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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 28

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (continued):*
(a) Report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation
Committee on Disarmament

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/7016/ADD.1)

1. Mr. ORN (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee: Mr. President, it is a gratifying duty to be able to report to you that the First Committee has now discharged the task that the General Assembly assigned to it on 24 April. After six long weeks of thorough discussion the Committee last Monday ended its deliberations on agenda item 28 (a). The report of the First Committee on this item is contained in document A/7016/Add.1, and as Rapporteur of the Committee, I now have the honour to submit it for the consideration of the General Assembly.

2. The forty-eight-Power draft resolution was adopted by the Committee last Monday, 10 June, with 92 delegations voting in favour, 4 against and 22 abstaining. The text of that draft resolution, to which

is annexed the "Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons" which the resolution commends, is reproduced in paragraph 9 of the report.

3. Representatives will have noticed that some minor editorial changes have been made in the annexed treaty after the draft resolution was voted upon in the First Committee. I refer to changes such as spelling out the full and proper title of the 1963 partial test ban treaty in the eleventh preambular paragraph and adding the words "or accession" after the word "ratification" in article III.

4. It is not for me to interpret the significance of the decision recommended by the First Committee. However, I think I interpret the feelings of a vast majority of that Committee if I express the hope that in commending this treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Committee has played a significant part in helping us to cross a bridge at the other end of which we expect substantial progress towards nuclear disarmament and arms control.

5. As this brings my rapporteurship to its end, I may perhaps be allowed, Sir, on a personal basis, to thank you and Members of this Assembly for the co-operation, understanding and generosity you have shown me personally and, what is more important, in regard to the numerous reports which it has been my privilege to introduce to you on behalf of the First Committee.

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

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

7. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): Members of the Assembly are aware of the French delegation's reservations in regard to the debate on non-proliferation. In accordance with that attitude we refrained from speaking in the First Committee, but now that the great majority of Member States have made known their positions, everyone will understand that France deems it necessary to explain the vote which we are going to cast.

8. The question of disarmament, that is to say, in the world of today, the question of nuclear disarmament, is the essential task that has been facing humanity since 1945, when the first atomic bomb in history exploded at Hiroshima. That question has been posed to the United Nations ever since its foundation in San Francisco a few months later; it is the question that haunts the minds of those who realize that the existence of the absolute weapon is not only a new stage in the evolution of warfare but also and above

*Resumed from the 1640th meeting.

all a permanent threat hanging over individuals, nations and life.

9. In the face of that immense obligation, how inadequate are the discussions that have been going on for years and whose result does not constitute measures of disarmament nor even a reduction of armaments, but merely a beginning of the study of the real problems. That is the simple but tragic observation that has to be made when the General Assembly is meeting once again on the subject of disarmament but actually to discuss the draft treaty on non-proliferation elaborated by the Soviet Union and the United States, which has already been discussed at length by the Geneva Committee and by our own First Committee [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9]. It is these simple, but in our view decisive, considerations that explain the position of France in this regard, a position and vote which I now have the honour of expounding to you.

10. What is the purpose of the draft resolution? Essentially, it is to ensure that States not possessing nuclear weapons refrain from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons, while, on their part, the Powers possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to do anything that might facilitate access by a State to atomic capability in the military field.

11. As is well known, the French Government has so far abstained from taking part in the discussions. It has no intention of relinquishing that attitude. It certainly does not desire the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is convinced, as much as anyone, that if all peoples are to benefit from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the multiplication of such weapons would be dangerous. It fully realizes that the non-nuclear States renounce their nuclear option under the conditions laid down by the treaty. Likewise, the French Government considers that the nuclear States must in no way, directly or indirectly, encourage a proliferation which would be contrary to the interests of the world as a whole. That, it must be added, is inevitably what is happening and will continue to happen in any case. No country with the terrifying responsibilities that result from the possession of nuclear weapons would ever envisage sharing them with others. For its part, France, which will not sign the non-proliferation treaty, will behave in the future, in that field, exactly as the States which decide to adhere to it. There is certainly no doubt about that in anyone's mind.

12. But that is not the real question. Nor can it be the mere confirmation by the international community of the monopoly of the Powers that possess nuclear weapons at the present time. The real question is, as I said at the beginning and we are thinking of nothing else, the doing away with nuclear weapons.

13. As the highest French authorities have said a good many times, the only way to do away with the threat which those weapons hang over everybody is to cease making them and to destroy their stockpiles. Such an undertaking requires that the nuclear Powers should take counsel together and reach agreement. This of course implies on their part both the will to reach agreement and a profound change in their reciprocal relations, that is, to begin with, a genuine détente. However remote such a prospect may seem, it is the only one that answers the problem and is

likely thereby to meet the concern expressed in this universal Assembly, particularly by the non-nuclear Powers.

14. France, for its part, remains ready for any initiatives that the other Powers would be disposed to agree to with it in that field. It would be the first to rejoice if, with the help of an agreement for real disarmament, it could envisage renouncing the nuclear means with which, in the present state of affairs, it has had to equip itself in order to meet, in complete independence, the requirements of its security.

15. By abstaining in the vote on the draft resolution which is about to be submitted to the General Assembly [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9], the French delegation intends neither to condemn nor to recommend the conclusion of a treaty which after all is without any implication for its country. Its primary intention is to recall that the great task of disarmament, to which the French Government is prepared to devote its best efforts, still lies ahead of us and that it is essentially in that regard that everyone should assume his own responsibilities.

16. I should add that, in the same spirit, France will in due course adopt a similar position in the Security Council, when the latter considers the draft resolution submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union^{1/} and intended to give the non-nuclear Powers assurances in regard to the risks to which the weapons held by the nuclear Powers might expose them. France produces such weapons for strictly defensive purposes and has no intention of using them either to threaten or to attack anyone at all. But here again, France is of the opinion that all the nations of the world will get the security safeguards which they rightly claim, only when the world takes the path of nuclear disarmament and provided that such disarmament is carried out completely.

17. Mr. MAYAKI (Niger) (translated from French): On 10 June, four days after the dastardly assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, whose cruel and premature loss was being mourned by our Assembly together with the American people and the rest of the world, the fraternal people of Senegal was also smitten through the death of the President of the National Assembly, Maître Lamine Gueye, a great African personality, to whose memory my delegation wishes to pay a solemn tribute for his great moral, political and intellectual merits and for his many outstanding services to the African cause. It also wishes to convey its deep sympathy and its most heartfelt condolences to the delegations of the United States and Senegal in these sad and distressing circumstances.

18. I should now like to take up the problem on the agenda of our meeting and associate myself with the well-deserved tribute paid by all who spoke in the general debate in the First Committee to the representative of Ireland for his very timely initiative which has enabled us to have most useful discussions on the subject of safeguarding the future of mankind by the determined quest for measures to put an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This tribute applies also to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and

^{1/} Document S/8631 (mimeographed). Text adopted unchanged as Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on 19 June 1968.

to his outstanding team of scientists, the authors of document A/6858^{2/} which has enabled us to make an authoritative assessment of the catastrophic, disastrous consequences of the use of nuclear weapons, as well as to the authors of the draft treaty submitted for our consideration [A/7010/Add.1, para. 9] and to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which has performed outstanding work, of which my delegation is pleased to underline the great value as well as the great importance which its international character gives to it.

19. If one looks back at the road already travelled from 1959 to 1968 since the adoption of the Irish proposal aimed at the prohibition of nuclear weapons [resolution 1380 (XIV)], one is glad to note that an important step forward has been made in that short space of time in the field of nuclear disarmament. In other words, we are advancing slowly but surely over difficult ground by a long road strewn with many obstacles that are difficult to overcome.

