PLENARY MEETING

GENERAL ASSEMBLY LIBRARY

Thursday, 14 February 1957,

ELEVENTH SESSION. Official Records

New York

at S-p.m.

<u>L5 A</u>IIG 1957 CONTRACOLLECTION

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Agenda item 22: Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments; conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction Report of the First Committee...... 1097

President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand).

Procedural discussion

- The PRESIDENT: I should like to inquire whether there is any proposal under rule 68 of the rules of procedure to discuss either of the two reports of the First Committee which are before the General Assembly [A/3514, A/3537]. If there is not, interventions will be limited to explanations of vote, and, in this regard, may I once again appeal to representatives to observe the established practice of the General Assembly by limiting their interventions to approximately ten minutes.
- 2. I should explain that the report of the First Committee on agenda item 62 (Question of Algeria) (A/ 3537) will not be dealt with until the next meeting. The reason for this is that some delegations have been in touch with me, and they want to have time for consultation with a view to finding a draft resolution which would have a reasonable chance of securing a twothirds majority in the Assembly. Therefore, time will be allowed to those delegations.
- Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): If I understood correctly the statement made by the President with regard to the reopening of the debate on either of the two items, now would be the time to ask for the reopening of the debate on the Algerian question, even though that question will not be discussed until the next meeting. Would we be in order if at that meeting we asked, if we found it necessary, for the debate to be reopened under rule 68 of the rules of procedure? If that can be done then, I have no more to say at the moment, but if it cannot, I shall have to present a motion now.
- 4. The PRESIDENT: My answer is that rule 68 will be applied at the next meeting. As I see the situation, either the certain delegations concerned will be able to produce a satisfactory draft resolution—that is, a draft resolution that will pass the Assembly—or they will not be able to do so, and they will come to the next meeting without having been able to do so. If, as we all wish, they happen to succeed, I do not think they will ask for a discussion. If, on the other hand, they are not able to produce such a draft resolution, the representative of Syria will be at liberty to ask for the application of rule 68.

5. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): I think that this clarifies the situation. I hope that some kind of agreed solution can be found so that we would not have to reopen the debate. But if that situation should arise, then we would be in order in making our request tomorrow.

AGENDA ITEM 22

Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments; conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3514)

Mr. Matsch (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/3514)and then spoke as follows:

- Mr. MATSCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee: In the discussion of this complex problem in the First Committee, the representatives of the great Powers again stated that their Governments were willing to continue their efforts to achieve disarmament. This declared willingness in itself may be considered an encouraging fact. The reaching of agreement on disarmament questions depends primarily on the great Fowers. Many representatives expressed the view that after ten years of deliberations there is a growing realization throughout the world that the time has come to make progress in solving the question of disarmament.
- Some representatives stated in the course of the debate that the present scale of armaments, the armament race, and the introduction of new and more formidable means of mass destruction not only reflect, and arise from, world tensions, but are also factors contributing to these tensions.
- Opinions expressed in the debate differed as to whether a constructive effort toward more substantial disarmament has to wait until the political conditions will have improved or whether the political climate will be improved by first having an agreement on disarmament.
- Many representatives who participated in the discussion were in favour of proceeding with whatever measure of disarmament can be realized under existing political conditions. The discussion has also shown that there is substantial agreement on the fact that even partial results, as confidence-building measures, would facilitate general disarmament.
- 10. Progress, according to the statements made in the First Committee, has been noticeable with regard to the following aspects: the levels to which the armed forces of the great Powers should be reduced in the first phase of disarmament and the objectives of nuclear disarmament, namely, to prevent a world-wide nuclear arms race, and to guard health against radio-active hazards. Further, it appears that the great Powers now agree

that a strict and effective international control system should be provided which would reach the objects of control and ensure the fulfilment of the disarmament obligations. Finally, a possibility of a rapprochement exists on the question of joint aerial inspection in a specified area, in addition to an agreed system of ground units at key traffic centres as safeguards against surprise attacks.

