# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

**Official** Records

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#### Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL (Mauritius).

#### AGENDA ITEMS 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33 AND 34 (continued)

- World Disarmament Conference: report of the Secretary-General (A/8654, A/8668, A/8681, A/8693, and Corr.1, A/8757, A/8817 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.618)
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- Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (A/8818)

Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests (A/8740, A/8741, A/C.1/L.611, 615, 620 and 624):

- (a) Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (A/8818);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/8807)
- Implementation of General Assembly resolution 2830 (XXVI) concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco): report of the Secretary-General (A/8653, A/8808, A/C.1/L.619)

Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: report of the Secretary-General (A/8809)

1. The CHAIRMAN: As agreed, the Committee will concentrate this morning on item 27.

2. On this item the Committee has before it draft resolution A/C.1/L.617, which was introduced by the delegation of Austria on behalf of the 10 delegations sponsoring it.

3. Mr. ROSCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): To save the time of the Committee, I should like before the vote to put forward the position of our delegation on the draft resolutions relating to items 27, 30, 32 and 33 of the agenda so that it will not be necessary to speak on each of those items separately.

4. Concerning item 27, which you just mentioned, Mr. Chairman, a group of States has submitted a draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.617, relating to the implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. The delegation of the USSR intends to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution-as it has done on similar draft resolutions in previous years-since, as the Committee knows, the Soviet Union did not take part in the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States held in 1968 and since it does not agree with many of the decisions adopted at that Conference. Furthermore, the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution states that the Assembly is aware of the steps taken in amending article VI of the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency to expand the membership of the Board of Governors. The decision relating to a change in the statute of the Agency was adopted without properly taking into account the position of the socialist countries and many non-aligned countries. Therefore, mention of this decision seems to us quite unnecessary.

5. On agenda item 30 there are two draft resolutions, in documents A/C.1/L.616/Rev.1 and A/C.1/L.623. We



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## MEETING Wednesdav, 15 November 1972,

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should like to say that we support draft resolution A/C.1/L.616/Rev.1 and we shall vote for it. Soviet experts took an active part in preparing the report presented by the Secretary-General on napalm and other incendiary weapons. We are ready to join those delegations which have approved this report and proposed several measures to disseminate it according to the provisions of the operative part of the draft resolution.

6. Regarding draft resolution A/C.1/L.623 concerning further negotiations between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic weapons, we should like to say that we share the desire of many States to see these talks yield fruitful results.

7. The Soviet Government attaches fundamental importance to the agreements already concluded in the field of the limitation of strategic weapons. This was said in detail in the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gromyko, during the general debate, at the 2040th plenary meeting, and in other subsequent statements of the Soviet delegation in the First Committee at the 1872nd and 1878th meetings.

8. Under the agreements concluded between them, the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America undertook to continue active talks on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons. The Soviet Union firmly intends to carry out this undertaking. At the same time, as is provided for in article VII of the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms, the obligations contained in the agreement do not prejudge the scope or conditions of limitation of strategic offensive weapons, which could be worked out during subsequent talks. Therefore, the Soviet delegation is unable to support operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.623, which contains an attempt to prejudge in advance the scope of such limitations and thus, even before the beginning of the talks, to put forward conditions for future agreements.

9. In the same vein, the delegation of the USSR cannot agree to paragraph 2, which provides that the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States will keep the General Assembly constantly informed of the results of their negotiations. The experience of previous bilateral talks shows that they are extremely complex in nature. The Soviet side cannot undertake in advance constantly to inform others of the results of these talks. For that reason the delegation of the USSR will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.623.

10. The Soviet delegation would also like to explain its vote and its attitude towards the draft resolutions relating to the problems of the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, in connexion with agenda item 32. I have in mind the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.611, 615 and 620 and the amendments in document A/C.1/L.624.

11. The position of principle of the delegation of the Soviet Union in the matter of the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests has often been explained at sessions of the General Assembly, as well as in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. We also put it forward briefly in our statement in the First Committee on 30 October, when we stressed that we share the concern of many States about the absence of progress towards a solution of these matters.

