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

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/Rev.1) (concluded)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.1/L.328/REV.1 (concluded)

1. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria) recalled that he had asked the Committee to adjourn its debate on the original draft resolution (A/C.1/L.328) so that the sponsors could confer on a series of amendments which the USSR had intended to submit. The sponsors had invited the Soviet delegation to confer with them and had received an explanation of the Soviet objections, after which they had also met with the United States and other delegations; as a result, they had been able to work out a compromise which was embodied in the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.328/Rev.1).

2. The revised draft omitted the seventh preambular paragraph of the original draft, since the Soviet Union had considered that it was unnecessary and not couched in objective terms. Section II of the operative part combined the first two paragraphs of section II of the original draft; it no longer mentioned certain collateral measures, since the Soviet Union had felt that it was improper to specify the measures proposed by certain countries while making no mention of those proposed by others. The sponsors of the draft resolution had not intended to present a comprehensive list of collateral measures but only those which they had felt—wrongly, it appeared—would command unanimous support in the Committee. Rather than make an unwieldy comprehensive listing of every conceivable measure, they had therefore regretfully agreed to make only a general reference to the matter.

3. The third Soviet amendment had been to delete the reference in section I, paragraph 1, to the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations, inasmuch as a resolution endorsing the joint

statement was already mentioned in the preamble and a reference in the operative part would, in the Soviet delegation's view, have limited the Eighteen-Nation Committee's flexibility in continuing its deliberations. The sponsors of the draft resolution had been unable to accept that argument; they had felt that the joint statement represented a major advance in negotiations on general and complete disarmament and that to omit any mention of it in the operative part would give the false impression that ground had been lost. He was glad to say that after further consideration the Soviet Union had agreed not to press the point and that the United States, although it had been prepared to support the original draft resolution, had indicated that it was also willing to vote for the revised version.

4. The revised draft resolution was the product of concessions by all concerned, and while it did not represent exactly what any one delegation would have preferred, it showed what could be accomplished with a spirit of compromise and would thus command the votes of a vast majority of the Committee's members. It would unquestionably provide better guidance for the Eighteen-Nation Committee than would a resolution adopted by a smaller majority.

5. The CHAIRMAN suggested that since the last two operative paragraphs of the revised draft resolution related to both section I and section II, they should appear as a separate section III.

It was so decided. 1/

6. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan), speaking on a point of order, said that his delegation had been among the sponsors of the original draft resolution, but had not taken part in the discussions which had resulted in the revised text because it had not been informed of them. He therefore requested the deletion of his country from the list of sponsors of the revised draft resolution; 1/ that decision had nothing to do with the substance of the question or the wording of the revised draft.

7. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) expressed satisfaction that thanks to the cooperation of the sponsors and, in particular, the efforts of the Nigerian representative, it had been possible to agree on a mutually acceptable text of the draft resolution. Coming after the draft resolutions already adopted by the First Committee at the current session of the General Assembly, that agreement showed realism and augured well for the future.

8. His delegation would vote for the revised draft resolution, although it regretted that it did not give the Eighteen-Nation Committee specific instructions for dealing with the substance of disarmament prob-

1/ The members of the Committee had before them document A/C.1/L.328/Rev.1 as reproduced in a provisional form for distribution in the meeting. The change referred to was incorporated in the final mimeographed document.

lems. There was little likelihood that such a resolution would end the two-year deadlock caused by the Western Powers' refusal to permit the Eighteen-Nation Committee to take any decision that could lead to effective disarmament. The accumulation of armaments and the concentration of weapons and armed forces, particularly in central Europe, were making the problem more complex with each passing year. Despite the improved international atmosphere resulting from the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1884 (XVIII), it was still planned to create a so-called multilateral NATO nuclear force in which the Federal Republic of Germany would unquestionably play a substantial role. There was no need to recall, by contrast, the efforts which the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and most of the non-aligned States had made on behalf of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union had submitted a programme for general and complete disarmament as early as 1959;^{2/} the support which that step had won throughout the world was reflected in General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV). If the Western Powers had been equally sincere in desiring agreement on disarmament, a treaty could long since have been concluded. The Soviet Union, for its part, would continue to make every effort to bring about a solution to the gravest problem now facing the world. In particular, it would do everything possible in the Eighteen-Nation Committee to ensure that the latter's work produced results which could lead to early agreement on concrete disarmament measures. The Soviet Union needed peace and security in order to finish building its new socialist civilization. It hoped that the Governments of other countries would also make a contribution to the noble cause of disarmament.

