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*Chairman: Mr. C. W. A. SCHURMANN
(Netherlands).*

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Csatorday
(Hungary), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of general and complete disarmament: report
of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee
on Disarmament (A/5408-DC/207, A/5488-DC/208,
A/C.1/891 and Corr.1, A/C.1/L.328) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued) AND CONSIDERATION
OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.1/L.328

1. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria) said that draft resolution
A/C.1/L.328, which he wished formally to submit,
could not be considered radical in its terms. The
sponsors—represented a wide consensus of opinion
throughout the membership of the United Nations.

2. He briefly outlined the principal features of the
draft resolution. Reference was made in the second
preambular paragraph to the importance of disarmament
as the surest safeguard for world peace and the
nations' security. Since some people seemed to think
that the work of the United Nations for peace was
aimed only at helping the smaller nations, he emphasized
that what was meant was the security of all
nations, great and small; the sponsors of the draft
resolution were convinced that the destiny of the whole
world depended on United Nations action with regard
to general and complete disarmament and the maintenance
of international peace and security.

3. In paragraph 1 of section I of the operative part,
the reference to the joint statement of agreed principles
for disarmament negotiations^{1/} was not intended
to restrict the Eighteen-Nation Committee's discussions
but simply to provide a convenient point of departure
for further progress.

4. In connexion with the appeal made in paragraph 2
of section II for the continuation of efforts to seek
agreement on measures aiming at reducing the risk
of war by accident or surprise attack and on measures
intended to prevent the proliferation of nuclear

weapons, he recalled statements made in the General
Assembly by representatives of the three major
nuclear Powers. While those statements reflected
areas of disagreement, there was also a large measure
of agreement among them, indicating that some
progress had already been made.

5. While there had been much talk at the current
session of the General Assembly about the "spirit of
Moscow", the essential need was not for lip service
to that spirit but for every State to conduct itself in
keeping with it. The sponsors of the draft resolution
appealed to all members of the Committee to give it
their support.

6. Dato' ONG (Malaysia) said that until general and
complete disarmament was achieved the peace and
security of the world must necessarily be maintained
by the balance of power. Consequently, as was provided
in the joint statement of agreed principles for
disarmament negotiations, all disarmament measures
must be balanced so that no State or group of States
gained military advantage at any stage. In his delegation's
view, there must be an effective international system
of control. It was also essential that nuclear
disarmament should be carried out in conjunction with
conventional disarmament, lest any country should
gain an advantage through the possession of conventional
weapons. To small countries like his own, the danger
of aggression with conventional weapons was perhaps
more real than that of nuclear attack. As the representative
of India had pointed out (1321st meeting), the destruction
of nuclear weapons without a simultaneous reduction
in conventional forces would leave the People's Republic
of China the mightiest military Power on earth; it should
be noted that the Peking régime's aggressive policies
were already causing serious concern to the countries of Asia.

7. Although the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation
Committee on Disarmament had not reached agreement
on any actual disarmament measures, its deliberations
had done much to bring about a better understanding
of the problems involved and to narrow the differences
between the two sides. It was, for example, significant
that the Soviet Union was now prepared to agree to the
retention of a certain number of missiles and nuclear
weapons by the nuclear Powers on their own territory
until the end of the third and final stage of disarmament.
He was encouraged by the United States representative's
statement (1320th meeting) that the new Soviet proposal
indicated a further move towards realism in the Soviet
approach and would be given careful consideration
by the United States Government. With regard to the
question of control, he saw much merit in the United
States view that inspection should apply to both
destroyed and retained arms, although the Soviet Union
felt that the inspection of retained weapons would
amount to legalized espionage. He hoped that thanks
to the present relaxation of international tension it

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session,
Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

would be possible for that and other problems of disarmament to be discussed more realistically and in a spirit of accommodation.

8. The conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963, while not in itself a disarmament measure, was an important first step in the direction of disarmament. His delegation welcomed the First Committee's recent adoption of a draft resolution^{2/} calling upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to continue urgently its negotiations to bring about an agreement banning all nuclear weapon tests for all time.

