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Agenda items 17 and 66

- A. REGULATION, LIMITATION AND BALANCED REDUCTION OF ALL ARMED FORCES AND ALL ARMAMENTS. CONCLUSION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION (TREATY) ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC, HYDROGEN AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION: REPORT OF THE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION
- B. MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Carlos ECHEVERRI-CORTES (Colombia)

1. By resolution 808 A (IX) of 4 November 1954, the General Assembly (a) concluded that a further effort should be made to reach agreement on comprehensive and co-ordinated proposals to be embodied in a draft international disarmament convention; (b) requested the Disarmament Commission to seek an acceptable solution of the disarmament problem; (c) suggested that the Disarmament Commission should reconvene its Sub-Committee; and (d) requested the Disarmament Commission to report as soon as sufficient progress had been made.
2. At its 530th meeting on 30 September 1955, the General Assembly decided to include in the agenda of its tenth session the item "Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments. Conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction: report of the Disarmament Commission" and referred it to the First Committee for consideration and report.
3. On 23 September, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requested the inclusion in the agenda of the tenth session of an additional item entitled "Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and development of international co-operation", and forwarded a draft resolution on the item (A/2981). On 26 September, an explanatory memorandum (A/2981/Add.1) was distributed.

4. At its 532nd meeting on 3 October, the General Assembly decided to include in the agenda the item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and referred it to the First Committee for consideration and report.
5. On 22 September, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requested the distribution of the proposal which had been submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics delegation in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission on 10 May 1955 and the proposal which had been put forward by the President of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Conference of the Heads of Government of the four Powers on 21 July. They were circulated in document A/2979.
6. On 25 November, pursuant to resolution 808 A (IX), the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission addressed a letter (A/3047) to the Secretary-General stating that the Disarmament Commission had decided to take note of the second report of its Sub-Committee (DC/71) and to transmit it, together with the verbatim records of the 47th to 49th meetings of the Commission, to the General Assembly and requesting the Secretary-General to transmit the relevant records to the Assembly for consideration.
7. At its 797th meeting on 28 November, the First Committee decided that the report of the Disarmament Commission and the item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be considered concurrently.
8. The First Committee considered the two items at its 798th to 811th meetings held between 30 November and 12 December 1955.
9. At the 799th meeting, India submitted a draft resolution, revised at the 804th meeting (A/C.1/L.149/Rev.1), by which the General Assembly would: (1) request all the States concerned to initiate negotiations to effect suspension of experimental explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to report progress to the Disarmament Commission at an early date; (2) request the Disarmament Commission to submit proposals without delay for the establishment of an armaments truce pending and without prejudice to international agreement on disarmament and the preparation of a draft international disarmament convention as decided upon by the Assembly in its resolution 808 (IX) of 4 November 1954; and (3) decide, in view of the urgency and the grave importance of the problem of disarmament and in

particular of the recommendations made above, that the tenth session of the General Assembly should stand recessed, to be reconvened by the President as appropriate. At the 811th meeting, following the adoption of the revised four-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/775), referred to below, the representative of India requested that only operative paragraph 3 of the Indian proposal be put to the vote.

10. At the 801st meeting, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America submitted a joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.150) by which the General Assembly would, inter alia, (1) urge that the States concerned and particularly those on the Disarmament Sub-Committee (a) should continue to seek agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan; and (b) should give priority to (i) early implementation of such confidence-building measures as President Eisenhower's plan for exchanging military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection, and Marshal Bulganin's plan for establishing control posts at strategic centres; and (ii) early agreement on such measures of an adequately safeguarded disarmament plan as are now feasible; (2) suggest that account should also be taken of the proposals of the Prime Minister of France for exchanging and publishing information regarding military expenditures and budgets and of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for seeking practical experience in the problems of inspection and control; (3) recognize further that scientific search should be continued by each State, with appropriate consultation between Governments, for methods that could make possible thoroughly effective inspection and control of nuclear weapons material, thus facilitating agreements on general nuclear disarmament; (4) suggest that the Disarmament Commission reconvene its Sub-Committee and that they should both pursue their efforts to attain the above objectives; and (5) decide to transmit to the Disarmament Commission, for its information, the records of the meetings of the First Committee at which the disarmament problem was discussed, and express the hope that the Disarmament Commission and the Sub-Committee would give careful consideration to the views expressed in those documents.

