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1. The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of New Zealand, who wishes to make a brief statement in explanation of his delegation's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.620, which the Committee adopted yesterday.

2. Mr. GRAY (New Zealand): I should like to take this opportunity to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.620.

3. My delegation voted in favour of that draft, as it did in the case of a similar draft at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. However, we have some reservations about certain aspects of operative paragraphs 2 and 3. My delegation feels that the problem of the verification of a comprehensive test ban treaty cannot be lightly dismissed, and we would hope that any such agreement would make adequate provision for verification. An unverified moratorium as recommended in the draft would be desirable only as a generally acceptable short-term measure leading to definite progress on a comprehensive test ban treaty which would itself provide for verification.

4. Nevertheless, my delegation's general sympathy with the spirit and objectives of the draft resolution led it to vote in favour of it.

5. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take up agenda item 33. Under this item the Committee has before it a revised version of the 16-Power draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1.

6. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today I have the special privilege of introducing to the Committee on behalf of the 16 Latin American delegations that are its sponsors—Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico—draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1.

7. As will be recalled, when I had the honour of introducing the initial text, at the 1884th meeting, I had an opportunity to explain in some detail the main reasons underlying the text and the principal points of the background to the draft resolution. The slight changes to the original text that led to the new, revised form may be called self-explanatory, and therefore it seems to us that a commentary on them is unnecessary.

8. Accordingly, I shall confine my statement to a few words about new operative paragraph 3, which reads as follows:

"3. Also welcomes with satisfaction, as a preliminary measure, the solemn declaration made by the Government of the People's Republic of China, on 14 November 1972, by which it entered into obligations similar to

those implicit in Additional Protocol II for States parties thereto, and invites the Government of China to try to find procedures that will enable it to accede to the Protocol as soon as possible”.

The declaration to which reference is made in that paragraph is the one included in the note which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China addressed to the Mexican Ambassador to China on 14 November, and the complete text of which is reproduced in document A/C.1/1028. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding on that declaration, I shall now read it out, as I did, for that matter, at the close of our meeting of yesterday afternoon.

“The Chinese Government has repeatedly declared that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. As a specific undertaking regarding the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America, I now declare solemnly on behalf of the Chinese Government: China will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone, nor will China test, manufacture, produce, stockpile, install or deploy nuclear weapons in these countries or in this zone, or send her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and territorial air space of Latin American countries.”

9. For anyone here who is truly familiar with the content of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and its Additional Protocol II, it will be obvious that the Chinese Government, in the declaration about which I have just spoken, has entered into commitments, as is stated in operative paragraph 3, which I have already cited, similar to those implicit in Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. What is more, in certain aspects it has gone even further in committing itself of its own volition not to send “... her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and territorial air space” of the Latin American countries which are parties to the Treaty. Hence it is only natural and justifiable that the delegations that are sponsors of the draft resolution should propose that the Assembly welcome “with satisfaction” the solemn declaration which I have just read out.

10. Moreover, although the scope of the declaration is broader than that of the Protocol, the extent to which it is legally binding is less than that of one of the so-called solemn international instruments, a category into which fall not only treaties, but also conventions and protocols. It is certainly for this reason, and because of the need to take into account the fundamental principle of the sovereign equality of States, that the General Assembly reaffirmed in paragraph 1 of its resolution 2830 (XXVI), which was adopted last year by more than 100 votes in favour with none opposed, that the co-operation of States possessing nuclear weapons in any treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone, free of such weapons, should take the form of commitments likewise undertaken in an instrument of a nature similar to that of the Treaty such as, for example, in the case of a protocol.

11. What I have just said, it seems to us, explains fully why it was thought necessary to explain that the declara-

tion of the Chinese Government should be considered as a “preliminary step” and why it was also considered appropriate to invite that Government “to try to find procedures that will enable it to accede to the Protocol as soon as possible” I shall merely add that we, the sponsors, are all convinced that with mutual goodwill—and for our part we can assure this Assembly as of now that there will be an abundance of goodwill on our part—it will be easy to find procedures to which reference is made in the draft and that, without in any way affecting the position held by the Chinese Government concerning certain treaties, these procedures will enable it to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, subject to such statements of interpretation as may appear advisable to that Government.

12. Moreover, inasmuch as we are convinced that no one is unaware of the importance of the new step forward which the declaration by the People's Republic of China represents for the strengthening and greater effectiveness of the régime of a completely nuclear-weapon-free zone established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the positive gesture of the Government of the People's Republic of China is fully appreciated in all its merits by the sponsoring delegations, and we fully trust that our draft resolution, which is at one and the same time a record of what has already been achieved and an encouragement to further progress, will command the decisive support of this Committee and the General Assembly.