9. The conclusion of the partial test ban treaty showed the wisdom of the Eighteen-Nation Committee's decision to deal separately with actual disarmament measures and collateral measures aimed at lessening international tension and facilitating disarmament. That approach had paved the way not only for the conclusion of the treaty but also for the establishment of a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1884 (XVIII) based on a Soviet-United States pledge to refrain from placing weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

10. Another useful collateral measure was the establishment of denuclearized zones. In its resolution 1652 (XVI) the General Assembly had already called upon Member States to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a denuclearized zone; and an item on the denuclearization of Latin America was now before the First Committee (agenda item 74). The question of establishing a given denuclearized zone must be considered in the light of the circumstances prevailing in the area concerned and with due regard to the principle of maintaining the existing balance of power. The initiative for denuclearization must come from the countries of the area, and the latter's status as a denuclearized zone must be strictly observed by those countries, by neighbouring countries and by the nuclear Powers. Furthermore, denuclearization should not be embodied in a mere declaration but in a formal treaty containing provision for verification. He hoped that the Eighteen-Nation Committee would consider the problem of defining broad criteria for the establishment of denuclearized zones.

11. Another question calling for urgent consideration by the Eighteen-Nation Committee was that of measures to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. He wished to pay tribute to the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee—to the major Powers for their sense of realism and accommodation, and to the non-aligned members for the invaluable contribution they had made to the recent agreements. He hoped that in the prevailing favourable atmosphere further progress would prove possible.

12. He urged the First Committee to support draft resolution A/C.1/L.328, of which his delegation was a sponsor.

13. Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana) said that despite the lessons of two world wars, the world was still nowhere near general and complete disarmament, and the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament held out no hope for a

solution. Nevertheless, his delegation wished to express its sympathy with and support for the negotiators and its appreciation of the tremendous difficulties with which they had to contend in considering the complex issues involved.

14. Although the Eighteen-Nation Committee had made little headway in dealing with the problem of general and complete disarmament—the first of its three main objectives—the two sides, with the help of the representatives of the non-aligned countries, were gradually moving towards agreement on some of the major points of difference. The concession made by the Soviet Union in agreeing to the retention of a certain number of missiles until the end of the third stage of disarmament was a welcome development which should be carefully and dispassionately studied at Geneva. Both parties were in fundamental agreement on the need for the reduction in stages of conventional armaments and means of delivery of strategic weapons; their differences related only to details of timing and levels of reduction. On the question of verification there had been some progress, the Soviet Union now accepting the principle of verification of remaining delivery vehicles from the beginning of the second stage. The United States had displayed flexibility in its proposals regarding the transfer of fissionable materials to peaceful uses. Those examples showed that with patient negotiation there was hope of achieving agreement in at least some areas; total disarmament, however, was a very long-term objective.

15. In the meantime, areas in which there had been some measure of success should be further explored. The Eighteen-Nation Committee should do its utmost to round off the partial nuclear test ban treaty by negotiating a comprehensive treaty covering underground testing, in respect of which agreement on controls and inspection was the main stumbling-block; without such a treaty, the current mood of qualified optimism could prove short-lived. The technical aspects of the problem might be tackled by setting up scientific sub-committees; the Eighteen-Nation Committee should give serious thought to the Swedish proposal for the creation of an international scientific commission.

16. The effectiveness of collateral measures as a means of improving the international climate preparatory to general disarmament had been borne out by the easing of tension which had followed the signing of the partial test ban treaty, the establishment of a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow and the General Assembly's adoption of a resolution calling for the barring of weapons of mass destruction from outer space (resolution 1884 (XVIII)). There was general agreement on the need to reduce the risk of war by surprise attack or by accident. While his delegation would welcome any measure which might help to reduce tension, such measures should not be allowed to deflect endeavour from the major objective of general and complete disarmament.

