



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

CONTENTS

	Page
Statement by the President	323
Question of South West Africa: report of the Fourth Committee	323
Report of the Economic and Social Council	325
Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments: report of the First Committee	326

President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (India).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before resuming our business this morning, I should like to state, at the request of some delegations, the meaning of the vote on the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Fourth Committee on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/2556]. A reading of the verbatim record will confirm that the question of the voting procedure yesterday was related only to the draft resolutions actually before the Assembly, and we were defining voting procedures only as related to draft resolutions I to VII inclusive contained in document A/2556.

Question of South West Africa: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2572)

[Agenda item 36]

2. Mr. RIFAI (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee dealing with the question of South West Africa [A/2572]. The report is really self-explanatory, but I am happy to say that, in considering this question for the seventh time, the Fourth Committee proceeded expeditiously and adopted two draft resolutions with but one negative vote in each instance.

3. With regard to draft resolution A, it was the view of most members that the United Nations should approach this issue constructively, and to this end should assume as much supervision over the Territory of South West Africa as would be consistent with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. It was hoped that the committee which would be established under this resolution would initiate a system of supervision equivalent to that which was guaranteed to the inhabitants of South West Africa by the Covenant of the League of Nations and that it would continue in existence until the conclusion of a new international instrument between the United Nations and the Government of the Union of South Africa. It was also the hope of the supporters of the draft resolution that the Union of South Africa would enter into new negotia-

tions with a view to implementing fully the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

4. As to draft resolution B, the Fourth Committee reiterated its past draft resolutions calling on the Union of South Africa to follow the normal way of modifying the international status of the Territory by placing it under the trusteeship system.

5. With these brief remarks I beg to submit the report of the Fourth Committee for the consideration of the General Assembly.

6. Mr. MENON (India): My delegation has been responsible in previous successive years either for initiating or for lending the necessary support for the bringing of this problem of South West Africa before the Assembly and obtaining its support for steps to be taken to settle this problem.

7. It is not necessary for me to inform the President that it gives no pleasure to our delegation to be consistently opposed to another Member State of this Assembly on a matter of this kind. We have taken great care in submitting resolutions to see that they accord with a spirit of conciliation; not only with the rights, not only with the levels of human conduct required by the Charter, but also with the degree of neighbourliness and the sense of compromise that the Charter enjoins upon us. My delegation is conscious of the fact that this Organization, and indeed the implementation of the Charter, is only possible when there is a sense of adjustment between sovereign States. Therefore, in our approach to this problem, it is not our desire, at the present moment or at any time, to sponsor or support resolutions which are in any way a form of *diktat*. That is why we asked that a committee of good offices should be set up in order to bring the whole of this Territory within the ambit or the provisions and spirit of the Charter, in the manner of a trusteeship agreement.

8. May I take this opportunity of repeating what I said on behalf of my delegation in the Fourth Committee, namely, that although there are a large number of supporters of this draft resolution, and although we have been able to persuade many by argument and reasoning, we must still, so far as we are concerned, regard our attempt to be a failure in so far as we are not able to persuade the Union Government, because unless we can convert the heart of the Government of the Union of South Africa we can not achieve any success in a matter in which we seek conciliation and compromise. The representative of the Union Government has responded to arguments in a most courteous manner, and we hope that he will accept our assurances that in this matter we introduce no spirit of bitterness or hatred.

9. Our approach to the whole of what broadly may be called the colonial problem is one which is largely

dictated by our experience in the last six or seven years. The metropolitan country that was responsible for the rule of India in the past terminated that rule in a spirit of compromise. May I say that the founder of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was largely responsible, and we hope that this spirit will continue in this matter.