20. Africa and Latin America are proud to have been able to make a very important contribution at the present stage of our work. As proof of this, we need only recall the positions adopted by the African Heads of State both at Addis Ababa^{3/} and at Cairo,^{4/} when they declared Africa a denuclearized zone and decided unequivocally against the use of atomic weapons. The Latin-American States, for their part, have very recently concluded a regional treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons,^{5/} thus putting all their trust in international co-operation in a world which, we hope, will be devoted to peace and continual progress.

21. My country has always declared itself against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as a good many resolutions of our Organization recommended. Today, once again, I can state on behalf of my Government with force and conviction that the people of Niger will give its full support to any effort, any initiative, aimed at promoting general and complete disarmament. But my country could not unreservedly support the adoption of a draft treaty, with the elaboration of which it has had nothing to do either directly or indirectly, without having had sufficient time beforehand to examine the contents. Indeed, my delegation agrees with Mr. de Magalhaes Pinto, the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who said:

"We know that the matter is an urgent one, requiring prompt action, but likewise we are aware of the fact that less than mature solutions and less than equitable measures may well aggravate the very inconveniences and dangers that we are seeking to forestall. The question is too important for us to make it contingent upon circumstances of a procedural nature, either of time or of place. The

future of our peoples and of all nationalities is the very essence of our debate and thus we must carefully weigh the measures as well as the recommendations to be adopted. The non-nuclear world is squarely confronted with a dilemma and a choice."^{6/}

22. Without going thoroughly into the problem, because the circumstances do not permit me to do so, and without wishing to question the advantages and obligations that the draft treaty entails for the parties thereto, my delegation considers that, in the light of everything that has been said and notwithstanding the amendments that have been made, it is still too early for it to accept unreservedly the texts submitted to the vote of our Assembly.

23. My delegation would like, however, to pay tribute to the spirit of co-operation shown by the sponsors of the draft treaty in submitting in the Committee amendments to their own draft and thus making a great contribution to the search for a compromise acceptable to the great majority of the Committee.

24. Nevertheless, despite those amendments, we still have misgivings. Indeed, my delegation finds that the gist of the problem remains unchanged even though this treaty is a step towards total, general disarmament. The security safeguards still have to be determined, the expression "threat of aggression" has to be defined, and there are many other matters, which were referred to in the Committee by so many speakers from the non-nuclear countries.

25. My delegation feels that we should enable those countries which have not had time to study the draft treaty to do so as carefully as possible, so that they can make their contribution, however modest, to the examination of a collective work of such great importance. It also feels that the Conference of Non-nuclear-Weapon States^{7/} should examine this text with a view to making suggestions for further improvements likely to facilitate its being adopted unanimously or at least by an overwhelming majority at our next session.

26. Bearing in mind the foregoing and also the vital importance which all delegations attach to this question, my country would like to have the opportunity to state its views on the matter and, by so doing, to make a positive contribution to our work.

27. Faced with so difficult and delicate a choice, my delegation thinks that it is wiser, in the interests of the non-nuclear countries, to abstain in the vote that is about to be taken on the draft resolution [A/7106/Add.1, para. 9].

28. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, after having made a statement in the First Committee on 16 May (1569th meeting) on the item "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons", explained on 10 June (1582nd meeting) its position with regard to the draft resolution which the Committee had adopted. We then gave ample reasons why, despite

^{2/} Effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons (United Nations publication, Sales No.: F.68.IX.1.)

^{3/} Resolution D adopted by the Summit Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963.

^{4/} Resolution 7 adopted at the First Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Cairo, 17-21 July 1964.

^{5/} Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico on 14 February 1967 (see A/6663).

^{6/} General Assembly official documents, Twenty-second session, First Committee, 1560th meeting, para. 59. (Provisional version taken from the interpretation.)

^{7/} Conference of Non-nuclear-Weapon States. The Conference is to be held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

the fact that we are in favour of the treaty because we consider it an important step towards general and complete disarmament, we felt it advisable to abstain, since, among other considerations, no solution has been found to the problem of safeguards which Spain requires because of its special situation.

29. Indeed, it is no secret that my country is situated in a geographical area of the greatest strategic importance. The entrance to the Mediterranean is a veritable crossroads. The military base of Gibraltar has established on Spanish territory against our will and serves as a shelter for nuclear naval units; furthermore, it is in the service of one of the great military alliances to which, as all representatives know, we do not belong.

30. When, in December 1962, the General Assembly declared in resolution 2353 (XXII) that Gibraltar should be decolonized through negotiations between the Governments of Spain and the United Kingdom safeguarding the interests of the population upon the termination of the colonial situation, we cherished the hope that it would also be possible to proceed to the decolonization of this imposed military base, thus removing all the dangers inherent in its existence. The British refusal to comply with the decision of the General Assembly places us in a highly dangerous situation. Great Britain, a nuclear Power, is a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted to this Assembly but, at the same time, in a matter of so much importance for my country, disregards the United Nations recommendations in regard to Gibraltar.

31. It is not surprising then that, faced with the perils looming in the Spanish waters of the Bay of Algeciras, which is frequented by nuclear submarines without our consent and, therefore, without any safeguards, and faced with the use being made of a military airport on Spanish soil which has never been surrendered, we should take the most elementary measures of prudence in regard to the draft resolution. Consequently, while hoping for favourable developments in the future, which would enable us to change our attitude, we feel bound to abstain.

32. Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda) (translated from French): In speaking about the vote which is to be taken in a few minutes' time on the question of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9], the delegation of Rwanda would merely like to recall its position on this matter of vital importance for all our countries.

33. Rwanda is one of the countries which have most ardently desired a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Being convinced that the peace and security of the world must rest on solid legal bases, my country signed and ratified the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, and signed the Treaty of January 1967 on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 2222 (XXI), annex] and quite recently, approximately two months ago, it signed the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts, and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space [resolution 2345 (XXII)]. Rwanda will ratify those Treaties in due course.

34. As regards the present draft treaty, I believe that Rwanda was one of the first countries to express satisfaction with the agreement reached between the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on disarmament, on 24 August 1967, since we said on 13 October 1967:

"The Rwandese Republic welcomed the news of the agreement between the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons ...

"By a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons we mean a treaty establishing a procedure for the progressive elimination of existing stock-piles and regulating the purely peaceful uses of the atomic materials thus freed, a treaty embodying the ways and means of controlling its implementation, and providing adequate guarantees of security to the non-nuclear Powers—in short, a treaty ensuring that neither the great nor the small Powers would be playing a losing game.

"Nevertheless, the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States is at this juncture most gratifying, for the Rwandese Republic considers that a treaty touching on either aspect of the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is of itself an important stage in the disarmament process, for each stage is individually important. But we would like to see the treaty regarded as only a partial treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons until such time as a new agreement is reached on the other aspect of the problem—the ban on the production of nuclear weapons. The door would thus be left open for further negotiations." [1590th meeting, paras. 29, 31 and 32.]

35. Now it appears from the contents of the present draft treaty that both aspects have not been covered. We persist in believing that this treaty is only a partial measure.

36. It is true that this treaty has some real advantages since it will help to limit the number of States possessing nuclear weapons and thus limit the nuclear threat. But there are some serious omissions.

37. The treaty is incomplete because it leaves a loophole for States possessing nuclear technology and the necessary material means, since these States can go on producing explosive nuclear devices which they can in turn make available to other States, on the basis, of course, of bilateral or multilateral agreements and for a nominal sum, so we are told.

