

represent substantial concessions to the West. It embodied the Anglo-French proposals on the levels of the armed forces of the major powers; it also included the Anglo-French compromise on phasing; even on the question of control, the new proposals represented some advance on the previous Soviet position. On this vital issue, however, the Soviet paper remained vague and ambiguous. Moreover, the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. made it clear that Soviet concessions on disarmament were linked with the settlement of the political issues raised in their paper, which were not regarded by Western delegations as coming within the terms of reference of the sub-committee. In view of this, and bearing in mind the fact that some of these political issues would presumably be discussed during the four-power Conference which was to take place in Geneva, the sub-committee agreed on May 18 to adjourn further substantive discussions, and ultimately decided on June 1 to recess for an indefinite period.

During the Conference of the four powers (France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R.) held in Geneva from July 18 to 23, the heads of these governments discussed not only outstanding political issues but also disarmament. On July 21, President Eisenhower put forward his proposal for the early warning system against surprise attack by means of aerial photography and the exchange of military blueprints between the United States and the Soviet Union. For his part, the Prime Minister of France, M. Edgar Faure, tabled a disarmament programme based on the international control of military budgets and the transfer of savings resulting from disarmament to economic development. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Eden, suggested the establishment of a joint inspection system over limited, agreed areas. This "pilot scheme" would constitute a practical experiment, which, if successful, might be gradually extended to larger areas. The Soviet Prime Minister, Marshall Bulganin, repeated essentially the Soviet proposals of May 10. There was hardly any time for the four heads of governments to consider the various proposals in detail, and they agreed to instruct their representatives in the disarmament sub-committee to take account of the views and proposals advanced during the Conference. They also suggested that the sub-committee resume its work in New York on August 29.

In accordance with this suggestion, the sub-committee reconvened on that date at the United Nations headquarters, and held 18 meetings before it concluded its sessions on October 7, 1955. These meetings were devoted in the first place to an elaboration of the proposals presented in Geneva by the four heads of governments. The United States Delegation thus tabled an outline of President Eisenhower's plan for aerial surveys and exchange of military information, together with a memorandum concerning its implementation. The Delegations of the United Kingdom and France also explained in more detail what was involved in the plans which the heads of their governments had submitted during the Geneva discussions. In addition, the French Delegation tabled three papers on various aspects of international control, while the United Kingdom submitted a memorandum on the same subject. One of the main objects of the Western powers during the New York talks was to obtain an elucidation of the Soviet position on the question of control, which is universally recognized as the crux of the disarmament problem. As on so many occasions during nine years of disarmament negotiations, the Soviet Representative failed to clarify the position of his Government on this issue in spite of repeated questioning by Western representatives. Nor did he commit himself with regard to any of the Western proposals including the Eisenhower plan for aerial inspection. The Soviet position on this plan was explained by Mr. Bulganin in a personal letter to President Eisenhower and later by the