12. The Soviet Union is in favour of a cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, including underground tests, by everyone everywhere, and we have often put forward concrete proposals to settle these problems on the basis of resort to national means of supervising observance of the existing agreement. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible up to now to reach agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests by everyone everywhere.

13. The Soviet Union is in favour also of large-scale international co-operation in the field of the exchange of seismological data within the framework of a treaty prohibiting underground nuclear weapon tests in order to effect supervision over compliance by States with their undertakings under such a treaty.

14. Pursuant to that position of principle, the Soviet delegation will vote for draft resolution A/C.1/L.611, which lays stress on the urgent need to put an end to all nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere and requests all States to accede to the Moscow Treaty of 5 August 1963 on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and, meanwhile, to refrain from testing in the environments covered by that treaty. There is also an appeal to all nuclear weapon States to suspend nuclear weapon tests in all environments. That is also completely in keeping with the position of the Soviet <sup>1</sup>Jnion on this matter.

15. The amendments to draft resolution A/C.1/L.611 in document A/C.1/L.624, submitted by the Belgian delegation and seven others, do not in principle change the substance of the draft resolution. They only underline the need to put an end to all tests in the atmosphere, no matter in what part of the world. These amendments are designed to ensure over-all suspension of nuclear tests, which is completely in consonance with the provisions of the Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in three environments.

16. For those reasons the delegation of the USSR will vote in favour of the amendments in document A/C.1/L.624.

17. I now pass on to draft resolution A/C.1/L.615, submitted by 15 Powers, on the suspension of all nuclear weapon tests in all environments by all States. We should like to note that the Soviet delegation fully supports the general objective of that draft. However, although this objective is generally acceptable to us, certain methods are prescribed to achieve this objective. For instance, there is an appeal to States carrying out underground nuclear weapon tests, that they also take unilateral measures to suspend the testing without the conclusion of any treaty on this matter. This is something which is not in keeping with the objective, stressed by the Soviet Union, of the cessation of nuclear weapons tests everywhere and by everyone. Therefore the Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.615.

18. Neither can the Soviet delegation support the draft resolution of 14 Latin American countries contained in

document A/C.1/L.620, which includes an appeal to States to put an end to all nuclear weapon tests, at the latest by 5 August 1973, either by agreement or through a unilateral moratorium. We consider, as I have already said, that the cessation of nuclear weapon tests by all and everywhere can only be achieved through an agreement among all nuclear Powers. The proposal that a moratorium be proclaimed without the conclusion of any treaty in our opinion is unrealistic and impossible to carry out. That is why we intend to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/ L.620.

19. As to draft resolution A/C.1/L.619 on item 33 of the agenda, concerning the Treaty of Tlatelolco on the denuclearization of South America, the Soviet Union made its position clear on this matter in the First Committee at the 1889th meeting. We gave four reasons why the Soviet Union could not support that Treaty or sign Additional Protocol II. Article 18 of the Treaty allows for underground explosions similar to nuclear weapons tests. This to us seems to be a loop-hole for nuclear weapon testing. The Treaty of Tlatelolco does not prohibit the transport of nuclear weapons. The definition of the zone in the Treaty is not in keeping with the principles of international law and, finally, the Treaty has not been sent to all countries for agreement, although under the Treaty it would appear that some countries not belonging to the Latin American area

have to assume certain obligations under that international instrument.

20. Neither in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament nor in the Assembly did we receive any satisfactory clarification; explanations given us were certainly most unsatisfactory. Therefore the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.619.

21. Mr. LIN (China) (translation from Chinese): Draft resolution A/C.1/L.617 on the implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States refers to certain points of view contained in the resolution of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States which we cannot agree with in principle. At this moment the Chinese delegation will refrain from making specific comments thereon, and we shall not participate in the vote on that draft resolution.

22. The CHAIRMAN: Since no other delegation wishes to speak now in connexion with item 27, I wish to announce that a revised version of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.617 has been submitted, with Argentina, Brazil and Spain as additional sponsors.

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.