38. If, according to the statements of specialists on the subject, there is in fact no difference, either in nature or in degree, between a nuclear weapon which is designed to kill and an explosive nuclear device, Rwanda does not believe that the present treaty will be a curb to the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. The non-nuclear States parties to the treaty will be able to acquire explosive nuclear devices—in other words, nuclear weapons—if it is true that the only difference between the two types lies in the use to which they are put. One is tempted to think that the easiest way for certain countries to acquire

nuclear weapons would be to become parties to the treaty so as to have the right to acquire explosive nuclear devices.

39. It would have been desirable that the proposed control system should be extended also to the nuclear-weapon States parties to the treaty.

40. Rwanda also regards the treaty as incomplete because it does not state that the nuclear-weapon States parties to the treaty will not use the weapons they possess against other parties to the treaty.

41. The treaty appears to constitute an obstacle to technological developments based on the atom, since it forbids the transfer of know-how and experience in this field. Rwanda knows that nuclear energy, if wisely used, can contribute to the economic development of new countries and that to bar the way in this respect would constitute a step backward.

42. Rwanda will not rush into the nuclear arms race, not only because it lacks the means, at least for the time being, but also because it has more urgent tasks to carry out. However, my country could not fully support a non-proliferation treaty unless it represented a real disarmament measure and gave formal assurances that the funds released by disarmament would be used to promote the economic and social development of our countries.

43. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): The Irish delegation would like to make a brief statement at this stage on the draft resolution concerning the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9].

44. My delegation warmly welcomed the adoption by the First Committee of that draft resolution on 10 June by an overwhelming majority [1582nd meeting]. We sincerely hope that the text will be endorsed by the General Assembly and by an even greater majority. We would hope in particular that those delegations, which in the First Committee felt constrained to abstain, will reconsider their attitude and will cast an affirmative vote here so as to secure for the draft resolution and for the draft treaty the maximum possible support. We would indeed like to see the text approved by a vote approaching unanimity as nearly as possible. In that way, this, the highest international forum would have done its best to free the world from the enormous danger which the further spread of nuclear weapons would create and thus provide this and succeeding generations with a real prospect of achieving positive peace.

45. Moreover, we trust that when the draft resolution has been passed, the great Powers will give a generous lead in helping to spread the benefits of the peaceful application of nuclear energy for the welfare of mankind. We also hope that they will address themselves to and take the lead in implementing Article 1 of the Charter by the adoption of measures for effective collective security, and that they will give the most solemn and the most effective guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States against nuclear attack or threat of nuclear attack. In this connexion, I may perhaps recall the suggestion made by our delegation before the First Committee at the twenty-first session [1441st meeting], that consideration be given to the establishment of a United Nations peace guarantor

force made up of forces drawn from the non-nuclear-weapon States, backed by most of the nuclear Powers.

46. Finally, we hope that the draft treaty covered by the draft resolution we are about to adopt will be signed and ratified as soon as possible by all States so that the danger of general war may recede further and further and that, this significant milestone being passed, the great Powers will encourage all efforts directed to achieving more effective methods of conciliation, peace-making and peace-keeping, thus, the better to attain the high purposes of the Charter.

47. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation would like briefly to explain some of the reasons which prompted the Somali Republic to co-sponsor the draft resolution [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9] and why it will vote in favour of it when it is voted upon later this afternoon.

48. Since regaining its independence in 1960, Somalia has been fully aware of the urgent need not only to protect the African continent against nuclear devastation but also to denuclearize the continent. Hence, as long ago as the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, Somalia sponsored, with thirteen other African States, a draft resolution which, after a brief debate, was adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961 [resolution 1652 (XVI)]. That resolution called upon Member States to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a denuclearized, neutral zone. It was reaffirmed by the General Assembly in 1965 in resolution 2033 (XX).

49. In the opinion of my delegation, African nations and, indeed, any nation, by adhering to the non-proliferation treaty now under discussion, would act in pursuance of the well-established aim of Africa to denuclearize the continent.

50. My Government, no less than those of other countries, is aware of the imperfections of the treaty. There is no gainsaying the fact that the present treaty must be considered as being a limited treaty. We believe, however, that with all its limitations it is a step in the right direction. Its value is conditional. Its value will depend on whether it will pave the way towards the most urgent task, which, in the words of article VI of the draft treaty is the:

"cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and . . . nuclear disarmament, and . . . a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

51. The treaty before us is of an unusual type. On the one hand, it puts direct and strict obligations on the non-nuclear-weapon States that become parties to it. My delegation considers these obligations to be sound, because we do not believe that a further—that is, horizontal—extension of the nuclear arms race to more and more countries would improve their security. It would, on the contrary, further aggravate world tensions and regional tensions, quite apart from its unfavourable economic and other repercussions. This belief implies a repudiation of the deterrence doctrine. We do not believe that the record proves that the deliberate maintenance of the mutual fear of extinction constitutes an element of security or an inducement to the lessening of tensions. The treaty offers a chance, nothing more, but a chance and the only chance we have that such an extension can be

stopped and the world spared the commencement of a nuclear arms race of a universal character and of terrifying proportions.

52. On the other hand, the obligations the treaty imposes on the nuclear-weapon nations are less strict or, let us say, less tangible than those it imposes on the non-nuclear-weapon nations. The former only bind themselves to pursue negotiations, in good faith, on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament.

53. This provision, like the rest of the treaty, is a compromise formulation reached with great difficulty. It must be admitted that it is much more difficult to undo something that unfortunately has been done than not to start doing something which one knows in advance is wrong. It is more difficult for the nuclear Powers to free themselves from their own nuclear-weapon entanglement than it is for other States not to become entangled in such a dilemma and not to seek nuclear weapons in the first place.

54. This, of course, does not absolve the nuclear Powers from their duty and responsibility to perform this task, however difficult, and "in good faith" as the treaty states, and to leave no stone unturned until, with the least possible delay, they reach their own mutual agreement to free themselves and the world from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

55. The question for the non-nuclear States is whether, in the face of this situation, they should bind themselves beforehand not to seek nuclear weapons of their own. My delegation believes that it is in their interest to do so; otherwise they will even increase their own dilemma of having either to enter the nuclear arms race themselves, or to be increasingly exposed to the potential threat of nuclear extinction by an ever-growing number of nuclear States. Furthermore, the assurances which the nuclear Powers have given, concerning security from acts or threats of nuclear aggression, constitute, in the opinion of my delegation, an important safeguard under present unsettled conditions.

56. It is true that even if all non-nuclear Powers would bind themselves by this treaty, those nefarious weapons would still, like the sword of Damocles, hang over their heads as long as they existed anywhere. In this sense the non-nuclear nations are asked to act on trust that the nuclear Powers will do their part to do away with that threat. Somalia therefore associates itself with all nations that have underscored the expectation that the nuclear Powers will agree on and carry out nuclear disarmament.

57. The non-nuclear nations accept the obligations of this treaty in anticipation of such accomplishments, and this puts a grave and urgent responsibility on the shoulders of the nuclear Powers to live up to that trust and anticipation.

58. At this point, it would perhaps be appropriate to dwell on one significant aspect of the treaty: the impact it can have on the political climate of the world. Acts of statecraft have their own symbolic and psychological effects. Like the characters in Sartre's play "No Exit", the nations of the world

have been locked for much too long into a room where mutual fear and distrust have made the air stale and bad to breathe. If the treaty does open the door of this room, even a little, it is to be welcomed because its effect will be far greater than its immediate and somewhat limited scope.