9. Mr. BUDO (Albania) said his delegation had stressed how urgent it was that the General Assembly should assume its responsibilities with regard to disarmament and should take specific, vigorous action to enable the Eighteen-Nation Committee to complete its work successfully. As it stood, the revised draft resolution was lacking in precision and did not provide an accurate picture of the Eighteen-Nation Committee's work, i.e. it failed to indicate that no progress had been made.

10. His delegation had already stated its position on the partial test ban treaty and on the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington; it did not regard those as disarmament measures, but as quite the reverse. It would therefore be prepared to vote for the revised draft resolution if the following two amendments were made: first, the deletion, in the seventh preambular paragraph, of the words "that agreement has been reached on a partial test ban treaty and on the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington, and", and second, the deletion of the eighth preambular paragraph.

11. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria), speaking as a sponsor of the revised draft resolution, said he was confident that Albania's proposal was prompted by a desire to find an effective solution to the problem of general and complete disarmament. He wished to point out, however, that the sponsors had made every effort to work out a text which represented a step forward.

While he appreciated the fact that the Albanian delegation might not be able to share all the sponsors' views, he appealed to it to withdraw its amendments so that something could be done, in however small a way, to help the Eighteen-Nation Committee to continue its efforts under the best possible conditions.

12. Mr. BUDO (Albania) said he wished to state again that since the partial test ban treaty did not serve the cause of disarmament but, on the contrary, had the effect of legalizing the race to perfect nuclear weapons and of increasing the stockpiles of those weapons, it was contrary to the interests of peace and of the defence of States threatened by imperialism. Since, however, his delegation wished to respond to Algeria's appeal, it was prepared to withdraw its amendments; but it would be unable to support the revised draft resolution or to take part in the vote.

13. Mr. LYNCH-SHYLLON (Sierra Leone) expressed his gratification at the atmosphere of optimism in which the work of the First Committee was being conducted. He wished to pay tribute to the Eighteen-Nation Committee, and especially to its non-aligned members. His delegation was pleased to announce that it had joined the sponsors of the revised draft resolution.

14. Sierra Leone was deeply interested in the achievement of general and complete disarmament, for it was convinced that the arms race was having adverse effects on the development plans of the developing countries. It was easy to imagine the enormous benefits that would ensue if even the smallest fraction of the huge sums of money being squandered on the arms race was invested in economic and social progress. His delegation consequently welcomed the signing of the partial test ban treaty, which notwithstanding its limitations represented a step in the right direction. It hoped that the Eighteen-Nation Committee would pursue its search for ways and means of achieving the common goal—on which all countries, including the nuclear Powers, seemed to be in agreement—and its study of collateral disarmament measures aimed at reducing the risk of war by accident, miscalculation or surprise attack. It also entertained the hope that the Eastern and Western Powers would adopt new measures designed to promote better understanding and increased confidence among their peoples, and that the nations would allow the free dissemination of objective information from abroad, and the exchange of students and scientists specializing in nuclear and space research, all of which would help to pave the way to general and complete disarmament. He trusted that the nuclear Powers would continue to shoulder their responsibilities as leading Powers so that general and complete disarmament might be speedily achieved and the advances of science utilized for peace and for the benefit of mankind. In that spirit, he fervently hoped that the revised draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

15. Mr. ALLIMADI (Uganda) expressed the hope that the revised draft resolution, of which Uganda was a sponsor, would be adopted unanimously, for its implementation would pave the way for the achievement of general and complete disarmament. If the provisions of Articles 26 and 47 of the United Nations Charter had been strictly applied, there would have been no need for the measures contemplated in the draft resolution. The question therefore arose why those provisions had never been implemented. Those who maintained that the parties were in agreement on the objective—the need to safeguard peace—but differed

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 70, document A/4219.

as to the methods they advocated to that end were oversimplifying a very complex situation, for if the overwhelming majority of mankind desired peace, there would now be peace in the world. It would therefore be a good thing to start a campaign for peace now, in schools and through the use of mass information media. Moreover, it would be dangerous to underestimate the negative influence on the drive for peace exerted by the industries engaged in the production of armaments; they had always deliberately or unconsciously hampered the adoption of measures to promote peace, and it was regrettable that that aspect had not been dealt with more thoroughly in the Secretary-General's report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament.^{3/} The conclusion of a partial test ban treaty was no ground for over-optimism, for there was nothing to prevent scientists from continuing their research or manufacturers from adding to the stockpile of nuclear weapons. What was wanted was to awaken a genuine desire for peace, and attention should not be deflected from that goal by placing undue stress on the consideration of collateral measures.