17. The qualified approval of the idea of denuclearized zones expressed by the United States, United Kingdom and USSR representatives was a source of gratification. The Ghanaian delegation appreciated that the effective denuclearization of an area required the observance of certain conditions by States within the area and, in particular, by the nuclear Powers, but it saw no reason why the opposition of a number of States should prevent the denuclearization of a

^{2/} Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1910 (XVIII).

region if such a step was in the interests of its population. The African States had a vital interest in the matter, which had been reaffirmed by the African Heads of State at the Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in May 1963; and the General Assembly had already adopted a resolution on the subject (resolution 1652 (XVI)). Africa could be denuclearized if foreign military bases were eliminated from the continent and the testing of nuclear weapons stopped. His delegation would therefore continue to support the idea of nuclear-free zones, and hoped that the Eighteen-Nation Committee would formulate proposals with a view to the conclusion of a universal convention on the denuclearization of certain areas as a step towards total disarmament. His delegation would be guided by those considerations when the Committee discussed the question of the denuclearization of Latin America.

18. The question convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons should also be referred to the Eighteen-Nation Committee, which should be requested to draw up a plan for consideration by the General Assembly.

19. But even a disarmed world would not be devoid of friction. Every effort must therefore be made to strengthen the United Nations, which alone could provide the necessary stabilizing influence.

20. Although prospects for early agreement at Geneva were not bright, recent events had proved that excellent results could be achieved if only mutual fear and mistrust were put aside. In that respect, the leaders of the world—particularly the great Powers—bore a heavy responsibility, for their position and influence were crucial, as had been demonstrated in the exchange of letters which had led to the conclusion of the Moscow treaty. The proposal to hold a conference of the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at the highest level therefore deserved consideration; however, the correct timing of such a meeting was most important.

21. His delegation was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.328, which called for the early resumption of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee. In that connexion, it appealed to France to abandon its present attitude and participate in the negotiations; by doing so, it would earn the gratitude of all peace-loving peoples. He urged all concerned to avoid any actions or statements that might have adverse effects on the Geneva negotiations, and expressed the hope that the negotiating Powers would succeed in creating a new and more favourable international atmosphere in which it would be possible to build the world without war, founded on mutual confidence and trust among the nations, described by Mr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana, in an address to the Ghana National Assembly on 15 October 1963.

22. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) said that the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty, the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington and the denuclearization of outer space had produced a more favourable atmosphere for disarmament negotiations. Now that the destructive force of modern weapons had destroyed the serviceability of war as an instrument of national policy, moreover, disarmament was becoming less an academic problem and more an attainable goal.

23. There had been no basic change in the approaches of the two greatest nuclear Powers to the problem of

general and complete disarmament: generally speaking, the United States still favoured detailed inspection before appreciable disarmament, while the Soviet Union favoured complete disarmament before significant inspection. Nevertheless, the fact that the idea of a percentage cut in conventional armaments had been accepted and—more important—the Soviet Union's agreement to the retention of some nuclear weapons until the end of the disarmament process represented some progress and might make it possible to undertake the actual dismantling of a limited quantity of weapons, an action which could have a certain psychological impact. The suggestions made by the representative of Sweden (1321st meeting) with regard to the future pattern of work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee were of particular interest to his delegation.

24. A point which should be borne in mind by the Eighteen-Nation Committee was that any scheme of balanced disarmament must be applied to every major military Power—a matter which had already been commented on by the Indian representative (1321st meeting) in connexion with the position of the People's Republic of China. The proposal for a conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at the highest level should be decided on by that Committee; his delegation believed, however, that no such conference could be successful unless the ground was first carefully prepared.

25. Some attention had been given at the current session to the need for establishing an international police force. Iran had long favoured the creation of such a force, as provided in the Charter of the United Nations. Many Member States had in the past placed men and materials at the disposal of the United Nations to carry out a particular mandate; what was required was to institutionalize a process which was now taking place on an *ad hoc* basis.

26. His delegation believed that the conversion of the partial test ban treaty into a more comprehensive treaty should be given high priority in the Eighteen-Nation Committee's deliberations. In addition, it was to be hoped that the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington would be followed by further measures to counteract the risk of war by accident or surprise attack.