59. Mr. MANDA (Zambia): I take the floor to explain the negative vote that my delegation will cast on the draft resolution and the draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9].

60. First of all, I must state categorically what our negative vote does not mean. It does not mean complete and unqualified rejection of the idea of a treaty on non-proliferation of these deadly weapons. Rather, our negative vote serves to register, more emphatically than a mere abstention would, our strong objections to some unacceptable terms which are spelled out in the draft treaty. Moreover, the fact that this treaty is being rushed, in disregard of severe criticism made in the First Committee by an overwhelming majority of non-nuclear-weapon States, is a discouraging trend in the deliberations of the world Organization.

61. My delegation understands the anxiety of the nuclear-weapon States to have the draft treaty approved before they change their minds and intensify the cold war that, thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving Members of this Organization, has been relaxing since the Second World War. But we hoped equally that the nuclear-weapon States would understand our reservations on matters of such magnitude as these which affect the security of all of mankind. We cannot believe that the nuclear-weapon States were unable to wait for some valuable suggestions on the security of non-nuclear-weapon States which are expected to issue from the conference of non-nuclear-weapon States scheduled for later this year.

62. Our negative vote also registers our hope that a treaty will one day emerge which will be valued, not for the paper it is written on, but because it is widely acceptable in the interest of peace. The present draft asks for a minimum of forty-three signatures. We also believe that the present draft creates an illusion of security which is extremely dangerous. In the First Committee my delegation stated that we did not believe that a country like the United Kingdom could guarantee the security of my country because Zambia has a long history of Britain's broken promises on Rhodesia—much to the detriment of my country. I wish to reiterate that position of my delegation as assumed in the First Committee.

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution which is contained in the First Committee's report [A/7016/Add.1, para. 9] and which that body has recommended for adoption. A roll-call vote has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan,

Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana.

Against: United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Albania, Cuba.

Abstaining: Guinea, India, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Uganda, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), France, Gabon.

The draft resolution was adopted by 95 votes to 4, with 21 abstentions [resolution 2373 (XXII)].

64. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to inform members of the Assembly that the President of the United States of America wishes to make a statement. Consequently I shall suspend the meeting until 5 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 4.45 p.m. and resumed at 5.5 p.m.

Address by Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America

65. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have much pleasure in welcoming H.E. Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

66. Mr. JOHNSON (President of the United States of America): Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Your Excellencies, Delegates to the General Assembly: I have asked for the privilege of addressing you this afternoon to acknowledge this momentous event in the history of nations, and to pledge, on behalf of the United States, our determination to make this but a first step toward ending the peril of nuclear war.

67. Four and a half years ago—shortly after the awesome responsibility of leadership was thrust into my hands—I instructed our negotiators at Geneva to seek a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. I recalled the modest and mutual reductions in arms spending that had been achieved by the United States and the Soviet Union. And I said then:

"Let us pray that the tide has turned—that further and more far-reaching agreements lie ahead—and that future generations will mark 1964 as the year the world turned for all time away from the horrors of war and constructed new bulwarks for peace."^{8/}

^{8/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1964, annex 1, sect. B, third paragraph.

68. Four and a half years of patient and painstaking negotiations at Geneva—and of further debate and refinement here in the United Nations—were to follow. Now, at last, the work of many Governments has become one instrument of international peace and sanity. The hands of many peoples have written a testament to reason—and to the will of mankind to endure.

69. The resolution that you have just approved commends to the Governments of the world, for their speedy ratification, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It is the most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began. It goes far to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It commits the nuclear Powers to redouble their efforts to end the nuclear arms race, and to achieve nuclear disarmament. It will ensure the equitable sharing of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, under effective safeguards, for the benefit of all nations. On behalf of the Government and the people of the United States, let me congratulate all who have contributed to this historic event.

70. But we should not linger long in mutual congratulation. The quest—and the need—for disarmament is too urgent for that. Many further steps are needed if this Treaty is to fulfil its great purposes and if we are to move beyond it toward the ultimate goal that we all seek—peace in the world.

71. As regards the Treaty itself, no time should be lost in bringing it into force. I pledge you this afternoon that we of the United States will move rapidly to open the Treaty for signature, to sign it on behalf of our own Government, and to seek its prompt ratification in accordance with our Constitution. We shall urge other nations to complete their ratification speedily, so that the Treaty can enter into force at the earliest possible date.

72. I further pledge that as soon as the Treaty has entered into force, we of the United States will carry out our responsibilities under it—in full measure. Firstly, we shall fully and scrupulously discharge our obligations as a nuclear-weapon party not to transfer nuclear weapons or control over them to any recipient whatsoever, and not to help any non-nuclear State acquire such weapons. Secondly, we shall co-operate fully in bringing the Treaty's safeguards into being—safeguards that will prevent the diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to weapons. Thirdly, we shall, as the Treaty requires, facilitate the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials, and scientific and technical information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We shall give particular attention to the needs of the developing nations. We shall share our technical knowledge and experience in peaceful nuclear research fully, and we shall share it without reservation. This will include very important new developments in electric-power generation, in agriculture, in medicine, in industry, and in the desalting of sea water. Fourthly, we shall continue our research and development in the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. We shall make available to the non-nuclear Treaty partners, without delay and under the Treaty's provisions, the benefits of such explosions. Finally, in

keeping with our obligations under the Treaty, we shall, as a major nuclear-weapon Power, promptly and vigorously pursue negotiations on effective measures to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce existing nuclear arsenals. It is right that we should be so obligated. The non-nuclear States—which undertake by this Treaty to forgo nuclear weapons—are entitled to the assurance that Powers possessing them, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, will lose no time in finding the way to scale down the nuclear arms race.

73. We desire—yes, we urgently desire—to begin early discussions on the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear-weapon systems. We shall search for an agreement that not only will avoid another costly and futile escalation of the arms race, but will de-escalate it. I believe that this Treaty can lead to further measures that will inhibit the senseless continuation of the arms race. I believe that it can give the world time—very precious time—to protect itself against Armageddon, and if my faith is well-founded, as I believe it is, then this Treaty will truly deserve to be recorded as the most important step towards peace since the founding of the United Nations.

74. Further, the non-proliferation Treaty will serve not only as a deterrent to the spread of nuclear weapons, but also as a powerful stimulus for the peaceful use of the atom. When this Treaty comes into force, the growing number of nuclear-power reactors around the world—with their inevitable by-product of plutonium—need no longer cause anxiety as potential sources of nuclear weapons material. Under the safeguards of the Treaty, those reactors will be pledged and will be guaranteed as peaceful sources of energy—as vital instruments of growth and development.

75. My fellow-citizens of the world, what we have achieved here today few men would have dared to even hope for a decade ago. Nations that were long beset by differences have—in this great Treaty—found common ground in their need to use the incredible force of the atom for peace, and not for war. From this ground that we have won here together, then, let us press forward to halt and to reverse the build-up of nuclear arsenals; to find new ways to eliminate the threat of conventional conflicts that might grow into nuclear disaster. In the name of our common humanity, let us ensure our survival—so that we may achieve our high destiny on earth. Let us work for the ultimate self-interest of mankind: for that peace in which future generations may build a world without fear and without want—a world that is fit for the sons of man.

76. In closing, Mr. President, permit me to pay my cordial respects to you. In your conduct of the affairs of this Assembly, Mr. President, you have won new honours for your country and for yourself.

77. Mr. Secretary-General, we of the United States are very grateful for your contributions to the United Nations and to its universal goals of peace.