10. Yesterday [459th meeting] we heard a statement from the representative of the United States from this rostrum. He announced, on behalf of the President of the United States, in regard to the dependent Territory of Puerto Rico, that the United States would be willing to concede full independence to the Territory when a demand to that effect was made by the established legislature of Puerto Rico. It is not my business at the present time to go into the question of whether or not the machinery is adequate, but I should like to say, speaking for myself, that this is a pronouncement which must bring courage and hope and a sense of comfort to the people, when a metropolitan country is prepared to make a public statement of full independence and separation from all forms of dependence to a colonial country.

11. We want to see this spirit, of course in the different context of trusteeship, extended to the realm of South West Africa, which is a sovereign territory, that sovereignty lying latent in its people. In this spirit, we have endeavoured to persuade the General Assembly that these peoples, occupying very large areas and living under outmoded conditions of exploitation, should come under the tutelage of the world community, the United Nations, through the machinery of trusteeship, so that they can be led into the field of independence and contribute to the general glory of human civilization.

12. I should like formally to move that in paragraph 12 of draft resolution A, the number "nine" be changed to "seven", and that the nominations to the committee be made, as last year, by the President of the General Assembly.

13. Mr. NAUDE (Union of South Africa): The delegation of the Union of South Africa did not believe that there would be a debate this morning on the question of South West Africa, and accordingly it will not follow in the footsteps of the representative of India. Our position was stated clearly in the Fourth Committee; it is on record. My intervention is merely in relation to the proposal made to reduce the number of the members of the committee on South West Africa from nine to seven. In view of the attitude of my delegation, we should like it to be recorded that we shall not take part in the decision of the General Assembly on that particular point.

14. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A proposed by the Fourth Committee [A/2572]. A request has been made that the vote be taken in parts. I shall therefore first put to the vote the preamble, together with paragraph 1 of the operative part, of the draft resolution.

The preamble and paragraph 1 were adopted by 46 votes to one, with 8 abstentions.

15. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraph 2 of the operative part.

The paragraph was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 5 abstentions.

16. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on paragraphs 3, 4 and 5.

The paragraphs were adopted by 47 votes to 3, with 4 abstentions.

17. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on paragraph 6 (a).

The sub-paragraph was adopted by 39 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions.

18. The PRESIDENT: The vote on paragraph 6 (b) will be by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Philippines, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru.

Against: Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

The sub-paragraph was adopted by 50 votes to one, with 8 abstentions.

19. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraphs 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

The paragraphs were adopted by 48 votes to one, with 6 abstentions.

20. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the amendment submitted by India to paragraph 12, to the effect that the number "nine" should be changed to "seven".

The amendment was adopted by 31 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

21. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 12, as amended. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Thailand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

The paragraph was adopted by 44 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions.

22. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraphs 13 and 14.

The paragraphs were adopted by 38 votes to 7, with 5 abstentions.

23. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A as a whole, as amended. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

New Zealand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico.

Against: Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: New Zealand, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 46 votes to one, with 12 abstentions.

24. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution B. The vote will be by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Egypt, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador.

Against: Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark.

The draft resolution was adopted by 47 votes to one, with 11 abstentions.

Report of the Economic and Social Council

Chapters IV and V: report of the Third Committee (A/2573 and Corr.1)

[Agenda item 12]

Mr. Pashwak (Afghanistan), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2573 and Corr.1) and then spoke as follows:

25. Mr. PAZHAWK (Afghanistan), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: The report before the General Assembly deals not only with one of the most important items placed before the Third Committee, but also with one of the most important items on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly at its present session. The recommendations of the Third Committee to the General Assembly for the adoption of the draft resolutions which the Committee adopted are important enough to be given as full consideration as possible by the General Assembly in as much time as the General Assembly can afford to devote to these important questions in the face of the world situation and the problems with which the world is confronted in the social and humanitarian fields.

26. It is necessary for me to draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to paragraph 97 of the report, which gives an account of an amendment proposed by the delegation of Argentina which is of special importance in the consideration of this report on which the Assembly will decide today.