- 11. It is noteworthy that this time many representatives in the First Committee expressed their grave concern with regard to the possible effects on health of radio-activity as a consequence of nuclear test explosions. That is a problem which needs careful attention and safeguards. It was stated in the discussion that the different opinions among scientists on the effects of radio-activity resulting from fall-out are in themselves disturbing; no one can tell for certain the ultimate effects of increasing radio-activity on future generations. The elimination of all nuclear test explosions seems to be a common aim.
- 12. Representatives of smaller nations have stressed the hope that the awareness of the terrifying dangers which threaten the world today will induce all nations, and especially those having a particular responsibility in this respect, to make every effort to strengthen peace.
- 13. In recommending to the General Assembly the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee [A/3514], may I be permitted to express the confidence that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee will come to an agreement and thus fulfil the hopes of all mankind.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.

- Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (translated from French): This is the eleventh time that the General Assembly is taking up the problem of disarmament. Eleven years ago, when it first considered this question, only one country possessed weapons of mass destruction, and not many of them. Today, the stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs have reached considerable proportions. The problem is further complicated by the fact, now generally recognized, that it is impossible to detect these stocks with sufficient accuracy. Because of the time lost through refusals to compromise, we have gone far beyond the point of no return of which Mr. Jules Moch, the French representative, anxiously warned us more than five years ago. Let me add that, at the present session, the debate on disarmament opened in a less favourable international atmosphere than at the ninth or tenth sessions. In the opinion of the French delegation, that is an additional reason why we should pursue our efforts for, as the French representative, Mr. Moch, stated in the First Committee [828th meeting], any technical agreement, even if limited in scope, can produce a relaxation of political tension and restore at least a modicum of confidence. On the other hand, failure to reach an agreement, on top of the international difficulties, may only aggravate the
- 15. The French delegation followed very carefully the most exhaustive discussion which took place in the First Committee. As Mr. Jules Moch said in his statement, it will give the most serious thought to the interesting suggestions made by a number of delegations. We feel that the Committee took a wise decision when it suggested that the various proposals made in the First Committee should be referred to the Disarmament Com-

mission and its Sub-Committee. We are happy that the draft resolution to that effect [A/3514] was adopted unanimously by the Committee. The problems facing us are so complex that it is impossible to discuss them in a body of eighty representatives.

- 16. We think that the chances of achieving partial disarmament, to be carried out immediately, are better this year than last. The French Government has always been favourable, in principle, to a plan of general disarmament. Nevertheless, it is prepared to study plans for partial disarmament or even isolated measures, provided, however, that such measures, taken out of their original context, do not thereby assume different significance from that which they had in an over-all plan.

 17. The last plan submitted by the United States of America represents a big step forward towards agreement in the limited area of disarmament which can now be controlled. Similarly, some parts of the USSR plan hold out some hope of agreement, at least in certain well-defined sectors. But we are fully aware of the difficulties and complexity of that task.
- 18. At all events, the French Government is determined to persevere in its untiring efforts to achieve the greatest possible measure of disarmament, its watchword being: No control without disarmament; no disarmament without control; but, progressively, as much disarmament as it is possible to control.
- Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): I hope that the unanimous support given to the draft resolution in the First Committee will be confirmed here. I also hope that this agreement will be a good omen for the work of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee in 1957. My Government attaches the highest importance to the work of those bodies. For that reason it has authorized me to invite the other members of the Sub-Committee to come to London to resume their work, and to assure them that the United Kingdom Government will be most willing to provide all the necessary facilities. I am glad to announce that all the Governments concerned have accepted this invitation and that accordingly the Sub-Committee will meet on 18 March 1957 in London, subject to the agreement of the members of the Disarmament Commission.
- As has been made clear on many occasions, my Government stands ready to co-operate in either a comprehensive disarmament scheme such as the plan proposed by the United Kingdom and France, or a partial disarmament plan with appropriate controls. What we want to see is the removal of the remaining obstacles that prevent agreed disarmament from getting under way. That is why we hope that this year the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee will not spend time in abstract discussion of rival plans. We hope that they will get down to discussing specific questions such as reduction of armament, experiments in control methods and nuclear test explosions. On each of these points the United Kingdom will have practical suggestions to make, and I hope that, when the Disarmament Commission next reports to the Assembly, there will be definite progress to record.
- 21. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States welcomes the unanimous adoption by the First Committee of the draft resolution now before the General Assembly for consideration in plenary meeting. Although the draft resolution is procedural and essentially non-controversial, the fact that it resulted from a co-operative effort by all the Member States is some cause for encouragement. We hope that it will set the stage for fruitful negotiations in the Disarma-