16. Mr. JABRI (Syria) said that his delegation was one of the sponsors of the revised draft resolution and fervently hoped that its provisions would be duly implemented, particularly by the great Powers.

17. Without armaments, countless wars might have been avoided. His country therefore welcomed the partial test ban treaty, to which it was a party. It had also been gratified to note the conciliatory statements made in the General Assembly by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy (1209th plenary meeting), and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko (1208th plenary meeting). In that connexion, his delegation felt that the Soviet proposal for a non-aggression pact between the States parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty should be seriously considered, for it might offer a first step towards general and complete disarmament.

18. While welcoming the more relaxed atmosphere resulting from the establishment of a direct communications link between the United States and the Soviet Union, he hoped that the great Powers would continue to press forward in that direction and that they would understand that general and complete disarmament could not be achieved without the participation of France and of the People's Republic of China. France should be given the assurance that the great Powers truly intended to renounce nuclear arms as an instrument of policy if it was to be expected to desist from its own attempts to become a nuclear Power. Moreover, his delegation felt that any resolution, even if adopted unanimously, might prove to be meaningless so long as the People's Republic of China, the most populous nation on earth, was not admitted to full participation in the deliberations and agreements on disarmament, whether nuclear or conventional.

19. As a sponsor, Syria considered that the revised draft resolution would renew the mandate of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, which would be requested to redouble its efforts to seek areas of agreement between the great Powers. But the main responsibility for achieving disarmament rested on the most heavily armed Powers. His delegation accordingly hoped that

the revised draft resolution would be adopted unanimously and that its provisions would be sincerely and faithfully carried out.

20. Mr. STELLE (United States of America) congratulated the sponsors of the revised draft resolution on having produced a text which took the views and desires of the members of the Committee into account. The United States attached great importance to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, and believed that in spite of the difficulties encountered thus far it should continue its endeavours to resolve the differences and to make possible agreements in both limited and broad areas of disarmament. The revised draft resolution provided useful guidance in that respect. His delegation would therefore vote for it, just as it would have voted for the original version..

21. Mr. HAYDER (Tunisia) said that he would vote for the revised draft resolution because it represented a positive step towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. However, the results obtained were far from matching the hopes that had been entertained at the beginning of the current session. It would have been gratifying if the nuclear Powers had relied on the United Nations to assist them in taking a further step on the road to peaceful coexistence. Since the Eighteen-Nation Committee was unfortunately only a seventeen-nation committee, it was regrettable in particular that no appeal had been made to the eighteenth member to contribute to the common effort. Moreover, his delegation would have preferred the draft resolution to contain a special appeal to the nuclear Powers, for it was on them that any final decision depended. It consequently hoped that at the next session a still more constructive and decisive resolution would be adopted.

22. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) said that the revised draft resolution ought to be adopted unanimously. The revised text was an advance on the original version. On the one hand, it still mentioned the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations, which was essential. On the other hand, the wording of section II, which grouped together paragraphs 1 and 2 of the original text, was an improvement because it no longer gave the impression that the Eighteen-Nation Committee was to concern itself with two particular measures to the exclusion of the rest and because the expression "measures which could serve to . . . facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament" included, in his opinion, expansion of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. The failure of the disarmament negotiations was due to a lack of trust, which was a result not just of the cold war but also of the absence of any international system which would provide for the national security of countries in a world governed by the rule of law. The United Nations must therefore be given the means to ensure respect for the rule of law in the international community. He recalled that one of the topics which the Eighteen-Nation Committee had agreed to take up was "Measures to ensure the security of States",^{4/} which included peace-keeping measures; his delegation urged that that item should be given priority when the negotiations were resumed. That would be in accordance with the goal of the negotiations as defined in paragraph 1 of the joint statement. It would be pointless to go on

^{3/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document E/3736.