27. The PRESIDENT: Before giving the floor to representatives who desire to explain their votes, I should like to request representatives who take the floor to endeavour, wherever possible, to include in a single intervention the explanations of votes which they may wish to give on any of the draft resolutions now before the Assembly.

28. As there seems to be no wish, on the part of representatives, for an explanation of votes, we shall proceed to vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee [A/2573 and Corr.1].

29. I shall put to the vote first draft resolutions I, II and III

Draft resolution I was adopted by 49 votes to 5 with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 48 votes to none with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT: There will be separate votes on draft resolutions IV A and IV B and draft resolutions V A and V B.

Draft resolution IV A was adopted by 53 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV B was adopted by 49 votes to 5, with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution V A was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution V B was adopted by 45 votes to 5 with 4 abstentions.

31. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolutions VI and VII.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 43 votes to 9, with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 47 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions.

Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments: report of the First Committee (A/2562)

[Agenda item 23]

Mr. Thors (Iceland), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2562) and then spoke as follows:

32. Mr. THORS (Iceland), Rapporteur of the First Committee: The first paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to the General Assembly for its adoption was adopted unanimously by fifty-nine delegations. Furthermore, it is most important that the sixth paragraph of the preamble was also adopted without a dissenting vote.

33. I should also like to call the attention of the Assembly to paragraph 6 of the operative part, which I consider to be of great importance. It is generally believed that private talks between the big Powers are the means most likely to lead to a solution of this terrible and threatening problem.

34. Finally, let me stress that the draft resolution now before us was adopted by the First Committee unanimously in the sense that no delegation voted against it. This should augur well for future endeavours finally to make an approach towards disarmament. The Disarmament Commission has a tremendous task before it which is of vital interest to all humanity. It is clear to us all that the Commission can succeed in its work and show positive results only if all its members sincerely and genuinely co-operate towards that end. It is the hope of people all over the world that the Disarmament Commission will at long last be in a position to fulfil its duties and report some progress.

35. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly also has before it amendments proposed by the Soviet Union [A/L.167] to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee.

36. Does any member desire to explain his vote on the question before the Assembly?

37. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): There is no need to enlarge on the motives that will guide the French delegation in voting; they were stated quite clearly, I think, in the First Committee, and we are not dealing with any text which has not already been discussed in detail in that committee.

38. I should like, however, to take this opportunity to address a new and pressing appeal to the Assembly to endorse unanimously the text contained in the report of the First Committee. Its acceptance by the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia would, I need hardly stress, constitute a most happy and encouraging augury for the Disarmament Commission. We still venture to hope for this acceptance. This draft resolution, which was sponsored by France together with the delegations of thirteen other countries, and which was supplemented and improved as the result of study in committee, con-

tains nothing which should make a unanimous vote impossible.

39. Leaving aside the preamble which states certain truths which no one would deny, what does the draft resolution under review actually contain?

40. In the first place, the definition of the goal to be attained. This definition stands at the head of the preamble to our draft resolution and, in almost unchanged form, at the beginning of the operative part. Its terms were approved unanimously by fifty-nine delegations in the General Assembly on 8 April 1953 [*resolution 704 (VII)*] and in the First Committee on 18 November 1953. Of course we cherish no illusions. This agreement does not solve any of the major difficulties which the Disarmament Commission has encountered since its establishment. But it is already a great step forward that all of us here at least share the same views as to the general lines of our work and our final aims. It is a first step which had to be taken, and which would have been impossible without a modicum of good will.

41. The second main point concerns our method of procedure. On this, too, I think there is complete agreement, although we deplored the abstention of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union desires the Commission to resume its work; its amendments are evidence of that. Nor is there any doubt, I hope, that its delegation will endorse a proposal which aims at seeking a basis of agreement through a committee composed of the Powers principally involved, a committee which, I am happy to state once again, will be cordially welcomed by the French Government if it decides to hold its first meetings in Paris.