ment Commission and in its Sub-Committee. The United States looks forward to the early resumption of these negotiations and is prepared to make a renewed effort to reach sound agreements for safeguarded reduction of armaments and armed forces.

We believe that the debate which took place in the First Committee will be helpful to the members of the Disarmament Commission and of its Sub-Committee, Most of this debate was moderate and constructive and was characterized by a general sense of realism. The need for practical first steps which can break the present deadlock was repeatedly emphasized. The representative of Yugoslavia expressed this view clearly when he said:

"All my delegation desires is that the possibilities of initial steps in the field of disarmament be fully explored and utilized, and it considers that the method of partial agreements is at this stage a practical and realistic one."1

That same point about partial agreements was made repeatedly by participants in the debate.

The United States agrees with that point of view. At the opening of the disarmament debate in the First Committee [821st meeting], we presented in broad outline a realistic course of action which would meet the various points of view so frequently expressed. The course of action proposed by us would stop the present trend of increasing nuclear armaments and would begin the reduction of existing stockpiles through the process of transfers from past production to internationally supervised national or international non-weapons use of such material.

The United States also presented a proposal [A/C.1/783] for a beginning in control and limitation in the area of outer-space objects. Our purpose in raising this matter is to take the problem in hand now before future developments complicate the problem of control in this field. We hope that, by joining our efforts in co-operative action, we can prevent the materialization of this spectre. At the same time we would enhance scientific progress in the area of outer space.

We continue to believe that early agreement on the Eisenhower aerial inspection plan and the Bulganin ground control plan, which was so emphatically and specifically endorsed by the General Assembly at its tenth session [resolution 914 (X)] would greatly serve the cause of peace and international security.

26. The draft resolution before the Assembly asks the Disarmament Commission to give continued consideration to these plans; and the aerial inspection plan, let me say, would free the world from the worry of massive

surprise attack.

27. Before concluding let me emphasize that the United States proposals [A/C.1/783] are not conditional upon reaching the solution of any political problems. Some speakers in the Committee-meetings did not correctly characterize the position of the United States in this regard. Let me stress that the United States is willing today to bring about, under effective inspection, a cessation of the arms race in both the conventional and nuclear fields and to take important steps to provide protection against surprise attack. The United States is prepared today to start reduction in the conventional field. We are ready, once we have brought a halt to the nuclear arms race, to begin the

transfer of fissionable materials from past production to international non-weapons purposes. We are prepared to do all this prior to the settlement of political problems. As I said to the First Committee, we believe we can thus help to ease tensions and facilitate the settlement of difficult political issues which must be solved if we are to attain a just and lasting peace. Our only condition is that there be effective control to verify compliance with the agreements which are reached.

The United States pledges before the Assembly to redouble its efforts to achieve agreement on the crucial question of control of armaments in the forthcoming sessions of the Disarmament Commission and the Sub-Committee. We share the sense of urgency which has been repeatedly expressed in the Assembly. We will press for early agreement on feasible measures of safeguarded arms control that will permit us to begin a redirection of human effort from the making of arms to the arts of peace.

Mr. ALDUNATE (Chile) (translated from Spanish): In the preamble to the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization there is a statement which we should always bear in mind. It reads: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

In the debate in the First Committee on the question of disarmament it was once again demonstrated that we forget this wise precept with painful frequency. A great deal was said about the need to call a halt to the armaments race; horrifying figures were quoted of expenditure on armaments; it was claimed that for all the money spent on the Second World War every man in the world could now own a house; every possible emphasis was laid on the danger, for the survival of mankind and of the world itself, of a third world war, fought with atomic weapons.