11. At the 803rd meeting, at the request of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the draft resolution (A/2981) which it had submitted on 23 September, was circulated as a First Committee document (A/C.1/L.151). By that draft resolution the General Assembly would: (1) note with satisfaction the efforts

made by States, particularly of late, to relax international tension, to promote mutual confidence and to develop co-operation among nations, in particular the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the four Powers, the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries and the development of contacts between the political leaders of States; (2) call upon Governments to continue their efforts with a view to consolidating universal peace and security and to seek a further improvement of relations and the strengthening of confidence among States; (3) attach particular importance to the consideration of proposals by States designed to put an end to the armaments race and to settle outstanding international problems through negotiations; of the proposals of the Soviet Government of 10 May and 21 July 1955 on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war, the proposal of the United States of America on a general plan for the implementation of the disarmament proposals made by the President of the United States on 21 July 1955 at Geneva, and the proposals introduced at Geneva by the United Kingdom and by France, and pertinent proposals by other States; and (4) consider those and other possible proposals, regarding as its principal tasks the removal of the threat of a new war, the achievement of security and confidence in the future and the creation of conditions for a peaceful and tranquil life of peoples throughout the world.

12. At the 804th meeting, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.152) to the four-Power joint draft resolution by which, with respect to the preamble, inter alia, an additional paragraph would be inserted concerning efforts made to relax international tension and paragraphs referring to the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission would be replaced by others welcoming the agreement on objectives and the rapprochement on several important questions. With respect to the operative part of the joint draft resolution, the amendments would: (1) add to clause 1 (a) the phrase "in accordance with resolution 808 (IX) of 4 November 1954"; (2) reword clause 1 (b) (i) so that priority would be given to the proposals of the Soviet Government of 10 May and 21 July 1955 on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war; to President Eisenhower's plan for exchanging military blue-prints and mutual aerial inspection; and to the proposals of the Prime Ministers of France and of the United Kingdom and relevant proposals of other States; (3) delete operative

paragraph 2 concerning the French and United Kingdom proposals; and (4) reword paragraph 5 so that the General Assembly would recognize that the study of methods of control of the execution by States of their disarmament obligations, to be carried out in the various countries at the present time, should have as its aim to facilitate the solution of the problem of disarmament.

13. At the 805th meeting, India submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.153) to the four-Power joint draft resolution to insert in the preamble the conclusions contained in paragraph 1 of resolution 808 (IX) and a provision taking note of the absence of agreement on other essentials than control which were set out in that resolution. With respect to the operative part of the joint draft resolution, the amendments would: (1) modify paragraph 1 so that the General Assembly would urge that the States concerned and particularly those on the Disarmament Sub-Committee (a) should continue their endeavours to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan as set out in resolution 808 (IX); and (b) should, as an initial step, give urgent and equal priority to: (i) early agreement on such confidence-building measures as President Eisenhower's plan for exchanging military blue-prints and mutual aerial inspection and Marshal Bulganin's plan for establishing control posts at strategic centres and their implementation; and (ii) early agreement on and implementation of all adequately safeguarded steps in a comprehensive disarmament plan as are now feasible; (2) in paragraph 3, substitute "full nuclear disarmament" for "general nuclear disarmament"; (3) add a new paragraph 4, deciding to reconstitute and enlarge the Disarmament Commission by adding States, to be designated later, to its membership for the year 1956 and requesting the Disarmament Commission to expand its Sub-Committee as appropriate; (4) add a new paragraph 6, deciding that the Disarmament Commission should undertake without delay the drafting of an international disarmament convention and circulate it to all States for their comments and report to the General Assembly; and (5) modify the latter part of paragraph 5 (now paragraph 7) so as to request the Disarmament Commission to give careful and early consideration to the views expressed in the documents forwarded to it.

14. At the 808th meeting, Costa Rica and Pakistan, joined at the 809th meeting by Mexico, submitted an amendment (A/C.1/L.154/Rev.1) to the four-Power joint draft resolution by which the General Assembly would call upon the States concerned and especially those on the Disarmament Sub-Committee to study the proposal of

the Prime Minister of France for the allocation of funds resulting from disarmament for improving the standards of living throughout the world and, in particular, in the less-developed countries. At the 809th meeting, the United Kingdom representative announced the acceptance of the amendment by the sponsors of the four-Power draft resolution.

15. At the 809th meeting, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America submitted a revision (A/C.1/L.150/Rev.1) of their joint draft resolution, which incorporated several of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Indian amendments. In addition to making a number of changes in the preamble, the revision amended the operative part of the earlier text in the following respects: (1) in sub-paragraph 1 (a) it would state that agreement should be sought on a comprehensive disarmament plan in accordance with the goals set out in resolution 808 (IX); (2) in sub-paragraph 7 (b) it would be provided that priority should be given to early agreement on and implementation of both confidence-building measures and such measures of disarmament as were feasible; (3) the proposals of India regarding the suspension of experimental explosions of nuclear weapons and an armaments truce would be added to those specified in paragraph 2 as proposals to be taken into account; (4) paragraph 3 would be reworded so that the scientific search for control methods recommended would have as its aim to facilitate the solution of the problem of comprehensive disarmament; and (5) in the final paragraph the General Assembly would request the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee to give early and careful consideration to the views expressed in the documents transmitted to it.