78. To all of the delegates that are here assembled, to all of you who have laboured hard and fruitfully throughout this historic session, we extend our sincere good wishes. And to those who are about to leave our

shares, we bid each of you God speed and a safe and pleasant journey home.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the President of the United States of America for his significant statement.

80. The President of the United States has expressed a wish for a brief meeting with the heads of delegations. I therefore propose to suspend the meeting for ten minutes and to resume thereafter in order to hear the explanations of vote.

The meeting was suspended at 5.25 p.m. and resumed at 6.05 p.m.

Mr. Fakhreddine (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 28

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (concluded):

(a) Report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/7016/ADD.1)

81. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representatives who wish to explain their votes.

82. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly of the United Nations has just adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution approving the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This vote was the culmination, the positive culmination of the long and complex process of elaborating, discussing and agreeing on the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

83. I should like to congratulate all the delegations which supported the draft resolution on the successful completion of an important phase in the work of the United Nations.

84. The adoption of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is a great step towards reducing the threat of a devastating nuclear war, towards achieving a more secure and stable peace. For the Organization itself this is also an event of great importance. It enhances the role and the authority of the United Nations by confirming clearly that within it States from all continents, with differing social systems, guided by the fundamental principles of the Charter, can co-operate and find mutually acceptable solutions aimed at strengthening peace and reducing international tensions.

85. It is hardly possible to find any other international agreement in the preparation of which the suggestions, views and wishes of so many different States of the world were so widely and thoroughly ascertained and combined. The repeated general consideration of the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, the meticulous study of the problem in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, the numerous meetings of representatives of States and the exchange of views between them gradually brought the matter to a stage where agreement could be reached. The final stage was the con-

sideration in depth of the draft treaty from every angle at the current resumed twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly.

86. The draft treaty that has been approved today is, thus, the fruit of the collective efforts of States and peoples, the product of the purposeful policy of their Governments, the perseverance of statesmen and the unstinting labour of experts.

87. The draft treaty was written not only by diplomats at a conference table but by millions of plain people who have resolutely demanded an end to the nuclear arms race and the elimination of the threat of war.

88. I should like to stress again our firm conviction that the settlement of the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will facilitate further progress towards the complete and final prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction. The conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is not merely a way of limiting the number of nuclear Powers. It must be a step, a major step, towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

89. It is no secret that on the road leading to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons it was necessary to overcome a good many obstacles created by those pursuing the opposite aim, namely to get hold of nuclear weapons in order to carry out their adventurous, aggressive designs, to seize or to retain foreign territory occupied as a result of wars of aggression and to preserve the colonialist and racist régimes which are collapsing under the pressure of national liberation movements. These forces, whose activities are a very serious threat to the peoples of the world, even now have not laid down their arms. They have still not given up their intention, if not to prevent the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty, at least to delay it.

90. By approving the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the General Assembly has made its contribution to the setting up of a firm anti-atomic barrier to the implementation of those designs. It has confirmed that the world community links its plans for the future based not with nuclear war but with the peaceful use of atomic energy which opens up unlimited prospects for the economic and cultural development of nations.

91. The time has now come to finish everything to do with the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The next task in this direction should be the adoption by the Security Council of a decision on the question of security safeguards for the non-nuclear countries. The Security Council should consider this question without delay and adopt the proposed draft resolution,^{2/} which has been submitted by three nuclear Powers, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom.

92. It should be emphasized that the General Assembly has clearly indicated that the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be opened for signature as soon as possible. This important

question is therefore being placed on the agenda today and is not being postponed to an indefinite future date.

93. Now that the United Nations General Assembly has adopted a resolution approving the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet delegation appeals from this exalted forum to all the States of the world to sign and ratify this treaty without delay.

94. The signature and the subsequent ratification and entry into force of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will constitute a great success in the struggle of the peoples for peace and progress. This success will be appreciated at its true worth by all the peoples of the world.

95. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): It was a matter of great satisfaction to be able to vote today in such good company for one of the most important resolutions ever adopted by this world Assembly. Its importance has been marked, and illustrated and emphasized by the presence among us of the President of the United States. We greatly appreciate his gesture in coming to our Assembly today and we welcome the words he has spoken to us. They are words which, I am sure, are very widely and warmly welcomed here and will be widely and warmly welcomed far beyond this Assembly. We welcome too the important statement just made to us by Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov, whose presence and influence here has been so valuable to us all.

96. I wish to state our understanding and to speak of the significance of today's vote and to express, if I can, the feeling shared by nearly all of us—which should be very fully shared in the wider world—the feeling of achievement.

97. I should say, in connexion with article IX of the text of the Treaty, which relates to participation in the Treaty, that this article does not bring about recognition by other States or otherwise alter the status of an unrecognized régime or entity which may purport to accede to the Treaty. Nor does it make such a régime or entity eligible to be admitted to inter-governmental organizations whose charters limit admission exclusively to States. It is on this understanding, which is fully supported by international law and practice, that my Government has not, in the exceptional circumstances of this Treaty, objected to a participation clause in this form. I should also make it clear that the United Kingdom reserves the right to object if later an unrecognized entity should seek to assert privileges such as participating in a conference called under articles VIII or X of the Treaty.

98. I might pause here to say that we have come here to vote and to speak on the resolution we have passed today. I shall not be drawn into discussion of other matters. It would not be in the interests of the Assembly if, for instance, I were to pursue now what the representative of Spain has said this afternoon about Gibraltar. It is sufficient for me to say now that many will regret and resent that this controversial subject should have been raised today in this context. The representative of Spain knows very well that my Government's administration of Gibraltar is fully in

^{2/} Document S/8631 (mimeographed). Text adopted without change as Security Council resolution 255 of 19 June 1968.

accordance with the wishes of its people and poses no threat of any kind to Spain or to anyone else.

99. Let me now return to the subject before us and make, if I may, five short comments on the Treaty.

100. My first comment is that it has taken nearly seven years since this Assembly welcomed the idea of a non-proliferation treaty. Our first tribute goes to the members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, and particularly to the co-Chairmen, who did the basic work on the Treaty. Let the success there begun be a lesson to us in perseverance. Let it give us hope and confidence that we can overcome other stubborn barriers which have for long stood in our way on the road to arms control, and then make further progress towards general and complete disarmament.

101. My second comment is that the resolution which conceived the idea of such a treaty was the Irish-sponsored resolution [1380 (XIV)]. That was yet another example of the imaginative initiatives which come from nations not the most wealthy or the most powerful, but nations devoted to the cause of international co-operation and international authority. It is well that we should pay our tribute today to Ireland and to Foreign Minister Aiken. His perception and persistence here at the United Nations we gratefully and respectfully acknowledge.

102. My third comment is that we have seen here at the United Nations in recent weeks, and in Geneva before that in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, one of the best examples the world has yet known of close and fruitful co-operation between East and West. What a relief and what a mercy it will be to us and to the whole world if that spirit of co-operation can be carried into other fields.

103. My fourth comment is that the result we welcome and celebrate today was not the outcome of big-Power initiative alone; it was the outcome of a developing and expanding joint endeavour in which great and small States, and rich and poor and powerful and weak, have all made their contribution. This we see if we compare the Treaty as it finally emerged with the drafts under discussion in Geneva two years ago, or even the draft of last August. We see how the philosophy of non-proliferation has developed as negotiations progressed. The earlier texts were devoted almost entirely to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The text before us deals also with other important factors which give the Treaty the right balance. I refer to the promotion of civil nuclear development and to further measures of disarmament. In other words, the final act was not a duet of giants; it was in the end a full orchestra's symphony. We who believe in the growing effectiveness of the United Nations can today take new confidence from the process we see every day here in our deliberations and consultations—in the productive and healthy influence of world-wide opinion. And we see today another stage in the transition to a new era—so we trust—of international understanding and international co-operation and a start in creating international order.