^{4/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/205, annex I, sect. B (ENDC/1/Add.3), para. 5 (i).

studying various disarmament plans without taking steps to ensure peace in the world.

23. Although his delegation would have preferred a fuller and more forcefully worded text, it considered that the revised draft resolution was better than the original text, and had joined the sponsors.

24. Mr. SIDIKOU (Niger) said that his delegation had been unable, to his great regret, to join the sponsors of the revised draft resolution, for two reasons. First of all, it was not appropriate to recall each of the previous resolutions or to mention the partial test ban treaty, because despite the undeniable importance of that treaty, it would be dangerous to ossify the powerful drive of the peoples towards peace by isolating it from the general context of disarmament and efforts to maintain peace. In that connexion, it was the responsibility of the United Nations and the Eighteen-Nation Committee to resolve the common problem of peace, and thus of disarmament, and he wished, in passing, to congratulate the Eighteen-Nation Committee on its tireless efforts to build a world of reconciliation and brotherhood. Secondly, his delegation regretted the lack of firmness and definite purpose in the revised draft resolution, but it realized that the text was a compromise one. It would therefore vote for the revised draft resolution, in the hope that its adoption would help to spread the spirit of peace in the world.

25. Mr. CAIMEROM MEASKETH (Cambodia) said that he would vote for the revised draft resolution because it merely called upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to resume its negotiations on general and complete disarmament and because it was an expression of the desire of all Member States to see a solution to a problem on which the very existence of mankind depended. He could not refrain from pointing out, however, that paragraph 2 of section I of the operative part and section II seemed to limit considerably the work and objectives of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. It was, of course, advisable to proceed cautiously and by stages. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the problem of general and complete disarmament for the future of mankind by comparison with efforts to achieve partial results, the world must never lose sight of the opportunities for negotiation or for an agreement which would solve the problem of general and complete disarmament permanently. That was why Cambodia was in favour of the world conference proposed by the Peoples' Republic of China for general disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. A conference of that kind would bring out clearly the absolute necessity of achieving general and complete disarmament and would give the great majority of peace-loving non-nuclear Governments an opportunity to put pressure on the nuclear Powers to end the arms race. It would not be in any way contrary to the spirit of the Moscow treaty but would, on the contrary, be its necessary counterpart, for that treaty was not strictly speaking a disarmament agreement.

26. In conclusion, he paid tribute to the Eighteen-Nation Committee for the work it had done, despite the restrictions imposed on it by present circumstances, in its search for a solution to the problem of disarmament.

27. Mr. VELLODI (Secretary of the Committee), referring to rule 154 of the rules of procedure, informed the Committee, on behalf of the Secretary-General, that the adoption of the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.328/Rev.1) would not entail any additional appropriation in the 1964 budget because the cost of the services to be provided to the Eighteen-Nation Committee had already been allowed for in the statement of financial implications which the Secretary-General had submitted in connexion with draft resolution A/C.1/L.326 on the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests (A/C.5/992).

28. The CHAIRMAN put the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.328/Rev.1) to the vote.

The revised draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

29. The CHAIRMAN stated that although the draft resolution which had just been adopted was merely procedural in nature and did not solve the problem of general and complete disarmament, or even any one of its many aspects, its adoption by acclamation was nevertheless encouraging. He believed he was speaking for all the members of the Committee in expressing the hope that the Eighteen-Nation Committee would be animated by a similar desire to arrive at an agreement so that some results could be achieved on the substance of the question.

Organization of the Committee's work

30. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had completed its consideration of agenda item 26. The list of speakers on agenda items 27 and 74 still contained a few names, spread over the next three working days; that would not, however, fill the time of the Committee's meetings on those days. Since the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had not yet been completed, and the Committee could therefore not take up agenda item 28, which it had decided to consider as its fifth item, he suggested that agenda item 84 (Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems) might be considered in the time available at the next few meetings of the Committee.

31. Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana) saw no reason why the procedure proposed by the Chairman should not be followed, but thought that an appeal might be made to representatives wishing to speak on agenda items 27 and 74 to group their statements together at the next meeting so that the Committee's consideration of those two items could be completed before it took up agenda item 84, which dealt with an entirely different question.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.