16. At the 810th meeting, India submitted revised amendments (A/C.1/L.153/Rev.1) to the revised four-Power joint draft resolution. In addition to providing in the preamble for the reaffirmation of the first operative paragraph of resolution 808 (IX), the revised amendments would, in the operative part: (1) change the wording of sub-paragraph 1 (a) so that the States concerned should continue "their endeavours to reach" agreement; (2) change the wording of sub-paragraph 1(b) so that the States concerned would "as initial steps" give "equal" priority to agreement on and implementation of confidence-building measures and such measures of disarmament as are feasible; (3) reword sub-paragraph 1(b)(ii) to read "all such measures of adequately safeguarded

disarmament as are now feasible as initial steps"; and (4) retain the original Indian amendments noted under (3) and (4) of paragraph 13 above concerning the reconstitution and enlargement of the Disarmament Commission and the drafting of an international disarmament convention. Following the submission of the second revision of the four-Power joint draft resolution referred to below, India withdrew its amendments to the preamble and those noted under (1), (2) and (3) above.

17. Also at the 810th meeting, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America submitted a second revision (A/C.1/L.150/Rev.2) of their joint draft resolution accepting the Indian amendment concerning the inclusion in the preamble of the conclusions contained in paragraph 1 of resolution 808 (IX) (see paragraph 16 above). With respect to the operative part, the sponsors of the revised joint draft resolution: (1) accepted the change in wording in sub-paragraph 1(a) proposed by India (see paragraph 16(1) above); (2) accepted part of the Indian amendment (see paragraph 16(2) above) so that sub-paragraph 1(b) would read "should as initial steps give priority..."; (3) accepted part of the Indian amendment (see paragraph 16(3) above) so that sub-paragraph 1(b)(ii) would read "all such measures of adequately safeguarded disarmament as are now feasible"; and (4) accepted the amendment proposed by Costa Rica, Mexico and Pakistan (see paragraph 14 above).

18. Also at the 810th meeting, Syria submitted a sub-amendment (A/C.1/L.156) to the revised Indian amendments (A/C.1/L.153/Rev.1) to the revised four-Power joint draft resolution so that the amendment concerning the reconstitution and enlargement of the Disarmament Commission would specify that this should be done by adding to its membership for the year 1956 the representatives of seven countries, namely, Argentina, Egypt, India, the Philippines, Poland, Sweden and Yugoslavia, and request the Disarmament Commission to expand its Sub-Committee as appropriate.

19. Also, at the 810th meeting, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted revised amendments (A/C.1/L.152/Rev.1) to the second revision of the four-Power joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.150/Rev.2). The revised amendments retained of the original amendments those relating to the preambular paragraphs welcoming the agreement on objectives in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission and the rapprochement on several important questions and those noted under (2) and (4) of paragraph 12 above.

20. At the 811th meeting, the First Committee proceeded to vote on the draft resolutions and amendments before it. The results of the voting were as follows:

(a) A United Kingdom motion that priority should be given in the voting to the revised four-Power joint draft resolution was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

(b) The revised four-Power joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.150/Rev.2), together with the amendments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.1/L.152/Rev.1), India (A.C.1/L.153/Rev.1) and Syria (A/C.1/L.156) were voted upon in the following order:

Preamble:

The first paragraph of the preamble of the four-Power joint draft resolution was adopted by 55 votes to none, with one abstention.

The second, third and fourth paragraphs were adopted by 55 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The first Union of Soviet Socialist Republics amendment to the preamble was rejected by 30 votes to 5, with 20 abstentions.

The second Union of Soviet Socialist Republics amendment to the preamble was rejected by 36 votes to 11, with 9 abstentions.

The fifth paragraph was adopted by 53 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The sixth and seventh paragraphs were adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

The eighth paragraph was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Operative part:

Paragraph 1 of the operative part, down to the end of sub-paragraph (a), was adopted by 57 votes to none, with one abstention.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics amendment to sub-paragraph 1 (b) (i) was rejected by 39 votes to 6, with 12 abstentions.

Sub-paragraph 1 (b), down to the words "implementation of", was adopted by 49 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions.

Sub-paragraph 1 (b) (i) was adopted by 53 votes to 5, with no abstentions.