104. The fifth comment I am proud to make is that my country has throughout played a distinctive and constructive part in the discussions and conferences

which led to success. I specially refer to the work of my brother Ministers Lord Chalfont and Mr. Mulley. The United Kingdom's contribution has been an indication of the unique part we hope to play in the future, not as a super-Power, certainly, and not as an imitator of super-Powers, but nevertheless as an increasingly powerful influence for good in international co-operation.

105. Today is a day of rejoicing. Let no one be so lacking in generosity and so empty of hope as to grudge the celebration of success.

106. We rejoice today in the birth of a treaty. We rejoice in an addition to the growing disarmament family. It follows naturally on the two previous successes in disarmament in the nuclear test ban and the outer space Treaty.

107. I need not remind you that the period of gestation preceding this birth was long and anxious. There were constant fears of a miscarriage. The birth itself was not painless. Towards the end it required some vigorous inducement. But the event is all the more joyful because it was not quickly or easily achieved.

108. As we celebrate today we join in congratulating all those who have made the Treaty possible; in particular the Co-Chairmen and other members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee; Dr. Fahmy, the very able Chairman of the First Committee; and our distinguished Secretary-General, who has taken a continual interest in all the work which has led to today's achievement.

109. It is a triumph not for the few but for the many. But as we rejoice we are all very conscious, I am sure, that a birth is not an end but a beginning. The birth of the Treaty will have been in vain unless the new arrival in the world quickly gains strength and soon begins to give us new hope for the future.

110. May we look back on this event today as historically decisive in our endeavour to eliminate world dangers to peace, and in the development of the potential resources of the world by international action to make the peace tolerable.

111. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Once again in the First Committee my delegation contributed in every way it could to the successful completion of the work connected with the item "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons". The affirmative vote we cast today required no additional explanation; but, on behalf of my delegation and of 20 other Latin-American delegations which have entrusted me with this honourable task, I should like to make the following statement.

112. The delegations of the 21 States signatory to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, or the Treaty of Tlatelolco [A/6663], consider that, on the occasion of the adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it is appropriate to recall for the purposes of the record that on 5 December 1967 the Assembly adopted without a single negative vote resolution 2286 (XXII), which, among other things, (a) welcomed "with special satisfaction" the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, declared that the Treaty

"constitutes an event of historic significance in the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security", and (b) invited "Powers possessing nuclear weapons to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II of the Treaty as soon as possible".

113. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to make a short statement after the vote which took place earlier on the resolution.

114. In my interventions in the First Committee on agenda item 28 (a), I already made quite clear the position of the Italian Government on the treaty on non-proliferation. Italy has been strongly in favour of it since the beginning and has strenuously worked for a treaty which would command the widest support and be open to signature at the earliest possible date.

115. What I stated on previous occasions is even more valid today as the text of the Treaty—the subject of long and fruitful negotiations in Geneva—after having been thoroughly debated, further revised and finalized during six weeks of intensive work in the First Committee has now, by an overwhelming vote, been commended and opened to early signature and ratification both by nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States.

116. I hardly need to add anything to what has already been said so eloquently from this rostrum to emphasize the significance of this momentous event in which we had the privilege of participating. The President of the United States of America, by his presence and by the address he made to us, has highlighted the historic significance of our deliberations today.

117. While I share the views that have been expressed by the representatives who have already spoken, it would perhaps be appropriate to add one simple comment. The constructive, statesman-like debate which preceded today's vote has once more confirmed the essential role of the United Nations as an instrument of international negotiations, as a forum in which issues involving the vital interests of Member States can best be discussed and reconciled in a really democratic way, as the Charter requests us to do.

118. I wish to take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the Italian Government for this historic achievement and its sincere hope that the Treaty on non-proliferation will ultimately be unanimously approved and signed.

119. I also wish to take this opportunity to state that the Italian Government is prepared to sign the Treaty on non-proliferation in the conviction that it is compatible with the provisions of the Rome Treaty of 1957 concerning the European Atomic Energy Community.

120. Italy is likewise convinced that nothing in the Treaty on non-proliferation runs counter to the aspirations of the countries of Western Europe towards unity, or goes against their legitimate expectations concerning the development and advancement of the unification process of the continent, which would also strengthen world peace and security.

121. The Italian Government attaches particular importance to the clauses of the Treaty concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and my delegation has taken note, in the light also of the interpretations given by other delegations, that the necessary and intransgressible freedom of scientific and technological research is in no way hindered by the Treaty.

122. The Italian delegation equally takes note that the undertakings contained in articles I and II of the Treaty—according to the letter of explanations given by the co-authors and to the general spirit of the Treaty itself—refer solely to nuclear explosive devices which are not distinguishable from nuclear weapons. Should technological advancement make it possible one day to develop peaceful explosive devices clearly different from nuclear weapons, there would no longer be any reason for the interdiction covering their manufacture and use to be applicable.

123. Finally, I have been instructed to state that the Italian Government, in exporting nuclear materials and equipment to any country, including those which are described as nuclear-weapon States, will abide by the provisions of article III of the Treaty concerning safeguards. The Italian Government, therefore, will subordinate such exports to the fulfilment of the modalities of the Treaty irrespective of whether the receiving States are nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear-weapon States.

124. Before concluding, I should like to remind the General Assembly of a simple ceremony which took place in my country only three days ago. On 10 June the Italian Government handed over to the International Atomic Energy Agency the building in Trieste where the International Centre for Theoretical Physics is located. The coincidence of this symbolic ceremony with the very date of the approval of the Treaty on non-proliferation by the First Committee could not have been more appropriate. It was, I feel, further proof—if that were needed—of the whole-hearted commitment of the Italian Government to international co-operation, of its serious efforts towards harnessing nuclear energy and devoting it solely to peaceful uses. The Treaty on non-proliferation provides the international community with the long-advocated instrument for the pursuance of these objectives, which are today closely interrelated.

125. The Italian Government has been particularly gratified at having been able, by the line of action it has taken during the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, to contribute further to the cause of non-proliferation and to the efforts made to achieve this essential step towards the reduction of tension and on the road to disarmament and peace.

126. My delegation, like all other delegations, is indebted to the leadership of the President of our General Assembly for the successful outcome of this session. If we have concluded our work on a most positive note, we owe it to his statesmanship, to his understanding, to the way, smooth but firm, in which he has guided us from the beginning to the end. It is only just that the name of President Mănescu should be closely connected to a decision which will make history, to one of the most glorious days in the life of the United Nations.

127. Mr. PINERA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): My delegation deems it appropriate to repeat the statement it made some days ago in the First Committee (1582nd meeting) to the effect that Chile would vote today in the plenary meeting in favour of the resolution on the understanding that Chile's signature and ratification of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons depended on its being signed and ratified by the number of States which Chile considered sufficient.

128. Through you, Mr. Vice-President, I should like to express my delegation's gratitude to Mr. Manescu, President of the Assembly, for the way in which he has steered the work during this session. I should also like to place on record my delegation's gratitude to Mr. Fahmy, Chairman of the First Committee, for having allowed all points of view to be considered and for enabling the debate to cover every sector.

