assembly because of the implied disregard of its decision.

3. In the light of the considerations mentioned above, it seems to me that the proper procedure would be as follows.

The Secretary-General, or the four powers jointly, convene without delay the Disarmament Commission. When the Disarmament Commission meets, it elects a (neutral) chairman, but postpones consideration of other organisational arrangements (including rules of procedure). After the election of the chairman, one of the four, on behalf of the whole Group, or the four, state to the Commission that they have agreed to continue their Geneva deliberations on the disarmament question and that they have invitedcountries to join them in those considerations; in this presentation the four countries or their spokesman should not claim that this is anything but an initiative of some members, with special responsibilities, to prepare by mutual consultations the work of the Disarmament Commission, or whatever other organ the General Assembly may set up; that is to say that they would not claim to take over any function from the Disarmament Commission or to establish themselves in lieu of any other organ that may be created by the General Assembly. They, or their spokesman, should further declare that they will keep the Disarmament Commission informed about the progress of their work through reporting in such forms as the Disarmament Commission might find appropriate. After whatever interventions may follow such a declaration, the Disarmament Commission would take note of the intention of the four governments to proceed as stated and accept the offer of the new Group to present reports on the progress of its work.

4. The Disarmament Commission would further approve a report to the General Assembly, saying simply that it had met, elected a chairman, and taken note of such and such declarations by such and such members.

5. The report of the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly would, automatically, give rise to the inscription of the disarmament item on its agenda. This would mean that, later on, Member Nations, in the debate in the

First Committee, would be free to cover the whole range of the disarmament question, make their observations on the questions of substance and — whatever thoughts may be held about this in certain quarters — may set up a new Disarmament Commission with a composition which is considered to reflect equitably the various interests in the U.N. Were the First Committee, and the General Assembly, to take a decision to the last mentioned effect, this, in its turn, would, of course, not mean that they push the body created by the four aside, but it would mean that they create a body which — unlike the new Group — might be considered as representing the totality of the membership and which would automatically take over the rights and functions of the present Disarmament Commission in relation to the bi-lateral Group.

6. The procedure described above may seem somewhat complicated — and not quite polite in relation to the four big powers or the Group they are setting up — but I believe that something of that kind, or very close to it, is vitally necessary for various reasons:

a) it would provide a safety valve for the hurt feelings which are bound to be very wide-spread even if they do not find vocal expressions, people being somewhat inclined to avoid open friction with current developments.

b) it would blunt the edge of the real significance of the line chosen in Geneva; that is to say that the disarmament question — which is one of the few substantive problems, and a major one, which under the Charter belong to the U.N. — is in fact lifted out for treatment in another form.

c) it would, at least, put a brake on the present trend into a kind of bi-lateralism in international politics, which — apart from being dangerous — negates the fact that the majority of the nations of the world are not lined up in the Eastern or Western camps.

5 August 1959

Creston

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

As was announced on August 5, 1959 prior to the closing of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva, the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States discussed possibilities by which further negotiations on the question of disarmament could be most effectively advanced.

Agreement has now been reached among the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States to invite the Governments of Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland and Romania to join in deliberation on the disarmament question.

The United Nations Charter recognizes that disarmament matters are of world-wide interest and concern. Accordingly, ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures rests with the United Nations.

The decision of the four governments to establish a group outside the United Nations in no way diminishes or encroaches upon the United Nations responsibilities in this field. Their decision takes into

account the special responsibility resting on themselves to find a basis for agreement.

The four governments conceive of this group as a useful means of exploring through mutual consultations avenues of possible progress toward such agreements and recommendations on the limitation and reduction of all types of armaments and armed forces under effective international control as may in the first instance be of particular relevance to the countries participating in the deliberations. Furthermore, it is the hope of the four governments that the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the further consideration of disarmament in the United Nations.

It is the intention of the four governments that the United Nations Disarmament Commission will be kept appropriately informed of the progress of the deliberations of the group. As a first step in this direction, they have requested the Secretary General, in accordance with resolution 1252-D (XIII), to convene the Disarmament Commission during September 1959 if feasible in order that the members may be fully informed of the nature and purpose of the deliberations. They have invited the Secretary General to designate an

observer and have consulted with him with respect to providing appropriate facilities to the newly established group which is expected to begin its work early in 1960 in Geneva.

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PROJET DE COMMUNIQUE QUADRIPARTITE

Comme il a été annoncé le 5 août 1959, avant que prenne fin la conférence des Ministres des Affaires étrangères à Genève, les Ministres des Affaires étrangères de France, du Royaume Uni, de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats Unis ont discuté des moyens qui pourraient faire progresser le plus efficacement les négociations ultérieures sur la question du désarmement. L'accord s'est fait entre les gouvernements de la France, du Royaume-Uni, de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats Unis pour inviter les gouvernements de la Bulgarie, du Canada, de l'Italie, de la Pologne, de la Roumanie et de la Tchécoslovaquie à participer à ces conversations.

La Charte des Nations Unies reconnaît que les problèmes du désarmement sont un sujet d'intérêt et de préoccupation universels. En conséquence, la responsabilité des mesures générales de désarmement relève en dernier ressort des Nations Unies. La décision des quatre gouvernements d'établir un Comité en dehors des Nations Unies ne diminue en aucune façon, ni n'empiète sur les responsabilités des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. Leur décision tient également compte des responsabilités spéciales qui leur incombent de trouver une base d'accord.