42. In these circumstances, what are the reasons for the Soviet abstention? Since they cannot be found in the text of the draft resolution adopted by the Committee, we must look for them in its omissions. We all know that, since our Organization began its work, the Soviet delegation has endeavoured to obtain General Assembly approval for proposals which the Assembly itself considered unacceptable. Again this year, we refused by a very large majority to commit ourselves to the course which Mr. Vyshinsky would have us believe is the only one which can lead us to our common goals.

43. Why, in these circumstances, insist on introducing these concrete proposals into a draft resolution which once again defines the objectives to be sought and the machinery to be used, but carefully avoids deciding which solutions should be chosen? Many Member States have their own ideas as to what these solutions should be. But none of them, with the exception of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, has tried to have them endorsed by the General Assembly. They all agree that solutions should be submitted to and studied by the Disarmament Commission and its committees exclusively. This applies to the French delegation, which intends, within the limits defined by our draft resolution, to pursue the proposals submitted to the United Nations by M. Jules Moch.

44. The constructive nature of those proposals has certainly not escaped the majority of delegations in this Assembly. During the recent proceedings in the First Committee, the French delegation constantly endeavoured to seek conciliatory and compromise solutions which would at the same time be positive solu-

tions, which would, that is, extract from opposing views and arguments any common elements they might contain making for effectiveness and progress. This untiring search for common ground will, I can assure you, be pursued with all the patience and imagination our delegation has shown in the past.

45. In conclusion, I can only repeat my appeal and express the hope that the Disarmament Commission may resume its work under the favourable auspices of an expression of unanimity which nothing should now prevent. Now that it may be hoped, in view of the Soviet acceptance, that the four-Power conference will soon convene, may I say that the Soviet delegation would, by making this expression of unanimity possible, help to make the international atmosphere in which the conference will convene more propitious and would make a contribution to the cause of peace to which it has so often, and, as I believe, sincerely, proclaimed its attachment in this Assembly, a contribution that all the peoples would welcome with joy.

46. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In its resolution [704 (VII)] of 8 April 1953, the General Assembly requested the Disarmament Commission to work out measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, and to submit a report to the General Assembly; this report was duly submitted and was examined in the First Committee. While that report was under consideration, the USSR delegation pointed out that the Disarmament Commission had done unsatisfactory work, and in fact had done no work at all during the year, as its own report showed.

47. The reason, we think, was that members of the Disarmament Commission constantly tried to divert the Commission's attention from the preparation of measures for an effective reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction to altogether different matters, relating to the collection of information on the size of the armaments of various States, thus leaving for a misty future the important questions to which Mr. Hoppenot also referred, namely, the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of this prohibition. The whole direction which the Commission's work took, in accordance with the entirely unsatisfactory plan adopted by the majority of the Commission, was hardly such as to lead to a satisfactory conclusion. And indeed, the work of the Disarmament Commission has proved completely unsatisfactory.

48. There are many facts which indicate conclusively that the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom tried to induce the Commission to deal with precisely this question of the collection of information, in which the United States intelligence was and is particularly interested, rather than with the question of the prohibition of atomic and other types of weapons of mass destruction and the reduction of armaments. Yet this information has no bearing on measures for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. This attitude had already been expressed in resolution 502 (VI) by which the General Assembly set up the Disarmament Commission, with its resounding name, which apparently

was given to it in order the more easily to cover up its real purpose—a purpose which, as I have already pointed out, has nothing to do with the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

49. As regards the draft resolution which the First Committee has submitted to us and which is in substance the draft resolution submitted to the Committee by fourteen delegations, I must point out certain important facts. First of all, it should be noted that the original fourteen-Power draft was withdrawn practically the day after submission and replaced by a new revised draft because some of the provisions of the original draft had been found to be unacceptable even to some of its authors. A number of delegations objected to several points in the draft which they themselves had co-sponsored.

