draft resolution which crystallized the various views expressed in the course of the First Committee's debate. The draft resolution, the agreement of the four Foreign Ministers to set up a ten-Power disarmament committee (DC/144) and the United Nations Disarmament Commission's resolution welcoming that agreement (A/4269) were all signs that times had changed.

5. The draft resolution accorded very well with the policy of his Government, and the United Kingdom was therefore happy to co-sponsor it. It was gratifying that so many delegations had joined in sponsoring the draft.

6. Mr. MOCH (France) welcomed the broad agreement reached on the draft resolution. Even though the draft itself was of limited significance, its unanimous adoption would serve as encouragement for the ten-nation talks in Geneva and the future work of the United Nations on disarmament. He was gratified at the resumption of disarmament negotiations after an interruption of two years and pledged his delegation to spare no effort in seeking progress towards disarmament. The establishment of the ten-Power committee did not mean that other States and the United Nations must remain outside the question of disarmament. Contact would be maintained between the Committee, which was to meet at Geneva, and the United Nations, and it was to be hoped that the results achieved by the Committee would enable the United Nations Disarmament Commission to resume its work.

7. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan) said that, at a time when the perfection of nuclear weapons and rockets appeared to create insuperable barriers to the solution of disarmament problems and after a two-year deadlock in negotiations, the new possibilities offered by the establishment of the ten-Power disarmament committee were to be welcomed with considerable relief. Moreover, the Committee would eventually report back to the Disarmament Commission in recognition of the ultimate responsibility of the United Nations for general disarmament measures. Pakistan endorsed the United Kingdom suggestion that the Secretary-General should appoint a representative to the ten-Power committee (1029th meeting) and welcome the choice of Mr. Padilla Nervo.

8. The two sets of disarmament proposals submitted respectively by the Soviet Union (A/4219) and the United Kingdom (A/C.1/820) held out hopes of significant progress towards the ultimate objective of a disarmed and warless world, which all nations should strive to attain in the interests of survival. The Pakistan delegation agreed with the representative of Argentina that both sets of proposals should be examined in the first instance by the ten-Power Committee and hoped that it would make every effort to evolve a plan for the greatest possible measure of controllable disarmament to be implemented by stages.

9. The members of the United Nations would be in a better position to evaluate the respective merits of the
two proposals after the ten-Power committee had submitted its report to the Disarmament Commission. However, even a cursory comparison of the two plans showed that the following significant advances had been made from the previous positions taken by the two sides: comprehensive disarmament, rather than partial measures, was to be the objective of negotiations; the West no longer insisted on linking progress in disarmament in the field of conventional weapons with political conditions; it was not possible to implement individual measures of disarmament independent of all the other disarmament measures within the complex; the Soviet Union no longer demanded renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons before embarking on disarmament in conventional weapons and had relegated its demand for the abolition of foreign military bases from priority status to the stage when such disarmament was complete.

10. With regard to the question of an inspection and control system, the Soviet representative had, in his explanatory statement (1036th meeting), appeared to favour the establishment of a control body and the institution of measures of control during the third and final stage of disarmament. However, the Soviet representative’s explanation given at the 1033rd meeting of the Committee had dispelled the fears that that might in fact be the attitude of the Soviet Union. In view of that encouraging statement, it was to be hoped that the Soviet Union might now be prepared to elaborate on the responsibilities and functions of the control organ appropriate to each stage of disarmament. Only then would it be possible to determine whether the controls to be instituted were real or illusory. It would be the task of the ten-Power committee to work out whatever comprehensive measures of inspection and control could be applied to each phase of an agreed disarmament plan. Since both the Western Powers and the Soviet Union had not taken rigid positions with regard to their own proposals, it should prove possible to integrate the two sets of proposals into a single balanced plan of comprehensive and controlled disarmament to be implemented by stages in such a way that no side would be placed at a military disadvantage.

11. The United Kingdom plan was based on the principle that disarmament in the fields of conventional and nuclear weapons should be related and proceed hand in hand so that when the West was deprived of its nuclear deterrent the Soviet Union should not retain its preponderance in conventional armaments. The fact, however, that the Soviet proposals did not contemplate restrictions on nuclear arms in the initial stages but concentrated on the reduction of conventional armaments should not be regarded as conflicting with the principle of maintaining the balance of power during the process of disarmament. Surely such a proposal coming from a party which had an advantage in conventional armaments could not have the effect of shifting the balance of strength to the disadvantage of the other party. Accordingly, the constructive elements in the Soviet proposals for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments should be taken into account as they might hold out prospects of a substantial measure of real disarmament in the future. That consideration had prompted the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan to suggest in his statement in the General Assembly (808th meeting) that the ten-Power committee should make every effort to reach agreement on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments and also consider the convening of a special session of the General Assembly within two years to effect such a reduction. While the relaxation of the position of the West that conventional disarmament could not be limited to the four principal Powers would no doubt facilitate the forthcoming negotiations, Pakistan none the less believed that, in the interests of the security of all parties, limitations of armed forces and armaments should be made universally applicable by means of a multilateral convention.