Les quatre gouvernements conçoivent ce Comité comme un instrument utile pour explorer, au moyen de consulta-

tions mutuelles, les voies pouvant conduire à de tels accords ou recommandations sur la limitation et la réduction de tous types d'armements et de forces armées sous un contrôle international effectif, qui pourraient, dans une première étape présenter une importance particulière pour les nations participantes. De plus, les quatre gouvernements espèrent que les résultats obtenus au cours de ces conversations fourniront des éléments utiles à un nouvel examen de la question du désarmement aux Nations Unies.

Il est de l'intention des quatre gouvernements que la Commission du désarmement soit tenue informée de manière appropriée des progrès réalisés dans les débats du Comité. En vue d'effectuer un premier pas dans ce sens, ils ont demandé au Secrétaire général, conformément à la résolution 1252-D(XIII), de convoquer la Commission du désarmement, si possible dans le courant de septembre 1959, afin que ses membres puissent être pleinement informés de la nature et de l'objet des pourparlers. Ils ont prié le Secrétaire général de désigner un observateur et l'ont consulté quant aux moyens matériels appropriés à mettre à la disposition du Comité nouvellement établi, dont il est prévu que les travaux pourraient commencer au début de 1960 à Genève./.

Comme il a été annoncé le 5 août 1959 avant la clôture de la Conférence des Ministres des Affaires étrangères à Genève, les Ministres des Affaires étrangères de la France, du Royaume-Uni, de l'URSS et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont discuté des moyens qui pourraient faire progresser le plus efficacement des négociations ultérieures sur la question du désarmement. Un accord a maintenant été obtenu entre les gouvernements de la France, du Royaume-Uni, de l'URSS et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique sur l'établissement d'un Comité pour l'examen des questions du désarmement. Un accord a été également réalisé pour que les participants au Comité du désarmement soient l'URSS, les Etats-Unis, la Grande Bretagne, la France, la Pologne, la Tchécoslovaquie, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie, l'Italie et le Canada, sous réserve du consentement de tous les pays mentionnés.

La Charte des Nations Unies reconnaît que les problèmes du désarmement sont un sujet d'intérêt et de préoccupation universels. En conséquence, l'ultime responsabilité pour les mesures générales de désarmement incombe à l'ONU. L'établissement d'un Comité pour le désarmement ne diminue en aucune façon ni n'empiète sur les responsabilités des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. En créant ce Comité, il est tenu compte des responsabilités spéciales qui incombent aux grandes puissances pour définir une base d'accord.

Les quatre gouvernements conçoivent ce Comité comme un instrument utile pour explorer, au moyen de consultations mutuelles, les voies pouvant conduire à de tels accords et recommandations sur la limitation et la réduction de tous les types d'armements et de forces armées, sous un contrôle international efficace qui pourraient, en premier lieu, présenter un intérêt particulier pour les nations participant à ces débats. De plus, les quatre gouvernements espèrent que les résultats obtenus au cours de ces conversations serviront utilement de base à la prise en considération de la question du désarmement aux Nations Unies.

Il est de l'intention des quatre gouvernements que la Commission du désarmement de l'ONU soit tenue informée de manière appropriée des progrès réalisés dans les débats du Comité. A cette fin, les quatre gouvernements se sont mis d'accord pour que le Comité présente des rapports sur son travail à la Commission du désarmement de l'ONU et, par elle, à l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU et au Conseil de Sécurité. En vue d'effectuer un premier pas dans ce sens, ils ont demandé au Secrétaire général, conformément à la résolution I252-D (XIII) de convoquer la Commission du désarmement, si possible dans le courant de septembre 1959, afin que ses membres puissent être pleinement informés de la nature et des buts du Comité pour le désarmement.

Les quatre gouvernements se consulteront avec le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies en vue de mettre les moyens matériels appropriés à la disposition du Comité nouvellement établi. Ils espèrent que le Comité commencera ses travaux au début de 1960 à Genève sous réserve de l'accord du gouvernement suisse ./.

USSR

As was announced on August 5, 1959 prior to the closing of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva, the Foreign Ministers of France, the UK, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the US of America discussed possibilities by which further negotiations on the question of disarmament could be most effectively advanced. Agreement has now been reached among the governments of France, the UK, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the US of America to set up a committee to consider disarmament matters. Understanding has also been reached that the participants in the Disarmament Committee will be USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Canada, subject to the agreement of all the named states.

The UN Charter recognizes that disarmament matters are of world-wide interest and concern. Accordingly ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures rests with the UN. The setting up of the Disarmament Committee in no way diminishes or encroaches upon the United Nations' responsibilities in this field. In setting up the Committee the special responsibility is taken into account resting on the great powers to find a basis for agreement.

/The four

The four governments conceive of this committee as a useful means of exploring through mutual consultations avenues of possible progress toward such agreements and recommendations on the limitation and reduction of all types of armaments and armed forces under effective international control as may, in the first instance, be of particular relevance to the countries participating in these deliberations. Furthermore, it is the hope of the four governments that the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the consideration of disarmament in the UN.

It is the intention of the four governments that the UN Disarmament Commission will be kept appropriately informed of the progress of the deliberations of the Committee. For this purpose the four governments have agreed that the Committee will present reports on its work to the UN Disarmament Commission and through it to the UNGA and the SC. As a first step in this direction, they have requested the Secretary General, in accordance with resolution 1252-D (XIII), to convene the Disarmament

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Commission during September 1959 if feasible, in order that the members may be fully informed of the nature and purpose of the Disarmament Committee.

The four governments will consult with the UN Secretary General with respect to providing appropriate facilities to the newly established Committee. They expect that the Committee will begin its work early in 1960 in Geneva, subject to the agreement of the Swiss Government.

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