50. But the basic defect of this draft is that it completely evades the important task of the preparation and implementation of measures for the effective reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. We consider this to be the main defect of this draft because it fails to satisfy the General Assembly's request for the preparation of measures designed to eliminate, and prohibit the use of, atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, to reduce armaments and armed forces and to establish effective international control. The Disarmament Commission actually did not deal with any of these matters during this year. It did not touch them. As a matter of fact, the Disarmament Commission has never touched these questions during its entire existence, dealing instead with the questions I previously mentioned. That is why the Soviet Union has consistently endeavoured to show that this draft resolution is completely unsatisfactory.

51. We have accordingly proposed a number of amendments. I am prevented from speaking about these amendments by rule 88 of the rules of procedure, which does not permit the authors of amendments to explain their amendments, but merely allows explanations of vote.

52. I am now speaking in explanation of my vote. I am merely answering the question why the Soviet delegation abstained in the vote in the First Committee. It abstained because the amendments it considered essential, and which, if adopted, would have enabled it to support the draft resolution, had been rejected. That is why we cannot vote for this draft resolution. Then why do we not vote against it? Because it contains certain points which bring us closer together. We have never taken the fanatical attitude of rejecting proposals merely because they do not happen to be ours. Even if they are not ours, yet contain a grain of truth which we can accept, or at least show some hint of readiness to work out the measures which the world so badly needs—the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, and the reduction of armaments and armed forces—we abstain even though our wording is more radical and the decisions we propose is not taken into consideration. That is only natural. We are entitled to criticize the draft upon which the Assembly is about to vote; we have submitted amendments [A/L.167] to it, and we cannot support it as it stands, but we find it possible to abstain.

53. What are the serious defects of this draft resolution? Paragraph 1 of the operative part indicates

in very general terms the universal desire and serious intention to achieve agreement as soon as possible on a plan for the regulation, limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic weapons, with the observation that the plan should be subject to international control. This is good, but it is by no means enough. It is a weak, a very timid, in fact a cowardly attitude in the face of such a great and important task as removing the possibility of using atomic weapons for mass destruction. Such phrases as those in which paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution abounds are, in our opinion, wholly inadequate. They are weak, timid and of little use in carrying out the serious and highly responsible task to which we have referred and which is our primary concern in drawing up a resolution which must serve as instructions to the Disarmament Commission. Such phrases, which contain generalities, provide no specific directions for the solution of problems which require thorough examination, and they do not show how the Disarmament Commission is to carry out its work.

54. Instead of general statements to the effect that the Commission should continue its efforts towards achieving agreement, etc., etc., the USSR delegation proposed, in its amendments, a much more radical solution, which the majority of the Committee unfortunately rejected. The USSR delegation considers it necessary to say that, without the inclusion of those amendments, the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee cannot contribute effectively to the successful prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction or to the reduction of armaments and armed forces. This draft resolution cannot serve as a key to the solution of these important problems. We are deeply convinced that the action called for in the USSR draft resolution [A/L.168] for "measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations", which will be examined next by the General Assembly, alone can provide a key to the solution of these problems.

55. I repeat that unfortunately rule 88 of the rules of procedure prevents the USSR delegation from discussing the substance of these measures and our amendments. Nevertheless, we must stress once more that it is only through our amendments to the aforementioned draft resolution, and through the draft resolution which we have presented to the General Assembly in connexion with the next item on the agenda, that the Assembly can effectively achieve the prohibition of atomic weapons, disarmament and the reduction of armaments and hence a relaxation of international tension. This is our objective, and this it is that determines our stand on the draft resolution presented by the First Committee and our vote on that draft.

56. There can be no doubt that the peoples of the world expect the General Assembly to take decisive, effective and realistic measures to ensure peace and friendly co-operation among nations, remove all disagreement on the most important problems which are as yet unsolved but which require solution, and ensure the immediate settlement of the problem of the prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of armaments with which the General Assembly is now faced. These are the problems to which all our efforts must be directed and the General Assembly must give the Disarmament Commission precise and strict instructions

to follow that course of action. We believe that the adoption of our amendments would improve the draft resolution; without them the draft is unsatisfactory and we shall be obliged to abstain on it.

57. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the General Assembly because, in our judgment, it represents the best hope for progress towards the objective of disarmament, which we so strongly desire. We shall vote against all the Soviet Union amendments because we do not believe that they constitute a helpful approach to the problem of disarmament. In any case, regardless of their merits or demerits, if they are brought forward at all the place where they should be considered is the Disarmament Commission. This is so provided in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, which requests the Disarmament Commission to take into consideration proposals made at the eighth session of the General Assembly, and paragraph 5, which calls upon Member States to submit to the Commission any proposals which they have to make in the field of disarmament. We have established a framework within which the Disarmament Commission could make progress, provided the Soviet Union desired progress to be made. The United States will do everything in its power to make the forthcoming year a successful and a productive one for the Disarmament Commission.

58. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly has before it the important task of giving the Disarmament Commission instructions for its future work. When the question was under discussion in the First Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation pointed out that the main reason for the lack of success thus far in the work of the Commission lay in the directions contained in General Assembly resolution 502 (VI). Those directions enabled the western Powers to divert the Commission from its proper task of seeking a genuine reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and other types of weapons of mass destruction to that of collecting information on the scale of the armaments possessed by other countries and the size of their armed forces. Our task now is to give the Disarmament Commission such instructions for its future work as will set it on the right path and help to ensure the success of its efforts.

59. A careful study of the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee makes it clear that in its present form that text furnishes no assurance that it will provide the Disarmament Commission with a sound and sure guide in its search for methods and procedures for solving the vitally important questions which it has been instructed to examine. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation was unable to support that draft resolution in the First Committee and abstained from voting on it.

60. However, the amendments proposed by the Soviet Union [A/L.167] contain provisions which, if adopted, would substantially improve the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee by directing the work of the Disarmament Commission into the proper channels and enabling it to achieve real and satisfactory results.

61. The first serious defect in the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee is that in the third paragraph of the preamble it sets forth preliminary

conditions upon which the success of the work of the Commission in the matter of disarmament is to depend. The paragraph states that agreement can be reached on a disarmament programme with adequate safeguards only if progress is made concurrently in the settlement of international disputes. That paragraph of the draft resolution does not place the problems in their right perspective. The Czechoslovak delegation believes it wrong to maintain that no solution to the problem of disarmament can be found until mutual confidence has been restored between nations. That attitude would serve merely as a pretext for the indefinite postponement of effective measures to resolve the question of disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and would thereby make further rearmament possible.

62. The first USSR amendment places the question in the right perspective by stating that for the purposes of strengthening peace and security and successfully settling controversial international problems the primary task is to secure the immediate settlement of the question of the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of strict international control over the observance of that prohibition. The second Soviet amendment rightly adds that progress in the field of disarmament would also contribute to progress in the settlement of other controversial international problems.

63. All civilized and peace-loving peoples firmly believe that the use of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction is a most terrible crime against humanity and should therefore be condemned most strongly and decisively. This belief is fully reflected in the third Soviet amendment. A clear and unequivocal statement, to the effect that the aggressor who first used this frightful weapon would be a war criminal, would have great moral and political significance. It would also be most effective in the case of an aggressor who planned to use any weapon of mass destruction. The adoption of this Soviet amendment will do much to strengthen the hopes of peace-loving people that this weapon will not be employed, if a way is speedily found to reach an agreement prohibiting its use.

64. There can be no doubt that the elaboration of positive measures to bring about a substantial reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the five great Powers, the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of that prohibition are matters of paramount urgency. The Disarmament Commission should set about this task immediately. It is for that reason that the fourth Soviet amendment emphasizes that the Disarmament Commission must without delay work out proposals for such measures and submit them to the Security Council before 1 March 1954. This gives the Commission ample time to carry out its task.

