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**FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH**

FROM : AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.  
REF : Embtel 17, August 5, 1959.

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DESP. NO.  
August 6, 1959  
DATE

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SUBJECT: Irish Draft Resolution on Nuclear Club, Revision No. 2.

At the request of Mr. Frank AIKEN, Minister for External Affairs, the writer called at that Department at 2:30 p.m. on August 5, 1959. The main purpose of the interview was to present Revision No. 2, dated August 4, 1959, to his Provisional Draft Resolution on Control and Manufacture of Nuclear Weapons, which the Irish Delegation plans to submit to the United Nations General Assembly in September.

Revision No. 2, dated August 4, 1959, is quoted below:

"The General Assembly,

Recognizing the danger that an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons may occur, aggravating international tensions and the difficulty of maintaining world peace and thus rendering more difficult the attainment of general disarmament agreement,

Convinced, for this reason, of the urgent importance of achieving an international agreement whereby the powers at present producing nuclear weapons would refrain from handing over the control of such weapons to any nation not at present possessing them and whereby the powers not at present possessing such weapons would refrain from manufacturing them,

Requests the four member nations which participated in the Geneva Conference of Foreign Secretaries to consider the question, including the problems of inspection and control involved, with a view to achieving such an agreement and to report to the General Assembly.

Or

Requests the Disarmament Commission (or any machinery which may be set up to replace it) to consider the question including the problems of inspection and control involved, with a view to achieving such an agreement and to report to the next session of the General Assembly."

Handwritten notes and stamps on the left margin, including "Date 10/26/59" and "McLeod/REW/emr REPORTER".

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BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS  
AUG 10 1959

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SECRET  
(Classification)

Page 2 of  
Encl. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Desp. No. 44  
From Dublin

It will be noted that the first two paragraphs are identical with those in Revision No. 1, dated July 16, 1959, and that the amendments are made in the new alternative action paragraphs.

Most of the 45-minute discussion was on the subject of this "Nuclear Club" proposal. Mr. Aiken indicated that he had made a mistake in his previous draft in his reference to the nuclear discussions at Geneva in that France is not participating and that it has always been his intention that France should be the fourth and last member of his nuclear club. His emphasis on this point no doubt arises from the recent 2-day debate in the Dail, when he submitted the estimates for his Department wherein his nuclear club proposal was criticised mainly by his opponents because of his failure to include France in his original draft. In emphasizing this point, i.e. that he had always intended to include France, the writer should record that this is true, at least insofar as it concerns his private discussions with the writer, dating back to his return from the General Assembly in 1958.

Mr. Aiken went on to explain that he had long felt that it was necessary to get a kind of an Executive Committee in the UN apart from the Security Council, and he believed that the Foreign Secretaries of the four powers meeting at Geneva could evolve into such a vehicle if the General Assembly were to assign certain responsibilities to them. He indicated therefore that the revised language of his draft was in line with his thinking in general on this matter.

Mr. Aiken indicated considerable annoyance with some of the arguments which Mr. Ward, Counselor of Embassy, had presented to him, as instructed in the Department's telegram No. 4 of July 13. He was particularly annoyed by the statement that the Irish resolution would tend to place the United States on the same plane as the Soviets, pointing out that this could never be the Irish position, as evidenced by the speeches he had made in the UN denouncing the Soviet actions in Hungary, and his recent statement denouncing them with respect to Tibet. He further observed that the argument that it furnished the Soviets with useful propaganda opportunities was quite meaningless insofar as he could not discern that they needed any opportunities which we had not furnished them in profusion or which they could not contrive for themselves. He further observed that, in his opinion, there was no system of inspection and control that could be 100% perfect, and that we should be willing to accept a reasonable system in the knowledge that perfection was unattainable.

The writer made reference to the Department's position with respect to the nuclear club plan as stated in Deptel No. 58 of August 4, 1959 to USUN. Mr. Aiken stated that he had received this information from the Irish UN Delegation.

Mr. Aiken then made a general statement in which he expressed the urgency which attaches to the matter of obtaining agreement with respect to nuclear weapons. He is convinced that, when small powers, which do not have the responsibilities attaching to leadership of the large powers, obtain nuclear

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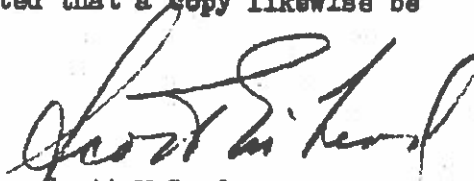
SECRET  
(Classification)

Page 3 of  
Encl. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Desp. No. 44  
From Dublin

weapons, they are bound to use them sooner or later, and thus touch off a general conflagration. He stated that he knows that the Swedish general staff is pressing the Swedish Government to proceed with such a weapon and he referred to a recent announcement from Japan indicating that the Japanese expect to have a satellite in orbit within five years as indicative of their potential capacity to produce such a weapon.

Mr. Aiken indicated that the United States position with respect to inspection and control was far too rigid to lead to agreement and was being used by both sides as an excuse for failing to achieve agreement. The writer took the occasion of this statement to remind Mr. Aiken that international agreements negotiated by the United States Government are subject to Senate approval, and stated categorically that it would be quite an unhappy circumstance if the Executive entered into an agreement which was not ratified. Mr. Aiken stated he was well aware of this condition and observed that the failure to ratify the Versailles Treaty had set back United States foreign policy at least two decades. He stated that, in spite of the obstacles, he felt that it was necessary to achieve a limited agreement on distribution of nuclear weapons. He based his arguments on (1) the obvious advantage to world peace if nuclear weapons are not possessed by more than four powers; (2) his conviction that the Russians would not only accept such an agreement but would observe it, since he believes it is in their interest to do so; (It is Mr. Aiken's view that the Soviets would welcome such an agreement and would abide by it, since it would provide them with an excuse for not furnishing nuclear weapons to China, East Germany, Poland and other satellites.) and (3) his conviction that it would be welcomed by the powers of Western Europe, which Mr. Aiken believes are still most fearful of the intentions of West Germany. It was on this note, and after small talk relating to the Dublin Horse Show, that the interview was concluded.

It was interesting to the writer to note that Mr. Aiken referred to an article by Howard SIMONS, appearing in a periodical entitled, Daedalus, Volume 88, No. 3, which he had on his desk and which he indicated led him to believe that he was supporting Secretary Dulles' views by offering his nuclear club proposal. The writer was unable to ascertain what statements in the article led him to this conclusion, but believes it would be useful if the Department could furnish a copy of this article to the Embassy in the event of any further discussions. It is suggested that a copy likewise be furnished to Ambassador Lodge.

  
Scott McLeod,  
Ambassador.

cc: USUN

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*Paul*

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