13. I have now finished reading the written text which I had prepared for the purpose of discharging the duty with which I had the honour of being entrusted, namely, to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1. A number of delegations have approached my delegation and said that a vote on the draft resolution as now worded would place them in some difficulty. The only point which apparently gives rise to these difficulties is the fact that the “solemn declaration” mentioned in operative paragraph 3—although I read it out twice, both yesterday afternoon and again this morning—is not quoted in the draft resolution. It appeared to me that this is a matter which can be settled so easily that it would not even require a recess such as those which the Chairman so wisely called when we were dealing with similar problems.

14. I would therefore ask the Chairman, if he and the 15 other sponsors have no objection, to ask those sponsors whether they would agree to have the following amendments introduced in the draft resolution which, in our opinion, do not alter the substance of the text in any way whatsoever.

15. A third paragraph would be added to the preamble which would read as follows:

“Having taken note of the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China, on 14 November 1972, made the following solemn declaration”.

We would then insert here, in quotes the text that I read out yesterday and which I have read out again this morning. It would require some slight drafting changes in operative paragraph 3, which might read as follows:

“Also welcomes with satisfaction, as a preliminary measure, the solemn declaration made by the Govern-

ment of the People's Republic of China, on 14 November 1972, by which it entered into obligations similar to those ...".

The rest of the paragraph would be exactly as worded in draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1.

16. Therefore, I would be grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, if you would put the question that I have suggested to the representatives of the 15 other delegations which are sponsors of the draft resolution: namely, to ascertain whether they have any objection to making these changes in the revised draft.

17. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now address myself to the delegations of Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. These delegations are sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1. I have been requested by the delegation of Mexico to ask the sponsors whether they would agree to the changes he proposed in the relevant draft.

18. Since there appears to be no objection to these amendments on the part of the other sponsors, I am able to inform Mr. García Robles that we can take it the amendments have been agreed to.

19. Mr. MARTIN (United States of America): We have noted the explanation which the representative of Mexico has given us in two instances on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1, and we have also noted the amendment to that draft resolution which he has proposed this morning. Let me state that the understanding of the United States is that the reference to the "solemn declaration" which is contained in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution refers solely to a sentence in the note from the People's Republic of China. This is our interpretation of the reference to "solemn declaration" in the draft resolution, and on the basis of that interpretation we shall be able to vote for draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1, as amended by the delegation of Mexico. Our support for this draft resolution does not imply that we accept or agree with any of the views, other than those I have just quoted, in document A/C.1/1028.

20. Mr. CHEN (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese Government and people have consistently given deep sympathy and firm support to the Latin American countries and peoples in their just struggle to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, safeguard State sovereignty and develop national economy. The Chinese Government attaches great importance to the persistent efforts made by the Latin American countries for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America, and firmly opposes the policies of nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail pursued by certain countries possessing a large amount of nuclear weapons against the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America. In his note on the question of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America addressed to Mr. Eugenio Anguiano, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of Mexico to China, on 14 November 1972, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Chi

Peng-fei, stated in detail the Chinese Government's principled position on the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and our specific undertakings regarding it [see A/C.1/1028]. Now I would like to take this opportunity to read out the full text of the Foreign Minister's note:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of 5 October 1972 and to reply as follows on the question of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America to which it refers:

"The United States of Mexico and other Latin American countries have proposed the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and asked the countries possessing nuclear weapons to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and to make a pertinent undertaking regarding the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone. The Chinese Government respects and supports the just proposition of Mexico and other Latin American countries and agrees to the basic contents of this protocol.

"At present, certain countries possessing huge numbers of nuclear weapons are still pursuing a policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against non-nuclear countries and zones. They not only have stationed nuclear forces and established nuclear bases on the territories of other countries, but are constantly sending their airplanes, warships or other means of delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territorial air space and territorial sea of other countries, posing a grave threat to the peace and security of these countries and zones. In view of this, the Chinese Government proposes for consideration the inclusion of the following provisions in addition to the present provisions of Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America: (1) dismantling of all foreign military bases in Latin America and (2) prohibition of the passage of all means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons through the territory, territorial sea or territorial air space of Latin American countries.

"The Chinese Government has always firmly stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and held that, as the first step, all nuclear countries should undertake not to use nuclear weapons, particularly not to use them against non-nuclear countries. The Chinese Government has repeatedly declared that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. As a specific undertaking regarding the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America, I now declare solemnly on behalf of the Chinese Government: China will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone, nor will China test, manufacture, produce, stockpile, install or deploy nuclear weapons in these countries or in this zone, or send her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and territorial air space of Latin American countries. I believe that this undertaking of the Chinese Government is in conformity with the proposition and basic demand of the Latin American countries.