65. The particular significance of the Soviet amendments, in the view of the Czechoslovak delegation, is that they give the Disarmament Commission specific instructions as to its objectives and a time limit for the submission of appropriate proposals. The adoption of these amendments would remedy the main defects in the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the First Committee and would enable the Commission to reach agreement and to find a successful solution to the problems immediately confronting it.

66. For all these reasons, the Czechoslovak delegation fully supports the Soviet amendments.

67. Mr. MATES (Yugoslavia): We are, I think, about to conclude this year's consideration of the disarmament question in a somewhat more hopeful mood than that in which we began it a few weeks ago in the First Committee.

68. For one thing, the draft resolution on which we are going to vote is undoubtedly an improvement upon the original fourteen-Power draft. The chief merits of that original draft lay, I think, more in what it omitted than in what it contained; it rightly refrained, that is to say, from attempting to clamp down upon the future activities of the Disarmament Commission through terms of reference so rigid, or so controversial, that they would have been bound to trammel the Commission's future work. On the other hand, it contained hardly enough to provide an adequate basis for the Commission's approaching labours.

69. In the course of the First Committee's debate, the draft resolution underwent a number of changes. These, I think one may safely say, resulted from the overwhelming feeling in the Committee that a more determined effort should be made to break the vicious circle in which the United Nations had long been moving on this question, to the end that the existing areas of disagreement should be narrowed and a fresh and more constructive start made towards the goal of regulating and reducing armaments and eliminating weapons of mass destruction. This feeling found tangible expression in the amendments submitted by the Indian, Egyptian and other delegations, including my own, and led to a more substantial, a better balanced and, therefore, a more generally acceptable text than the original fourteen-Power draft would probably have been.

70. The support which the draft resolution was thus able to obtain—although not unanimous—was considerably greater than appeared likely in the early stages of the discussion, marked as they were by a rather discouraging reaffirmation of the old, unbending attitudes and a dismaying repetition of the well-known acrimonious arguments. The fact that unanimity was not achieved, that all delegations did not find it possible to cast an affirmative vote for this draft resolution—which would have meant an even more stimulating send-off to the Disarmament Commission on the eve of what we hope will be a more fruitful period in its activities—is a matter for regret. It is all the more regrettable since even the delegations which found it necessary to abstain from voting on the draft apparently did so not because they found anything particularly objectionable in the draft resolution, but simply because it did not contain all that they could have wished it to contain, or possibly simply because it was not couched in the exact language which they would have preferred. Surely such an attitude will not take us very far in the field of disarmament—or, for that matter, in any field of international endeavour—where a measure of give-and-take is essential and where proposals should be judged on their merits, and not necessarily by their authors.

71. The draft resolution which has been placed before us by the First Committee does, in the view of my delegation, offer as satisfactory a basis as it seems possible to achieve in the present circumstances for the future work of the Disarmament Commission. It is

obviously, however, only a first step, and rather a modest first step at that. The real work will begin in the Disarmament Commission itself, or, at least, we hope, in those sub-committees for which the draft resolution provides and where, we have the right to expect, the great Powers will at long last make a determined effort to break the deadlock which has so far blocked any real progress in the field of disarmament. This, of course, will be possible only if the whole problem is transposed from the plane of propaganda and psychological warfare to that of constructive effort and, especially, if the shopworn and sterile catchwords are finally allowed to sink into a well-deserved oblivion.