Yet all this was said in a warlike spirit, one side accusing the other in statements or allegations hardly designed to create a climate of peace. Of course there was no lack of protestations of pacific intent, each side claiming to be in the forefront of the fight for peace, while all the time wounding accusations were being hurled, not against a specific country, but against a whole sector of humanity, a whole hemisphere, a vast conglomeration of nations and peoples. We heard with dismay the constant use of separatist or divisive terms which reflected a persistent desire to create antagonism. We heard the representatives of one side blame the countries on the other for all the ills of this world while attributing to themselves all that was good and signifies progress for mankind. The very thoughts of these persons are aggressive and are used, like the most destructive weapons, to wound the minds of men in order to create mistrust or to fan the flames of hatred. In this negative action we are all to blame, to a greater or lesser extent.

The truth is that our minds are not yet quite healed, and thus we are not yet in a position to produce in ourselves, much less in all men, a moral attitude/capable of producing a real era of peace for mankind. We are still full of imperfections. Man has not yet been able to free himself from instincts, impulses, manias and complexes which impel him at certain times to incomprehensible lunacy. Primitive forces take command of him and he reverts again to the epoch of barbarism and animality. These forces disguise themselves in ingenious ways but at bottom they are all simply desires for hegemony, expansionist egoism,

¹ This statement was made at the 823rd meeting of the First Committee, on 16 January 1957, and appears in exitenso only in the verbatim record. The official record of the meeting is published in summary form.

delusions of grandeur and Messianic complexes, all expressions of a subconscious desire to enslave the rest of the world. All this leads inevitably to war.

- 33. The great Powers must convince themselves that, in the future, greatness must not be measured horizontally, by the territorial domain which a State may have been able to carve out for itself, but by the well-being, the security and the peace enjoyed by each one of its
- the security and the peace enjoyed by each one of its citizens. Greatness will not lie in dominating peoples, in trying to force a way of life upon them on the pretext of making them happy, in trying to impose upon them a particular political, economic or social
- upon them a particular political, economic or social creed. It will lie in co-operation without subordination, in aid for which no price is asked, it will be also in the dissemination of culture, in the exchange of technical information, in the exertion of all the effort which
- a people can contribute to the great work of mankind. These Powers must be convinced that hegemony leads to war and that in order to preserve peace the best course is to leave all countries, in all continents, to seek the path of progress for themselves and to choose
- which Power holds the secret of the future? Who can claim to be the only repository of truth?

 34. If a real era of peace is to open, mere disarmament
- plans are not enough. The fact that mankind has not yet been able to overcome the need for weapons is shameful, and the fact that we have not yet decided to disarm ourselves, despite our awareness of the horrors of war, is a reproach to humanity. Distrust, fear and ambition have blinded us, and even if we agree to discuss disarmament we demand guarantees, inspection, surpervision, because none will believe in the good faith of the rest. This is profoundly discouraging for a race which prides itself on having reached the highest
- summits of thought and which is gradually conquering, with godlike daring, the most inflexible laws of nature.

 35. However, that is how things are, and only time—much time—can change them. We cannot with the same speed with which we progress in physics or in chemistry change the aggressive mentality of man, his intolerance, his expansionist mania. It is difficult to cure the human mind, weakened by mistrust, and we are therefore led to seek remedies in disarmament, controlled and supervised disarmament. Ingenuously,

we try to make it materially impossible for ourselves

to fight each other, but even while we are discussing

- these possibilities, we are creating between ourselves spiritual chasms, forming hostile groups, polarizing ourselves in inimical attitudes.

 36. Of course, we shall vote in favour of this draft resolution, but we shall do so with a certain sense of scepticism, just as when addicts deprive themselves, on doctor's orders, of the narcotic which is destroying them. We shall vote in favour of it in the conviction that, in order to obtain a true age of peace, we must clarify our collective mind, cleanse it of hatred, prejudice and over-defensiveness. Only in this way shall we
- dice and over-defensiveness. Only in this way shall we be able to create a world in which the terms "rearmament" and "disarmament" are nightmare figures of the past. When we have cast war from our minds, we shall not need, periodically, to cast the fatal weapons from our hands.
- 37. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet Union delegation has certain views it feels it must express in connexion with the draft resolution on disarmament which we are now to vote upon. It is of vital interest to the peoples of the entire world that the

armaments race should be halted, that atomic weapons should be prohibited and that armed forces and armaments should be reduced. This would have a tremendous effect in reducing international tension and in delivering peoples from the heavy burden of military expenditures and from the fear of atomic war.