129. Mr. C. O. E. COLE (Sierra Leone): My delegation wishes to explain its reasons for abstaining in the vote on the resolution which has been adopted today. Sierra Leone has consistently urged and supported the basic principles underlying disarmament. In July 1964, at the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity,^{10/} Sierra Leone declared its readiness to undertake, through an international agreement to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or control atomic weapons. The Sierra Leone delegation, in October of the same year, 1964, joined with all the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in issuing a Declaration seeking similar objectives.^{11/} Sierra Leone, in line with this same spirit, also welcomed the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty which, in 1966, it signed as having accepted.

130. In its statement in the First Committee on 22 May of this year [1572nd meeting] on the topic we are now considering, my delegation pointed out several of the serious weaknesses of the draft treaty which, it hoped, would be remedied. However, despite the fact that the Treaty was amended, the amendments, in the opinion of my delegation, regrettably did not go to the root of the matter.

131. No pledge has been made in the operative part of this all-important Treaty that the nuclear Powers will go to the assistance of any signatory of the Treaty when such a signatory State is threatened by aggression or even attacked by a nuclear State. The Treaty does not bind the nuclear-weapon States to limit the development of their own nuclear capabilities. Furthermore, the Treaty limitations of safeguards inspections of nuclear activities weigh unequally on non-nuclear States. Another serious weakness of the Treaty is the absence of commitment to specific cutbacks in the level of nuclear armaments. These are matters which are of vital importance to my Government in the interest of international peace and security.

132. The Sierra Leone delegation believes that the non-proliferation Treaty is a step towards disarmament. However, we do feel that the end product now before us does not fully comply with the provisions of resolution 2028 (XX), particularly with reference to paragraph 2 of that resolution which, among other things, enjoins:

"The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form."

133. In the same way, the treaty does not pay heed to another provision, an important one, in the same resolution, namely:

"The treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers."

134. Since my delegation does not disapprove of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and is wholly committed to the principles of general and complete disarmament and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, it has, instead of adopting a purely negative attitude, abstained. My delegation's abstention, however, does not necessarily mean that my Government, after having had the necessary time for study and reflection, might not revise its attitude to the Treaty in the light of later developments.

135. Finally, my delegation would now like to pay tribute, first of all, to the Irish delegation which, through the Foreign Minister of Ireland, Mr. Frank Aiken, several years ago took the first initiative in the United Nations towards the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. My delegation would also like to commend with grateful appreciation, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the co-Chairmen under whom the Committee served, for the good work which they have all done.

136. Mr. BALANCY (Mauritius): On behalf of my delegation, I wish first of all to say that we have been most favourably impressed in this, our first participation in the work of this august Assembly, by the competence, wisdom and impartiality shown by President Manescu in the conduct of the proceedings of the General Assembly all through this resumed twenty-second session. My country, its Government and people are particularly gratified that on this historic occasion of our admission to this great concert of nations, Mr. Manescu assumed the Presidency of the General Assembly. I should like to take this opportunity to express to him and to the great socialist country he so ably represents the high consideration, esteem and best wishes of my country, its Government and its people.

137. The Government and people of Mauritius are also happy to have been able to record, in our very first votes as a Member State of the United Nations, our acceptance of a proposal which has already been widely acclaimed as a significant step towards world peace and security.

138. After a careful study of the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament,^{12/} it was

^{12/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1967 and 1968, documents DC/230 and Add.1.

^{10/} First session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964.

^{11/} Declaration entitled "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation", adopted at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964 (see A/5763).

without hesitation that we gave our whole-hearted support to the draft resolution submitted to the First Committee [A/7016/Add.1, para. 5], when we decided to co-sponsor it. We thus reaffirmed our pledge to abide by the fundamental principles of the United Nations in joining our efforts with those of the other nations of the world in the preservation of peace and in the pursuit of human brotherhood, progress and happiness. As my Prime Minister said in his speech to this Assembly on the occasion of our admission to the United Nations at its meeting of 24 April 1968:

"Although I come from a small country, my Government and the people of Mauritius are very conscious of the honour of belonging to this great Assembly, and we can assure you that we shall strive to uphold the great ideals which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and will play fully our part in the struggle for justice, racial equality, peace and understanding among nations." [1643rd meeting, para. 93.]

139. The resolution just adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Assembly, and its *raison d'être*, the Treaty on the non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, have been analysed, dissected, taken to pieces and reassembled by the delegations of most of the Member States in the First Committee. From such close co-operation of wits and reason, allied to great sincerity of purpose, a satisfactory conclusion could reasonably be expected. Today, after the vote of this Assembly, the whole world will, I am sure, rejoice at our taking this decisive step forward to safeguard international peace and security and, as a result, preserving the whole of mankind from the devastating and horrible dangers of the indiscriminate use of nuclear power. My delegation remains confident that this is but a first step leading to complete disarmament and to lasting peace in the world.

140. I would be failing in my duty if I did not stress the sense of satisfaction of the people of Mauritius—and, I am sure, of the other peoples of the world—at the clear expression of goodwill and understanding shown in this particular case by the nuclear super-Powers, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which have been working in close collaboration throughout long and arduous negotiations in order to give an acceptable shape to the draft treaty.

141. We wish further to express our appreciation of the remarkable part played by the United Kingdom, Ireland and Canada, as well as other Member States which have contributed in no mean way to the successful conclusion of this most important issue. Such a fund of goodwill and understanding has been more than merely conducive to the historic decision taken by the General Assembly today. It has certainly cast rays of hope in the dark skies of humanity and will stand as a sign of triumph of the goodness and peaceful aspirations of the human race.

142. To conclude, my delegation wishes to express the hope that the same spirit of goodwill, understanding and co-operation will always prevail in our constant endeavour to find just and reasonable solutions to the many disturbing problems facing the world today.

Mr. Manescu (Romania) resumed the Chair.

143. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): In his address to the General Assembly this afternoon President Johnson expressed the deep satisfaction of the United States at the Assembly's overwhelming vote for the resolution just adopted, commending the non-proliferation Treaty. The President spoke for the Government and people of the United States, and there is nothing I would wish to add except to say that my entire delegation is proud to have cast the vote of the United States in favour of this resolution. We share the prayerful hope that it is a harbinger of still greater achievements in the cause of peace. I shall confine my remarks, therefore, to an explanation of the vote of the United States, and more particularly to comment on behalf of my Government concerning article IX of the Treaty.

144. It will be noted that article IX provides that the Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. The United States supports the accession clause now included in the Treaty because of the special and exceptional character of this Treaty. The fact that the "all States" clause has been employed in this instance does not indicate that it is suitable in other circumstances.

145. The adoption of this accession clause—urged because of exceptional circumstances favouring a very broad geographical coverage for the non-proliferation treaty—does not of course affect the recognition or status of an unrecognized régime or entity which may elect to file an instrument of accession to the non-proliferation Treaty. Under international law and practice, recognition of a government or acknowledgement of the existence of a government is brought about as a result of a deliberate decision and course of conduct on the part of the government intending to accord recognition. Recognition of a régime or acknowledgement of an entity cannot be inferred from the signature of, ratification of or accession to a multilateral agreement. Nor does signature, ratification or accession by such a régime or entity create eligibility for admission to intergovernmental organizations, since the charters of those organizations invariably limit admission to "States".

146. Moreover, we wish to make it clear that we preserve the right to object if later an unrecognized entity should seek to assert privileges such as participating in a conference called under article VIII or X of the Treaty. It is on this basis that we join in supporting the present text of the non-proliferation Treaty.

