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MEETING**

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**Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).**

**Tribute to the memory of Judge José Gustavo Guerrero, member of the International Court of Justice**

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the members of the Committee to observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. José Gustavo Guerrero, an eminent jurist of El Salvador and a member of the International Court of Justice.

The representatives stood in silence.

**AGENDA ITEMS 64, 70 AND 72**

Question of disarmament (A/3929, A/3936, A/C.1/L.205, A/C.1/L.206, A/C.1/L.208, A/C.1/L.210, A/C.1/L.211) (continued)

The discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests (A/3915, A/C.1/L.202/Rev.1 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.203 and Corr.1, A/C.1/L.205) (continued)

The reduction of the military budgets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France by 10 to 15 per cent and the use of part of the savings so effected for assistance to the under-developed countries (A/3925, A/C.1/L.204, A/C.1/L.205) (continued)

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued)**

2. Mr. BOUZA (Uruguay) recalled the observation made during the Second International Peace Conference, held at The Hague in 1907, by a statesman of his country, Mr. José Batlle y Ordóñez, that since so many alliances had been concluded to impose the arbitrary, one might well be forged to impose justice. The United Nations should be an alliance of that kind for the elimination of war as a means of settling disputes. The principles of the Charter could not be regarded as purely static; they must be given dynamic

force, and the Organization must strive constantly to ensure that they increasingly influenced the life of the peoples and the conduct of Governments.

3. The object of any disarmament plan must be to remove all possibility of aggression. Accordingly, the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held at Geneva in July and August 1958, assumed particular importance, as did the statements in which the three "nuclear Powers" had indicated their acceptance of the report of the Conference of Experts (A/3897), thereby giving grounds for hope that the negotiations scheduled to begin on 31 October 1958 would result in agreement. That solution was not only possible, but essential.

4. His delegation would vote in favour of the seventeen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.205). While it gave due attention to each aspect of disarmament, the draft was based on the incontestable principle that disarmament was a single problem. It was difficult to see how disarmament in the nuclear field could be separated from the reduction of conventional armaments, since the task was to eliminate war, not to make it more humanitarian. The problems raised by the production of fissionable materials and the manufacture of nuclear weapons were inseparably linked with the problem of nuclear test explosions, which were only a symptom and not the cause of the real trouble. The desire to protect humanity from radiation could not be separated from the anxiety caused by the accumulation of stocks of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

5. The discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests was only justified if it was accompanied by a decision to renounce the use of nuclear arms and to eliminate them from arsenals under an appropriate system of control. The United States representative had shown the evolution of his Government's policy and the Uruguayan delegation had noted his statement with great satisfaction, since it was extremely important that a country like the United States should adapt itself to the requirements of the world situation.

6. The splitting of the atom had completely changed the problem of security, but the balance of forces would only be maintained if disarmament were not confined exclusively to atomic weapons. Technical progress had created weapons of such destructive power that it was now necessary to seek more intensively than ever before ways and means of ensuring through disarmament a lasting peace which would enable the peoples to live and work with dignity.

7. Uruguay had always been devotedly attached to the most disinterested principles of international law. It had embodied them in its Constitution and it had

always applied them in its relations with other peoples. Never once in its history had Uruguay let itself be carried away by the ambition of military leaders, economic rivalry, the whims of politicians or racial antagonisms. A firm supporter of arbitration, it had never bowed to the great or humiliated the weak, but had always sought peaceful solutions to its international problems.

8. His country was one of the sponsors of the amendment (A/C.1/L.209) which would add a paragraph to the seventeen-Power draft resolution concerning the use of the funds made available as a result of disarmament for the improvement of living conditions throughout the world and especially in the less developed countries.

9. In view of the responsibility which all Members of the United Nations bore in the matter of disarmament, it would be appropriate to agree on a text which could be adopted unanimously. No State in which the will of the people prevailed desired war, and the best guarantee of security was that close link between peace and the principles expressed in democratic institutions. The United Nations had been established by peace-loving peoples, but the maintenance of peace imposed pressing obligations on all States irrespective of their political system. It was Governments, not peoples, which decided on war or peace, and it was they who would be judged by man's conscience. Disarmament which might recently have seemed an ideal was now the urgent and vital demand of all mankind.

10. Mr. NISOT (Belgium) said that his delegation had associated itself with the initiative embodied in the seventeen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.205). The question of disarmament was extremely complex and inseparable from that of security, of which it was an aspect. Being interdependent, those elements could only be solved in relation to the aim sought, which was to achieve a greater degree of security. It was in that sense that the provisions of the draft should be interpreted. That text was based on two fundamental principles: the bilateral character of the measures to be taken, an essential condition for the equilibrium, the equipollence, upon which the maintenance of peace depended; and the imperative nature of control, which was equally essential.

11. As in the past, a great deal was being said about mutual confidence, which was still an important subject. But there could be no better way of creating or maintaining confidence than by precautions capable of making disappointments less likely. There were no laws, no matter how ancient, which were not chiefly designed to test and verify intentions in order to make it possible for individuals to coexist. *A fortiori*, in the matter of disarmament, it could not be claimed that it was possible, without control, to establish conditions capable of eliminating risks, when the risks were now exceptionally grave and history testified how likely they were to arise.

