

# Foreign Ministers Conference, Geneva 1959 ; Berlin question 1959 ; Outer sp...

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Dag Hammarskjöld's saml.

Disarmament

23 April 60

Cook, Charles D. (U.S.A. Mission to Hq  
U.N.)

- 1 letter from D.H.
- 1 encl. (D.H.'s speech - Conference of Ten, Geneva)

23 April 1960

Dear Charles,

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Enclosed please find two copies of my draft for a few words I would like to say when attending a meeting of the Ten in Geneva. They need no explanation in the light of all previous discussions and seem to me so geared as to fit both into the present tactical situation and into the present Herter philosophy. I would like to have, informally, the U.S. reaction before I leave on Tuesday. I will not check with anybody else.

My right to attend a meeting in Geneva is, of course, unquestioned. Some people may fear what I may say, and for that reason hesitate to give me the floor. Apart from the fact that I fail to see how this can be refused, I am sure the Secretary of State will share my feeling that, approaching the matter in the way I do, my intervention in the present stage would be useful and, therefore, should be accepted also for substantial reasons.

Dag Hammarskjöld.

Mr. Charles D. Cook,  
United States Mission to  
the United Nations,  
2 Park Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.

DRAFT

I am happy that other duties have brought me to Geneva in time for me to attend personally a meeting of the Conference of Ten on Disarmament before the end of its first period of work. Through my representatives at the Conference and through the study of the records I have been able to follow closely the development of your discussions. This has been essential for me in view of the fact that, as the four powers which initiated these discussions, themselves said in their communication to the United Nations, this Organisation carries the primary responsibility for disarmament.

Indeed, its primary responsibility for disarmament is only one reason why the Organisation has a special interest in and a special importance for your discussions. The other one is its specific responsibilities as laid down in the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes and for action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. Obviously, these three aspects of the policy for the maintenance of peace — that is disarmament, pacific settlement of disputes and action in view of breaches of peace — are inseparable and integrated elements of the policies of Member Governments within the framework of and through the United Nations. Just as efforts towards preservation of peace through negotiation and similar means and through action, if necessary, in case of a breach of peace need the support of action in the field of disarmament, so disarmament must be integrated with effective machinery in the other two respects. These policies cannot be divided and responsibility in one of the fields, therefore, necessitates corresponding responsibility in the other fields.

In a search for an agreement on disarmament in which complete disarmament is approached through concrete measures, of which each one is consistently seen and considered as an integral part of the effort to achieve such disarmament, you are bound to reach a point where you will have to study the United Nations Organisation with a view to determining how its machinery can best be used or developed in support of disarmament.

Your Conference, however, is not an organ of the United Nations, and the consideration of the functioning of the Organisation, obviously, primarily belongs to the Organisation itself and to all its Member Governments alike. I would, thus, assume that the study that at some stage will have to be made of those matters which are covered by Chapter VII of the Charter and which would become of crucial significance in case of progressive or complete disarmament, will be made by the United Nations with a view to such possible decisions by the Organisation as may be indicated in order to give it the necessary efficiency.

Likewise, a question will arise for you how to fit the control activities which will be called for into the organisational framework of the United Nations. The technical nature of this question is bound to make it a subject of your study, but the need for integration to which I have already referred, and the specific experience and knowledge of the administrative and political problems arising for and within the United Nations, renders it necessary for the Organisation to provide you in this connection with its full assistance, if we are to arrive at the best possible result. It would, in my view, be entirely premature at this stage to discuss this question. Be it enough to say <sup>that</sup> — as shown by the 15 years of its history — the Organisation has such possibilities of development and such flexibility that I do not foresee any difficulties in fitting an activity of this type into the United Nations constitutional framework in a way which would fully safeguard ~~an~~ all legitimate interests involved.

The United Nations, like the other international organisations of a universal or regional character, of course, reflects only the political realities of the moment. ~~Therefore,~~ <sup>arrangements</sup> Important though organisational ~~problems~~ are, they are subordinated in the sense that they do not change realities; what at a given time politically is attainable on one organisational basis, is equally attainable on another one. Essential difficulties encountered within the United Nations are based on realities and not on the specific constitution of the Organisation. In the work for achieving and maintaining disarmament they would not be experienced with less force, were an attempt

to be made to start, so to say, all over again; time will be gained and better results achieved if our efforts are developed with respect for what has been achieved so far and for the necessity of organic adaptation of these achievements to new needs within the framework of new possibilities.

These brief observations are natural for me as Secretary-General of the United Nations as an attempt to indicate the width and range of the integration of your specific problems with those of 82 Member Governments grappling through the United Nations, as their main instrumentality based on universality, with the building of an organized world community based on law in which peace is preserved through controlled disarmament, the full use of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and efficient arrangements permitting action in case of a breach of peace.