38. Unfortunately, it did not prove possible in the First Committee to work out an agreement providing for the execution of specific practical measures of disarmament.

The draft resolution adopted by the First Committee provides merely for the transmission of all proposals submitted to the United Nations to the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee for consideration, and for the present leaves the disarmament problem where it stood before. This obviously unsatisfactory outcome of our discussion of the disarmament problem is primarily due to the position taken by a number of delegations, notably those of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. These delegations evaded working out an agreement on the substance of the question. It is impossible not to relate the attitude taken by these Powers to the steps recently taken by the United States in the direction of further intensifying military preparations, continuing the armaments race and stepping up preparations for atomic war, The Soviet Union delegation was a sponsor of

the disarmament problem.

41. If the future work of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee is to lead to positive results without unnecessary delay, it must be concentrated first and foremost on proposals which are genuinely capable of promoting the execution of practical disarmament measures and on which the viewpoints of the participants in the talks have the proposal southern.

the draft resolution in the First Committee and will

vote in favour of it. In so doing, it hopes that, on this

occasion, the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-

Committee will have regard to the demand of the

peoples and will take effective steps towards resolving

- participants in the talks have drawn closer together.

 42. In this connexion, I should like briefly to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the Soviet Union Government's proposals [A/3366]. They have been worked out with due regard for a number of proposals by the Western Powers and therefore constitute a satisfactory basis for negotiations and for reaching agreement on the problem of disarmament.
- The Soviet Union has been, and continues to be, in favour of a substantial reduction in armed forces and armaments, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the organization of effective international control over the implementation of practical disarmament measures. The Soviet Union, as it has stated on more than one occasion, is prepared to come to a simultaneous understanding on all questions affecting disarmament and to conclude an appropriate international agreement with that end in view. However, independently of such a general agreement and without waiting for its conclusion, the Soviet Union is willing to come to terms on the execution of certain partial measures which would serve the purpose of ending the armaments race and would bring us closer to a solution of the problem of general disarmament and of the prohibition of nuclear
- 44. At the moment, the most urgent problem is to prohibit nuclear weapons and to eliminate the threat of a destructive war involving the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

As one of the priority measures in such a programme, the Government of the Soviet Union'is proposing that a promotion of nuclear weapons should be brought into effect within a too-year period, that the production of those weapons should be discontinued, that the use of atomic are hydrogen bombs should be banned and that stocks should be bounded and that stocks should be completely destroyed. It would be a definite an appropriate that direction if, as a first the direction and hydrogen weapons tests were discontinued. Moreover, an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests could become effective even before agreement was reached on general questions of disarmament.

Another reason why the implementation of this measure would be effective is that it does not necessitate the establishment of a special control system, since, in the present state of scientific knowledge, nuclear explosions can be detected with the appropriate instruments, even at a great distance from the site of the

explosion.

47. The Soviet delegation has submitted a proposal along these lines to the United Nations and believes that it will receive the support it deserves in the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee. No proof is needed that an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests would be an important practical step in the direction of achieving the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, a step which would be fully in keeping with the hopes and aspirations of all mankind.