72. Any efforts made by the Disarmament Commission in pursuance of the provisions of the draft resolution on which we are about to vote can, of course, be expected to yield the desired results only if they are accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the general international climate; and it is in this respect that all of us—including those among us who will not be called upon to take part in the Disarmament Commission's labours—can help towards achieving a solution of the disarmament problem. If the international atmosphere is to improve, gradual, step-by-step progress must be made in settling outstanding international issues which lie at the root of existing tensions. These issues should be approached in a spirit of compromise and with full respect for the sovereign equality of States and the right of self-determination of peoples. On the other hand, any course of action designed to freeze the division of the world into political or ideological blocs, or to identify with such blocs the system of collective security which we are trying to build, should be avoided—as should, of course, any tendency to transform local disputes into major sources of tension. The representative of Yugoslavia spoke at some length on this aspect of the problem in the First Committee, and I therefore wish merely to draw attention to it here as part of the broader political setting of the disarmament problem.

73. It is with these considerations in mind, and in the hope that we might be standing on the threshold of a new phase in our quest for a solution of the disarmament problem, that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended to us by the First Committee. It will, on the other hand, and for the same general reason, have to abstain on the amendments submitted by the delegation of the USSR.

74. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution proposed by the First Committee and the amendments thereto. The General Assembly will now vote on the first amendment of the Soviet Union [A/L.167], which proposes a new text to replace the third paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution proposed by the First Committee [A/2562].

75. I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

76. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): I think that before voting on the Soviet amendments to the third paragraph of the preamble of the First Committee's draft resolution the General Assembly should vote on the first paragraphs of the draft resolution and then take the Soviet amendments in their order of sequence. We cannot vote on amendments to a paragraph which we have not yet reached.

77. The PRESIDENT: At the request of the representative of France, the General Assembly will vote on the paragraphs of the preamble up to the third paragraph of the draft resolution.

The paragraphs were adopted unanimously.

78. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

79. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I apologize for speaking now on a point of order concerning the further voting, but I should like to avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding.

80. It was the Soviet delegation's understanding that the Assembly had just voted on the first paragraph of the preamble and would proceed to vote separately on the remaining paragraphs of the preamble. If this understanding is incorrect, then the Soviet delegation requests that the second and succeeding paragraphs of the preamble should be voted on separately, one by one. In fact, my delegation voted just now on the understanding that we were voting on the first paragraph of the preamble and that our amendments would be voted on when we came to the appropriate paragraphs. We do not, of course, object to our amendment to the third paragraph being voted on when we come to the third paragraph of the preamble, but we should like to remove any misunderstanding which might arise if it were thought that the whole preamble had been voted on. That would be an incorrect assumption, because the Soviet delegation could not agree to vote on the preamble as a whole.

81. We therefore request that a vote be taken on the preamble paragraph by paragraph, with the exception of the first paragraph, which we consider to have been already voted upon. The Soviet delegation voted in favour of the first paragraph of the preamble.

82. The PRESIDENT: I would like to say to the representative of the Soviet Union that I announced that we would vote up to the third paragraph of the preamble. That means the first and second paragraphs.

83. The General Assembly will now vote on the First Soviet Union amendment [A/L.167], pertaining to the third paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution.

The amendment was rejected by 36 votes to 8, with 14 abstentions.

84. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the third paragraph of the preamble.

The paragraph was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

85. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the second Soviet Union amendment [A/L.167], pertaining to the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

The amendment was rejected by 39 votes to 8, with 13 abstentions.

86. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

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

87. The PRESIDENT: We shall now deal with the remaining four paragraphs of the preamble.

88. I recognize the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

89. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): I request a vote paragraph by paragraph.

90. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote separately on the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth paragraphs of the preamble.

The fifth paragraph was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The sixth paragraph was adopted unanimously.

The seventh paragraph was adopted by 54 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The eighth paragraph was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

91. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on the third Soviet Union amendment [A/L.167], pertaining to paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

The amendment was rejected by 37 votes to 5, with 14 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraph 1.

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

93. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraphs 2 and 3 of the operative part.

Paragraph 2 was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

94. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on the fourth Soviet Union amendment [A/L.167], pertaining to paragraph 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

The amendment was rejected by 39 votes to 5, with 11 abstentions.

95. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraph 4.

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

96. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of the operative part.

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

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 7 was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

97. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 54 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.