12. With regard to the four-year period in which general and complete disarmament was to be carried out, it was hard to believe that when a whole year had proved insufficient for concluding an agreement on the discontinuance of tests of nuclear weapons, the difficulties besetting the central problem of disarmament could be overcome in only four years. However, if an agreement on tests could be concluded before the end of the present session of the Assembly, those doubts might be dispelled.

13. The economic burden of the arms race was felt the world over. If the great Powers realized that the need to maintain competing weapons systems must lead to mutual bankruptcy, the smaller nations found the cost of maintaining military establishments prohibitive. Particularly in the case of the under-developed countries, the only hope of economic viability lay in a reduction of armaments. However, that could not be achieved without corresponding reductions on the part of their neighbours and, since the smaller countries did not possess nuclear weapons, meaningful disarmament implied a universal reduction of conventional armaments so as to release the necessary economic resources to embark on economic development. The amount of foreign assistance received by the under-developed countries was inadequate at their present critical stage. The decline in their terms of trade, due to falling commodity prices, made that assistance largely compensatory. If they maintained their present military expenditures, three to four times the current rate of foreign assistance would be needed over a decade for them to achieve self-sustaining economies. Only general, multilateral and enforceable disarmament could provide the necessary resources.

14. As the representative of the United States had pointed out (1027th meeting), in the event of comprehensive disarmament, institutions would be needed to preserve international peace and security and to promote the rule of law. Constructive suggestions had been put forward by a number of delegations to deal with the new situation. The Pakistan delegation welcomed the proposals of the United States that the Disarmament Commission should study the three questions it had formulated so that the world could meet the challenge of a new era in international relations. Pakistan had always been a staunch supporter of the concept of an international police force to preserve peace and security. It had also urged that the machinery envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes should be strengthened and the scope of compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice enlarged to make the Organization a more effective instrument for the attainment of its purposes.

15. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) said that the Committee had quite rightly given priority to the question of general and complete disarmament, taking advantage of the present relaxation in international tensions. The
thoroughgoing proposals put forward by the Soviet Union, one of the members of the "nuclear club", could not be viewed without certain misgivings. It had been introduced before a favourable psychological atmosphere, an essential pre-condition for the achievement of disarmament, existed. Before men could learn to live without arms, they had to be purged of the moral poisons with which they had been permeated for generations: their selfish passions, their lust for power, their tolerance of injustice, their profound prejudices, and, above all, their pernicious distrust and scepticism. That mentality was likely to render disarmament discussions, which should be directed to reconciling differences and reaching mutual understanding, extremely difficult.

16. Furthermore, an agreement on general and complete disarmament could not automatically erase the economic difficulties which would be created in a world without arms. It was unduly optimistic to believe that the prevailing systems of production in an expanding economy could easily be converted. The most serious upheavals would result from the necessity of changing the age-old concepts of an economy based on profit and individual interest. The dislocation of the economic machinery would be less serious in countries where planning by the State tended to take the place of free business initiative; it would be uncontrollable where the economic system was founded on the profit motive, free competition and free enterprise. The armaments industry with all its ramifications was a means of economic expansion to which some States had resorted out of a legitimate desire to protect themselves. It had become a major branch of industry and industry was the major producer of wealth and the primary support of a policy of full employment. Any retrenchment in a given sector would inevitably disturb the balance in the whole industrial chain.

17. Similarly, general and complete disarmament would shatter the social stability of the world of tomorrow. There was a general tendency to link disarmament with assistance to economically under-developed countries, but it would be unduly optimistic to think that, once the world was disarmed, all peoples would have enough to eat, adequate shelter and decent living conditions. He even wondered whether the arms race was the real reason why the under-developed countries were not being helped sufficiently. It was not that the necessary capital for investment was lacking, but that men continued to harbour a distorted view of their own self-interest. Indeed, the International Chamber of Commerce had felt it necessary to emphasize the new responsibilities of business leaders to envisage economic problems on a global scale and to adapt their objectives, not merely to the interests of their own businesses or their own country, but to a much larger sphere. States had been urged to revise their tax systems in order not to discourage foreign investment and to adopt a code for the fair treatment of such investments. Past indifference to the problem of under-development must be attributed to a failure in understanding; reactionary ideas rather than lack of capital resources had inhibited the giants of finance from fostering prosperity in the economically weak countries. The corollary of general and complete disarmament should be a rational plan for the full development of the economies of the world and the abolition of economic inequality and discrimination. Only then would genuine peace be attained, for it would be a peace of the minds, symbolizing the reconciliation between men desirous of ensuring the well-being of their fellowmen.

18. He hoped that the representatives present at the fourteenth session would be remembered in history as having been animated by the same determination to bring about disarmament and exterminate war as their predecessors at San Francisco, who had signed the United Nations Charter.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.