- The Soviet delegation would also like to draw the General Assembly's attention to the Soviet Government's proposals concerning conventional armaments, as set forth in its statement of 17 November 1956 [A/3366]. The Soviet Union is proposing that, within a two-year period, the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the United States should be reduced to 1,000,000 - 1,500,000 men for each State and those of the United Kingdom and France, to 650,000 men for each State.
- 49. It is proposed under this plan that, during the first year, the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the United States should be reduced to 2,500,000 men for each of these countries, and those of the United Kingdom and France to 750,000 men for each State. These proposals take account of the positions of the other members of the Sub-Committee who have previously submitted similar proposals. Of course, it would be necessary to establish effective international control over the implementation of this reduction.
- The Soviet Government has introduced a number of other constructive proposals, on which I shall not dwell here. These proposals are designed to promote the earliest possible transition from theoretical discussions to practical measures of disarmament. The Soviet delegation hopes that all the Soviet Government's proposals will be considered with due attention by the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee.
- The Soviet delegation is also submitting a proposal [A/C.1/L.164] to the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee concerning an increase in their membership. In the discussions in the First Committee, emphasis was laid on the need for infusing greater energy into the work of the Commission and Sub-Committee and for increasing their authority and prestige. At the present time, the Sub-Committee is composed of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada and the Soviet Union. With the exception of

the Soviet Union, all the other members of the Sub-Committee are active participants in the aggressive North Atlantic military bloc, and what is required of States belonging to this bloc is not a reduction of armaments but an intensification of the armaments race, including the race in nuclear weapons.

It is well known that the restricted and one-sided composition of the Commission and, in particular, of the Sub-Committee impedes and hinders the work of these bodies. The purpose of the increase in membership proposed by the Soviet Union is to make the Commission and the Sub-Committee more impartial and universal in character. Such a step undoubtedly corresponds to the interests of the United Nations and the interests of maintaining and strengthening peace.

- Further, the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee proposes that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee should consider the question of convening a special session of the General Assembly or a general disarmament conference. The convening of a special session of the Assembly or of an international disarmament conference would make it possible to unite the efforts of all nations to achieve agreement on this extremely important international question, the solution of which is awaited by all the peoples of the world, large and small, since it is the most urgent and vitally important of international problems.
- A solution of the disarmament problem calls for the united efforts of all States Members of the United Nations and, first and foremost, of those having the largest armed forces. The United Nations and its organs, the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee, which have been entrusted with the task of continuing the search for a solution to the disarmament problem, must fulfil their duty to the peoples who are insistently calling for the termination of the armaments race and for the adoption of practical and effective measures to reduce armaments and armed forces and to prohibit nuclear weapons.
- Basing itself on the assumption that a major effort is required to promote the achievement of practical results in the forthcoming discussions at the session of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, the Soviet Government has proposed that this session of the Sub-Committee should be held at the foreign minister level, and that senior representatives of service departments, preferably chiefs of staff, should participate, as well as the appropriate economic and financial experts.

The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that this proposal, which is designed to make the most effective possible contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem, will receive the support of the other States which are members of the Sub-Committee.

In accordance with the principles underlying its peace-loving foreign policy, the Soviet Union has consistently advocated, now advocates and will continue to advocate the termination of the armaments race and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It will continue to exert its efforts to secure the earliest possible solution of the disarmament problem, which is of the utmost importance for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and for transferring all mankind's potentialities to peaceful creative work and to improving the welfare of the peoples. Not to weaken, but to intensify, the efforts of the peoples in the struggle for disarmament and for prevention of a new war: this, in our view, is the direct obligation of all States Members of the United Nations.

58. Mr. BERNARDES (Brazil): I should like to take this opportunity to refer once again to a point which I made in my statement in the First Committee at its 827th meeting, which I believe may prove in the future to have some bearing on the progress of our efforts towards disarmament. I refer to the unanimous adoption of the Statute of the International Atomic Every Agency, and the steps that are now being taken to bring that Agency into existence with the shortest possible delay.

59. The Statute of the Agency embodies a system of control and inspection designed to ensure that fissionable materials intended for peaceful purposes will not be diverted to military ends. I believe that, if this system can be put into effect and can be made to work, it may give us some of the experience and the confidence necessary to extend a system of control and inspection to the much wider field of armaments.

of If we are to gain this advantage, it is important that the International Atomic Energy Agency should come into existence as soon as possible. To this end, the ratification of the Statute by as many Governments as possible in the near future is essential. I thought it might be appropriate on this occasion to remind the Assembly of the necessity for Governments to take this action without delay.