Sub-paragraph 1 (b) (ii) was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

Paragraph 2, down to the words "inspection and control, and" was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The remainder of paragraph 2 was adopted by 57 votes to none, with one abstention.

Paragraph 2 as a whole was adopted by 53 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 55 votes to none, with one abstention.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics amendment to paragraph 4 was rejected by 36 votes to 9, with 12 abstentions.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

The Syrian sub-amendment to the Indian amendment regarding the reconstitution and enlargement of the Disarmament Commission was rejected by 28 votes to 14, with 13 abstentions.

The Indian amendment was rejected by 30 votes to 15, with 11 abstentions.

Paragraph 5 was adopted by 53 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The Indian amendment to add a new paragraph 6 was rejected by 33 votes to 15, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 6 was adopted unanimously.

The revised four-Power joint draft resolution, as a whole, was adopted by 53 votes to 5, with no abstentions.

(c) The revised Indian draft resolution (A/C.1/L.149/Rev.1), less paragraphs 1 and 2, which were not put to the vote at the request of the sponsor, was rejected by 36 votes to 15, with 6 abstentions.

(d) A United Kingdom motion that no vote should be taken on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic draft resolution (A/C.1/L.151) bearing on agenda item 66 was adopted by 40 votes to 11, with 6 abstentions.

21. The First Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

REGULATION, LIMITATION AND BALANCED REDUCTION OF ALL ARMED
FORCES AND ALL ARMAMENTS. CONCLUSION OF AN INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION (TREATY) ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE
PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC, HYDROGEN AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION: REPORT OF THE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 808 (IX) of 4 November 1954, which established the conclusion "that a further effort should be made to reach agreement on comprehensive and co-ordinated proposals to be embodied in a draft international disarmament convention providing for:

- "(a) The regulation, limitation and major reduction of all armed forces and all conventional armaments;
- "(b) The total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction of every type, together with the conversion of existing stocks of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes;
- "(c) The establishment of effective international control, through a control organ with rights, powers and functions adequate to guarantee the effective observance of the agreed reductions of all armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only;"

and further

"The whole programme to be such that no State would have cause to fear its security was endangered;"

Expressing the hope that efforts to relax international tensions, to promote mutual confidence and to develop co-operation among States, such as the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Governments, the Bandung Conference and the Tenth Anniversary Commemorative meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco, will prove effective in promoting world peace,

Desirous of contributing to the lowering of international tensions, the strengthening of confidence between States, the removal of the threat of war and the reduction of the burden of armaments,

Convinced therefore of the need to continue to seek agreement on a comprehensive programme for disarmament which will promote international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources,

Welcoming the progress which has been made towards agreement on objectives during the meetings in 1955 of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission,

Noting that agreement has not yet been reached on the rights, powers and functions of a control system, which is the keystone of any disarmament agreement, nor on other essential matters set out in resolution 808 (IX),

Noting also that special technical difficulties have arisen in regard to the detection and control of nuclear weapons material,

Recognizing further that inspection and control of disarmament can best be achieved in an atmosphere which is free of fear and suspicion,

1. Urges that the States concerned and particularly those on the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission:

(a) Should continue their endeavours to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan in accordance with the goals set out in General Assembly resolution 808 (IX) of 4 November 1955;

(b) Should, as initial steps, give priority to early agreement on and implementation of:

(i) Such confidence-building measures as President Eisenhower's plan for exchanging military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection, and Marshal Bulganin's plan for establishing control posts at strategic centres;

(ii) All such measures of adequately safeguarded disarmament as are now feasible;

2. Suggests that account should also be taken of the proposals of the Prime Minister of France for exchanging and publishing information regarding military expenditures and budgets, of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for seeking practical experience in the problems of inspection and control, and of the Government of India regarding the suspension of experimental explosions of nuclear weapons and an "armaments truce";

3. Calls upon the States concerned, and especially those on the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, to study the proposal of the Prime Minister of France for the allocation of funds resulting from disarmament for improving the standards of living throughout the world and, in particular, in the less-developed countries;

4. Recommends further that scientific search should be continued by each State, with appropriate consultation between Governments, for methods that would make possible thoroughly effective inspection and control of nuclear weapons material, having as its aim to facilitate the solution of the problem of comprehensive disarmament;

5. Suggests that the Disarmament Commission reconvene its Sub-Committee and that they should both pursue their efforts to attain the above objectives;

6. Decides to transmit to the Disarmament Commission, for its information, the records of the meetings of the First Committee at which the disarmament problem was discussed, and requests the Disarmament Commission and the Sub-Committee to give careful and early consideration to the views expressed in those documents.