147. Mr. President, I speak for the United States delegation in congratulating you on the great skill and wisdom with which you have presided during these historic debates. You have contributed very much to the successful outcome of our deliberations. We wish also to thank your esteemed colleagues, officers of the General Assembly, for their faithful co-operation. We wish to commend the indispensable contributions which so many Members have made to our proceedings both in the First Committee and here in the General Assembly in the consideration of all of the agenda items of the Assembly. And to that great world statesman, our admired friend the Secretary-General, we extend warm thanks for all that he has done and to his able staff who have supported and assisted us in our important work.

148. Mr. President, in conclusion I hope that you will permit me to sound a personal note. This is the last time that I shall have occasion as Permanent Representative of the United States to speak from this great rostrum of the General Assembly. I shall always treasure my association with this community of ambassadors and representatives whose common strivings, through all our discords, is to find ways towards peace and justice among nations. I do not intend to lose sight of the many good friends and colleagues whom it has been my privilege to know during these three important and adventurous years. I shall be observing your labours and hoping and praying for your success—which is humanity's success—in the years to come.

149. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now concluded consideration of agenda item 28 (a), but before proceeding to the next item I should like to draw the attention of members of the Assembly to a message which I have just received from the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the occasion of the adoption of the resolution on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In accordance with the wish of the Director-General of the Agency, the message will be communicated to members of the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly (continued)*

(b) Second report of the Credentials Committee

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The second report of the Credentials Committee [A/6990/Add.1] concerns changes in the credentials of representatives since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2322 (XXII) of 16 December 1967 in which it approved the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/6990]. The draft resolution which the Committee recommends for adoption appears in paragraph 5 of the report. Are there any representatives who would like to speak on this subject? If no-one wishes to speak, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2374 (XXII)].

Adjournment of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly

151. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The work carried out by the General Assembly during the last seven weeks has shown the desire of Member States to work together to find solutions to two of the three questions remaining on the agenda of the twenty-second session.

152. Within the scope of the irreversible process of decolonization, a new State, Mauritius, acceded to independence and sovereignty and became a Member of the United Nations during this part of the session.

153. Agenda item 28 (a) (Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament), and item 64 (Question of South West Africa) have been the subject of long and fruitful

debates. Now that the session is drawing to a close, we can indeed say that as a result of its long and extensive work the General Assembly has done more than merely dispose of two of the items on its agenda: it has made a considerable effort to find solutions to questions which, because of their implications, are of very special importance.

154. Indeed, these two items are indissolubly linked with the effort of contemporary society to create conditions of peace and security and to eliminate the existing sources of tension and conflict.

155. In this age of radical transformations and of vast needs among the peoples it is essentially the achievement of general disarmament that enables mankind to turn all that potential decisively to peaceful ends. The present generation, living in a nuclear age which affords unlimited opportunities for the economic and cultural development of each country, will be able to realize its full potential through the removal of the obstacle which the existence of arsenals of nuclear weapons constitutes.

156. In the present international situation, the step which we have been able to take along the road which we must travel before these essential objectives are reached and which consists in halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as provided for in the Treaty which the General Assembly has recommended to States for their signature, is one which reflects the desire to limit the effects of the existence of nuclear weapons in the world and reduce the possibilities of their being used as long as they continue to exist.

157. The Treaty, which is the outcome of many years intensive preparation based on the hard work which was done in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, includes, in addition to the non-proliferation measures, an undertaking on the part of States to pursue, in good faith, the negotiations on disarmament questions, visualized as an uninterrupted series of agreements for which the present document is only a starting point. At the same time, the Treaty affirms the need to ensure, without hindrance, the application of nuclear energy for peaceful uses in accordance with the right of all nations fully to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress.

158. It is appropriate in this regard to recall the direct relationship—which became apparent throughout the process of preparing the Treaty—between the improvements made to it and the taking into consideration of a number of proposals submitted by Member States.

159. Our discussions have brought out the need to combine measures relating to disarmament with specific action aimed at strengthening international security, and to give countries the assurance that they will not be faced with the threat of nuclear weapons being used against them and that they will not become victims of attack by these weapons.

160. I associate myself with the many delegations which, in regard to the resolution on the question of non-proliferation, expressed the conviction that the adoption of the Treaty marks the beginning of a new stage in the pursuit of the aims of general disarmament, international co-operation in the peaceful uses

*Resumption of the debate at the 1635th meeting.

of nuclear energy and the improvement of conditions of security for all States.

161. The second item to which Member States devoted serious attention is that of South West Africa, which is a burning question of great international importance.

162. The elimination of colonialism is a duty incumbent upon the United Nations and on each of its Member States, which are bound to help bring about the restoration of the dignity of the human being wherever it is still trampled underfoot.

163. In discussing the future of the Territory of Namibia, which is administered by force and in defiance of international legality, we are dealing with one of the most serious aspects of the resistance which colonialism continues to offer to the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

164. This question, which reflects the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia to an independent existence involves, by its very nature and implications, the responsibility of all of us because it challenges us to make use of all the legal and political instruments available to us in order to reach a solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter. We can conclude, it seems to me, that the chief significance of our debates, which culminated in the resolution [2372 (XXII)] adopted this morning [1671st meeting], is the imperative obligation to respect the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to choose for themselves, without any outside interference, the path which they intend to follow. In the spirit of the principles of the United Nations Charter it is incumbent on all Member States to consider themselves in duty bound to support the decisions of our Organization which are designed to end South Africa's illegal domination of Namibia and ensure the granting of independence to the people of that Territory.

165. I should like to underline with particular satisfaction the spirit of co-operation and understanding which prevailed during the preparation of the aforesaid resolution in the extensive consultations among the Afro-Asian and Latin American delegations and those of other States.

166. The General Assembly has now completed consideration of two out of the three items remaining on the agenda of the twenty-second session. There still remains item 94 [The situation in the Middle East] which, as members of the Assembly will remember, has not been discussed at the present session.

167. The Assembly must now take a decision with regard to this session. From the procedural point of view, the session cannot be declared closed because, as I have just mentioned, one item still remains on our agenda.

168. As a result of a broad exchange of views we have reached the conclusion that there is agreement to the effect that the session could be resumed when the President, after consulting Member States and the Secretary-General, determines that conditions are appropriate for considering the item in question. The same procedure will be followed in setting the date of the resumed session.

169. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that procedure.

It was so decided.

170. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): However different the items on our agenda for this resumed session may be, they do nevertheless have something in common. They show very clearly that international questions require broad exchanges of views and concerted efforts towards a specific result which can be achieved only by dint of good will and patience. Our work is at each session a reminder of the continuity of political effort.

171. In this regard the method used is sometimes no less important than the result itself. During the resumed session we have once again had occasion to appreciate the value of that spirit which, by being receptive to the views and the interests of others, takes the arguments and proposals of all parties into account. Solutions reached by way of equality of rights and of mutual respect are much more sound and more realistic.

172. We are dispersing at the end of a period of fruitful and intensive work only to assemble again at many meetings to be held this year under United Nations auspices, meetings which will deal with political questions, disarmament, international co-operation and economic development.

173. I express the hope that in carrying out those new and important tasks, the desire to promote peace and co-operation between countries and peoples in the most varied fields of international activity will prevail.

174. In conclusion, may I express my deep gratitude to all delegations for their valuable contribution to the success of the work of this session and for the support they have given me in carrying out my duties. I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the General Assembly, the Chairman of the First Committee, the Secretary-General, U Thant, and the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs for the spirit of co-operation they have shown during the work of this part of the session.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.