Mr. SAWADA (Japan): I should like to comment briefly on the draft resolution now before us. This draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the First Committee, and we entertain the hope that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee may at long last come to a practical and useful agreement in the coming deliberations recommended in the draft resolution. I trust that the General Assembly will, in its turn, unanimously uphold the draft resolution, so that the strong and concerted will of the Assembly will stand behind the bodies charged with its implementation. 62. In the draft resolution it is recommended that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee should give prompt attention to various proposals relating to disarmament. I note in particular the proposal of the Governments of Canada, Norway and my own country, of 18 January 1957 [A/C.1/L.162], which relates to nuclear test explosions. In the course of the deliberations of the First Committee, I pointed out [823rd meeting] the danger of radio-activity resulting from such tests, wherever they are conducted. The Committee was fully aware of the danger to the safety of the present and future generations of mankind. The Committee was also aware of the effects on such tests upon the economic life of nations. My delegation, together with the delegations of Canada and Norway, has made a proposal specifically to cope with this problem in the existing international situation. It is a moderate one, but we have proposed it in the belief that it is the only practicable and useful one, acceptable to all the nations. I may say, moreover, that its merits were widely recognized, as proved by the strong support given to it by the members of the Committee. Let me reiterate that it is an appropriate first step toward the complete prohibition of nuclear tests and toward the eventual elimination of nuclear warfare.

63. I wish to stress on this occasion the serious concern of the Government and people of Japan over the continuation of nuclear tests, and their strong desire for the early elimination of nuclear warfare. It is indeed urgent that the nuclear tests should be halted. An agreement on this question should not be deferred until an over-all agreement on general disarmament is reached.

My delegation is convinced that the three-Power proposal referred to in the draft resolution deserves, by its own nature, the immediate and urgent attention of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee. Our feeling found strong support in the First Committee in the statements of the United States and other delegations. My Government is not represented in either the Disarmament Commission or its Sub-Committee. But we trust that they will not fail to fulfil the confidence which we place in them. The United Nations, I dare say, cannot afford to disillusion the public opinion, not only of Japan, but of the whole world.

64. In the belief that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee will make effective progress toward disarmament including progress toward an early prohibition of nuclear tests and the elimination of nuclear warfare, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee.

65. The PRESIDENT: If there are no other speakers, we shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee [A/3514].

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

66. The PRESIDENT: The unanimous adoption of this resolution is a heartening step forward in the very difficult and delicate problem of disarmament. In noting this step, I should like to dwell for a moment on another United Nations action taken in this Assembly Hall nearly four months ago. I refer to the unanimous adoption of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency by the conference of eighty-one nations which drew up the final text of that Statute. While the International Atomic Energy Agency is exclusively concerned with the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the unanimous progress made in its establishment should be of some encouragement to the Assembly in its long and arduous struggle with the problems of disarmament.

67. When the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, first suggested this great new approach to the problems posed by man's mastery of atomic energy here in the General Assembly at its eighth session [470th meeting], he was speaking in the context of the whole question of the use and control of this great new force. The enthusiasm with which this idea was taken up by all nations was first made clear in the highly successful International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held at Geneva in 1955. The steps taken towards the establishment of a permanent agency have confirmed this enthusiasm and determination.

68. The fact that all the Governments concerned have agreed, in the Statute of the Agency, to a system of control and safeguards governing the activities of the Agency is of particular interest to us here when we deal with disarmament, for it may be that the experience gained in this relatively limited sphere may give us the key to some of the problems of disarmament and may provide some of the experience and confidence necessary to go further in the disarmament field itself.

69. I think it is generally agreed that the speedy establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency is of the utmost importance. I would, therefore, take the liberty of reminding delegations that, although the Statute has already been signed by the representatives of eighty nations, the Agency cannot come into being until the requisite number of ratifications have

been deposited, and that the largest possible number of ratifications is vital to its success and influence.

70. I am informed that the Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency has expressed the hope that it will be possible to hold the first General Conference of the Agency during the course of

1957. I should like, therefore, to take this opportunity to suggest that Members of the Assembly should do everything in their power to speed the ratification, through their own constitutional processes, of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.