12. The seventeen-Power draft resolution gave prominence to the technical approach to the problem of which disarmament was one aspect. That was a rational method. It was impossible to negotiate profitably in the political sphere unless it had been determined on the basis of reliable criteria what could be achieved in practice. The validity of that

method was confirmed most strikingly by the work of the Conference of Experts, which had agreed that it was possible to detect violations of an agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests. Belgium attached great value to suspension and the draft resolution of which it was a sponsor urged the States that carried out nuclear weapons tests to make every effort to reach early agreement and to refrain from tests during the negotiations.

13. The draft resolution actively encouraged the study of the technical aspects of measures to prevent surprise attacks and to contribute to the establishment of a world-wide system of balanced disarmament, which should also cover the production and accumulation of fissionable material for military purposes.

14. Lastly, the draft reaffirmed the responsibility of the United Nations in the matter of disarmament. It stressed the importance of the discussions and resolutions of the General Assembly as well as the value of the assistance of the Secretary-General. Moreover, since the Assembly had only powers of recommendation, the draft resolution rightly called attention to the urgency of concluding the necessary agreements.

15. In short, in view of the need to proceed gradually, the seventeen-Power draft resolution appeared at the present stage to be a useful contribution to the efforts being made to solve the problem and the Belgian delegation therefore supported it.

16. Mr. BRANNON (El Salvador) thanked the members of the First Committee for their tribute to the memory of Mr. Guerrero.

17. He noted that the First Committee's debate on disarmament had reached a deadlock. Some delegations thought that the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests and the reduction of the military budgets of the great Powers were both one aspect of the general question of disarmament, and that the debate should accordingly deal with both of them at once. Others had pointed out that the General Assembly, in allocating certain agenda items to the First Committee, had listed the questions of the discontinuance of nuclear tests and the reduction of military budgets separately, and that it would be better to start with the question of the discontinuance of tests because that was the one on which agreement was most likely. But it would seem that the two opinions were not so widely divergent because they had one aim in common: full agreement on disarmament.

18. Admittedly, it was a political problem involving the interests and the security of the "nuclear Powers", but the time had come when obstacles must be overcome, and the small nations, with the backing of world public opinion, must have the courage to tell the great Powers that the world did not want war and that it condemned the armaments race.

19. His delegation considered the question of disarmament as one and indivisible, and thought that its two principal aspects should be discussed together. It was in favour of the idea of using part of the funds made available by a 10 to 15 per cent reduction in the military budgets of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France for assistance to the under-developed countries.

20. Accordingly, the draft resolution which best met the views of his delegation was that of the seventeen Powers (A/C.1/L.205), provided that it included the additional clause proposed by seven Latin-American countries (A/C.1/L.209).

21. However, as one of the draft resolutions before the Committee might be adopted by the required majority even though it was not acceptable to some of the Powers directly concerned, and would in consequence be doomed to remain a dead letter like the previous resolutions of the General Assembly, it would be advisable to act on the proposal made by the representative of Haiti at the 961st meeting.

22. His delegation sincerely regretted its inability to support certain draft resolutions which dealt with only part of the question of disarmament, as, for instance, the Indian-Yugoslav draft resolution (A/C.1/L.210), which seemed to represent an intelligent and skilful approach to the matter of the composition of the Disarmament Commission, and the Irish draft resolution (A/C.1/L.206), which, inspired by humanitarian sentiments, sought to restrict the dissemination of nuclear weapons.

23. His delegation supported the proposal made by the representative of Cuba at the 956th meeting, concerning the establishment of an emergency fund for the maintenance of peace. It considered that the great Powers, in virtue of their privileges—permanent membership in the Security Council and the right of veto—bore a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and should accordingly contribute more to such a fund than other countries.

24. The Mexican draft resolution (A/C.1/L.208), which was based on a clear and realistic appraisal of the situation, deserved enthusiastic and unanimous support. Its adoption would constitute a real step forward, as it would provide a means of breaking the existing deadlock.

25. Mr. SON SANN (Cambodia) was convinced that, while the agreement of the three so-called nuclear Powers was indispensable to the settlement of the question of disarmament, that settlement could not be final without the participation, direct or indirect, of all other nations, France and mainland China in particular.

26. It was still more obvious that negotiations to secure the reduction of conventional armaments could

not be valid without the participation of mainland China.

27. Lastly, the United Nations, whose purpose it was to maintain peace in the world, must be kept informed of any negotiations which might take place. But the United Nations itself should change its method of work and, for the sake of its prestige and authority, should cease to adopt academic resolutions which remained dead letters.

28. To help in that reform, each Member State should endeavour to create a public opinion favourable to the United Nations and strong enough to impose moral or material sanctions on recalcitrant countries.

29. In view of the political difficulties in the way of control, now admitted to be technically feasible, countries might perhaps surrender their national sovereignty more readily if the control was exercised by the United Nations or by a commission consisting of representatives of countries which could not be suspected of partiality or political partisanship, and of experts of the "nuclear Powers".

30. His delegation supported the proposal made by the representative of Haiti (961st meeting) to set up a small committee within the First Committee to prepare, jointly with the delegations of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, a draft resolution which could be adopted unanimously.

31. If that proposal was not adopted, his delegation would vote for the draft resolution which it had sponsored with twelve other delegations (A/C.1/L.202/Rev.1 and Add.1). In any case, it desired a firm and unanimous decision.

32. It also hoped that the United Nations would be able to follow very closely the course of the forthcoming negotiations at Geneva, and that it would re-establish a Disarmament Commission imbued with a new spirit and capable of getting to work immediately.

33. If that step was not feasible, the ineffectiveness of the United Nations would have to be frankly acknowledged, so that the peoples of the world should cease to nourish vain hopes and start looking for some other means of achieving speedy and general disarmament.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.