27. Lastly, in accordance with the thesis that disarmament should follow, and not precede, the settlement of international disputes, he welcomed the fact that the Eighteen-Nation Committee was to examine measures which might lead to the amelioration of international relations; in particular, he suggested that ways and means should be studied to encourage the submission of legal disputes to the International Court of Justice.

28. Mr. KURAL (Turkey) said that the signing of a partial test ban treaty was a first step towards disarmament. He wished to pay tribute to the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union for the spirit of conciliation they had demonstrated and to the Eighteen-Nation Committee and the United Nations for what they had done to lay the groundwork for the treaty. His delegation also welcomed the establishment of a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow, the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1884 (XVIII) calling upon all States to refrain from placing weapons of mass destruction in outer space, and the recommendation just adopted by the Committee concerning the complete cessation of

nuclear tests.^{3/} Collateral measures of that kind helped to create an atmosphere of understanding in which more substantial progress towards disarmament could be achieved.

29. It was apparent from the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that while the opposing positions on disarmament had drawn closer together in some respects, there were still substantial differences on major aspects of the problem. In the view of his delegation, disarmament must embrace both nuclear and conventional weapons, must proceed in a balanced manner so that no State or group of States gained military advantage at any stage, and must be subject to effective international control; he hoped it would be possible to agree on means of controlling not only destroyed weapons but also, in particular, retained weapons, which would be a potential source of danger. It was also desirable that disarmament should be accompanied by the establishment of an international peace force, since disputes and conflicts could arise even in a disarmed world.

30. With regard to the question of establishing denuclearized zones, it was his delegation's view that each case should be considered separately. It was for the countries of a given region to decide whether it should be denuclearized, since their right of self-defence was at stake; only after they reached unanimous agreement on the matter should the United Nations take action to confirm the arrangement. The problem of denuclearized zones differed from one region to another. It might be relatively easy to denuclearize isolated areas comprising countries which had no nuclear weapons and were not members of a defensive alliance. However, the denuclearization of countries belonging to such alliances would upset the existing balance of power and threaten the security of the countries concerned. In such cases, the solution lay in general and complete disarmament. It was in the hope of seeing more rapid progress towards that end that his delegation had joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/L.328.

31. Mr. EL-AHDAB (Lebanon) said that although Lebanon, as a small country, could carry little weight

^{3/} Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1910 (XVIII).

in a problem of such magnitude as that of disarmament, it was a Member of the United Nations and one of the great majority of small nations, and as such had its part to play in helping to bring to bear the moral force so ably described by the representative of Greece.

32. World opinion, including public opinion in the major Powers themselves, was feeling increasing alarm at the threat of nuclear warfare, and found it hard to understand how mere ideological or political differences could be allowed to prevent peaceful co-existence in the face of so terrible an alternative. Fortunately, prospects for disarmament were better than in the past, thanks to the relatively calm atmosphere attendant on the recent relaxation of international tension.

33. The report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (A/5488-DC/208) referred to the talks which had taken place between the major nuclear Powers. They had proved more fruitful than their forerunners, for they had led inter alia to the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty. His delegation hoped that the Eighteen-Nation Committee would be successful in extending the treaty to cover underground tests, the continuance of which might lead to an increase in the number of nuclear Powers through the development of methods enabling nuclear weapons to be produced at low cost.

34. Agreement had also been reached on the establishment of a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow and on the barring of weapons of mass destruction from outer space. His delegation welcomed those results, small though they were, but regretted that little progress had been made in the fundamental field of general and complete disarmament despite the laudable attempts made by the major Powers to harmonize their proposals. In fact, the situation seemed to have deteriorated somewhat since the conciliatory statements made by the heads of delegations and leading statesmen of the major Powers at the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly. His delegation therefore hoped that draft resolution A/C.1/L.328, of which it was a sponsor, would be unanimously adopted, and appealed to the Eighteen-Nation Committee to pursue its endeavours with energy and determination.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.