We believe that that is an important step towards dealing with the vexed question of the spread of nuclear armaments;

(b) There should be a technical conference on the feasibility of controlling what is called the "cut-off", in other words, ceasing to use fissionable material to make weapons. That is an even more important step if we are indeed to stop the spread of the manufacture of nuclear weapons;

(c) The Great Powers should agree to maximum limits for their forces. There should be the establishment of an international body charged with the task of collecting information on present levels of forces and conventional armaments. The object of this would be to try to establish some basis for limiting conventional armaments. In this context armaments are even more important than the levels of forces;

(d) We should pursue the idea of the handing over of specific quantities of designated types of armaments to the custody of an international control organization;

(e) If these other ideas are acceptable I think we should follow up the not very successful Conference of Experts for the study of possible measures which might be helpful in preventing surprise attack and a further conference to consider the political as well as the technical aspects of this particular problem;

(f) There should be a study of the problems involved in the use of outer space. It is true that some work has been done on this in the United Nations, but the Soviet Union has not taken part in that work. I would hope that their attitude will change on that point and recent remarkable events make that hope not unreasonable;

(g) Finally, in this stage, we should study between us the nature and functions of the international control organ which will not only have to control disarmament measures, but also will have increasing responsibilities within the framework of the United Nations to preserve world peace as purely national armaments diminish. In 1954, the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission we did spend considerable time studying the problems of the control organization. The United States paper submitted on that occasion might provide a basis for this further study. We have also gained considerable experience as a result of the discussions at the nuclear tests conference in Geneva.

All this would be the beginning, the first stage.


Second stage

At the second stage, or intermediate stage, the following steps should be taken:

(a) There should be progressive reduction of conventional armaments and military manpower under proper control;

(b) There should be the introduction of the cut-off of production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

(c) We should begin to reduce stocks of nuclear weapons by successive transfers, under international supervision, of existing military stocks of fissionable material, whether fabricated into weapons or not, to non-weapons uses;

(d) There should be the establishment of a system of inspection against surprise attack;

(e) There should be agreement on a system to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes;

(f) We should begin to develop the capacity of the international control organ to take measures to keep the peace.

That would be the second or intermediate stage at which real progress was actually being made with real disarmament.

Third stage

The ultimate objective or the third stage should be comprehensive disarmament by all Powers under effective international control including the following matters:

(a) There should be a ban on the manufacture of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction;

(b) There should be a ban on the use of such weapons;

(c) There should be a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes;

(d) There should be a re-examination of the possibility of controlling and then eliminating the remaining stocks of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction;

(e) There should be the establishment of effective international control of military budgets;

(f) As progress is made in dealing with remaining stocks of nuclear weapons, there would be the final reductions of conventional armaments and military manpower to the levels required for internal security purposes only;

(g) The international control organ should reach its final form and attain its full capability for keeping peace.

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Suggestions of the French delegation (extract from the statement made by the representative of France at the 1030th meeting of the First Committee, on 22 October 1959)

[Original text: French]
[27 October 1959]

1. I should like to describe the three principles which we must bear in mind in our present studies, before making some remarks about the plans already proposed.

2. The first subject we must consider is that of the new technological situation. Since the interruption of the talks on disarmament in 1957, the speeding up of scientific progress has created new risks and made old dangers more acute. The rate at which devices with thermo-nuclear warheads are being hurled into the stratosphere is proving even more dangerous than

the former race in aircraft bombs. It is spreading the danger of almost universal destruction by monstrous robots travelling at thousands of miles an hour. The way is being opened to the tragic possibility of a total war unleashed by accident, by error or through a misunderstanding.

3. The number of projectiles travelling in the stratosphere is increasing so rapidly that it will soon be

5/ The official record of this meeting is published only in summary form.