"It is necessary to point out at the same time that both the preamble of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and that of Additional Protocol II affirm the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly on the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the partial nuclear test ban Treaty, to which latter two Treaties China has always been opposed. It is solely under compulsion that China has been developing nuclear weapons, and she is doing so entirely for defensive purposes and for breaking the nuclear monopoly and proceeding from there to eliminate nuclear weapons. Certain countries possessing huge numbers of nuclear weapons are precisely making use of the above-mentioned treaties in an attempt to establish their nuclear monopoly, nuclear superiority and nuclear hegemony in the world. Since the Chinese Government takes exception to these two treaties, it is in no position to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. But this definitely does not hinder the Chinese Government from supporting the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone and making the above-mentioned undertaking regarding it. The Chinese Government is ready to continue to work together with the Latin American countries for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

"The Chinese Government hopes that its position will have the full understanding of the United States of Mexico and the other Latin American countries. The Mexican Government is requested to convey China's above-mentioned position to all the Governments parties to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America."

21. In his note to the Mexican Ambassador, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei fully expresses the Chinese Government's respect and support for the just position of Mexico and other Latin American countries on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and its agreement to the basic contents of Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and solemnly declares the specific undertaking of the Chinese Government regarding the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America.

22. The note points out at the same time that as both the Treaty and its Additional Protocol II affirm in their preambles the resolutions of the General Assembly on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the partial nuclear test ban Treaty, to which latter two Treaties China has always been opposed, the Chinese Government is not in a position to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. But of course this in no way prevents the Chinese Government from supporting the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone and making due commitment regarding it.

23. In view of this position of the Chinese Government, the Chinese delegation will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution.

24. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolution

A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1 on the Treaty of Tlatelolco. On previous occasions the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has made known the reasons for which it does not consider it possible to participate in activities deriving from a desire to denuclearize Latin America, despite the noble intentions and efforts of some of the initiators of this idea, in particular, the Government of Mexico.

25. We consider that the proposal to guarantee this status to Latin America will not be feasible, or at least will be ineffectual, if denuclearization does not include the United States of America, which is the only nuclear Power that has bases and military installations equipped with this type of weapon within the region. That Power, furthermore, has an inevitable impact on the security and fate of the Latin American countries and has repeatedly expressed its inadmissible claim to intervene in the domestic affairs of the States of the region, which it has done on more than one occasion with the use of armed force and with the support of the bases that it maintains in Latin American territory.

26. Cuba cannot accept the proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone as long as the United States Government does not modify its aggressive policy towards Cuba and other Latin American countries and as long as the zone does not include the United States military bases in that region, in particular those installed in Latin American territories which have been usurped by Yankee imperialism, namely, the Panama Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and the Cuban territory of Guantánamo.

27. Mr. BARTON (Canada): I wish to make essentially the same explanation of vote as my colleague from the United States did, namely, that we interpret the operative paragraph of the draft resolution to refer solely to the declaration of the Chinese Government as read into the record by the representative of Mexico today in introducing the draft resolution and we assume that acceptance of this paragraph of the draft resolution does not extend to the views expressed in the remainder of the Chinese Government's statement.

28. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic): During the debate on draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1, certain interested representatives of nuclear-weapon States had some misgivings about acceding to Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. These misgivings do not appear to my delegation to have been allayed altogether. That is why we have certain reservations on operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

29. We do not intend in the least to minimize the importance of the draft resolution nor the magnificent initiative of Latin America in proclaiming its zone free from nuclear weapons, and we are grateful and recommend the plausible efforts, in particular, of the Government of Mexico. That is why we wonder whether it would not be possible for us to vote separately on operative paragraph 4.

30. The CHAIRMAN: As there are no other speakers the Committee will now proceed to vote on the 16-Power revised draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1 as amended by Mexico with the agreement of the sponsors.

31. A request has been made for a separate vote on operative paragraph 4. I now put operative paragraph 4 to the vote.

The paragraph was adopted by 60 votes to none, with 47 abstentions.

32. I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, as amended by Mexico with the agreement of the sponsors.

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

33. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom who wishes to explain his vote.

34. Mr. HAINWORTH (United Kingdom): I should like very briefly to explain my vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.619/Rev.1, as amended from the floor. My delegation voted for this draft resolution, and the United Kingdom has for many years now taken a leading positive position in support of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. My delegation was one of those which had experienced some

slight difficulties with the text and is grateful to the representative of Mexico and the other sponsors for the changes introduced. These changes make it clear that United Kingdom support for the draft resolution this year and for the solemn declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China embodied in the single sentence beginning with the words "As a specific undertaking" in the fourth paragraph of the text which has been circulated [A/C.1/1028] and read to us by the representative of the People's Republic of China, in no way implies agreement by the United Kingdom with any of the other views expressed in that document.

35. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has now concluded its consideration of item 33.

36. I am still waiting patiently, and with understanding, for draft resolutions on items 26, 31 and 34. Members of the Committee will have noted that the report of the Secretary-General on the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is contained in document A/8809.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.