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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 18

Election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The first item on the agenda for this meeting is the election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Members of the Assembly have before them a note by the Secretary-General on this question [A/5608 and Corr.1]. In this note the Secretary-General proposes "... that the term of office of Mr. Félix Schnyder as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be extended for a two-year period, from 1 January 1964 to 31 December 1965, on the same terms and conditions, namely that Mr. Schnyder should continue to receive the salary and emoluments of an Under-Secretary".

2. Unless some one asks for a vote, I venture to suggest that the Assembly should approve the Secretary-General's recommendation by acclamation.

*The recommendation was approved by acclamation.*

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision just taken by the Assembly, I declare Mr. Félix Schnyder elected United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees until 31 December 1965. I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Schnyder on the renewed confidence that the Assembly has placed in him and I wish him continued success in the important task that he is performing on behalf of the refugees.

4. Mr. CHAKCHOUK (Tunisia) (translated from French): On behalf of the Tunisian delegation I should like to offer sincere congratulations to Mr. Félix Schnyder on the extension, for a two-year period, of his term of office as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

5. The General Assembly's unanimous vote to approve the recommendation made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations testifies to the interest taken by the Members of our Organization in the High Commissioner's patient and useful efforts on behalf of refugees. It is also a tribute to Mr. Félix Schnyder personally and to his country, Switzerland, which is well known for its traditions of hospitality.

6. It is worth recalling that Mr. Schnyder served as Chairman of the Executive Board of UNICEF before taking up his present appointment. In that capacity, he worked to the satisfaction of all concerned on behalf of unfortunate children throughout the world.

7. In conclusion my delegation wishes to assure the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees of the Tunisian Government's support in the arduous and difficult task that awaits him.

AGENDA ITEM 61

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (continued):\*

(a) *Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5591/  
ADD.1)

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The vacancy to be filled in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions is due to the resignation of Mr. Aleksei F. Sokirkin, which took effect on 22 November 1963.

9. Since the pertinent recommendation was approved unanimously in the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly approves the draft resolu-

\*Resumed from 1,244th meeting.

tion in the report of that Committee [A/5591/Add.1, para. 5]? If I hear no objections, I shall consider it to be adopted unanimously.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (concluded)\*

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART II)  
(A/5571/ADD.1)

#### AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5617)

#### AGENDA ITEM 73

Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5597 AND CORR.1)

#### AGENDA ITEM 74

Denuclearization of Latin America

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5618)

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon Mr. Fernando Volio Jimenez, of Costa Rica, Rapporteur of the First Committee, to introduce in one statement the reports of the First Committee on the agenda items now before the Assembly.

11. Mr. VOLIO JIMENEZ (Costa Rica), Rapporteur of the First Committee (translated from Spanish): I have the honour to submit for consideration by the General Assembly the reports of the First Committee on agenda items 26, 27, 73 and 74 [A/5571/Add.1, A/5617, A/5597 and Corr.1, and A/5618].

12. As the Members of the Assembly are aware, part I of the report of the First Committee on agenda item 26 was submitted on 17 October last, when the unanimous recommendation of that Committee [A/5571, para. 7] was discussed in the Assembly. The present report [A/5571/Add.1] should be regarded as part II of the report of the First Committee on item 26.

13. The question of general and complete disarmament was debated at length in the First Committee and I am glad to say that the draft resolution which is now recommended for adoption by the General Assembly was approved by acclamation.

14. Consequently, the First Committee recommends the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5571/Add.1, para. 12] for adoption by the General Assembly.

15. Agenda item 27 was considered at two earlier sessions of the General Assembly. It has been discussed again at this session by the First Committee which took into account a draft resolution submitted by nineteen African Member States.

16. In the course of the Committee's debates some members explained that, while the proposal was of

positive value, they could not support the draft resolution because in the present situation it was unrealistic to consider the idea of imposing a ban on the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons as a separate question and not as a part of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

17. Other members who supported the draft resolution stressed the importance of the item and declared that it was a procedural resolution which merely referred the question back to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva for further consideration and report. The draft resolution was approved in the Committee by 54 votes to 17, with 24 abstentions.

18. Consequently, the First Committee recommends the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5617, para. 7] for adoption by the General Assembly.

19. The Committee gave priority to agenda item 73 when discussing various matters connected with disarmament. In the course of the Committee's debate many members supported the Treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963. At the same time the hope was expressed that it would be possible to attain the objectives set forth in the preamble to that Treaty. Many delegations also expressed the hope that the States which had not yet signed the Treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests would change their attitude and join with the hundred or so States that had already signed the Treaty.

20. The draft resolution, sponsored by thirty Member States and reflecting those views in essence, was approved by the Committee by 97 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.

21. Consequently, the First Committee recommends the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5597 and Corr.1, para. 7] for adoption by the General Assembly.

22. With regard to agenda item 74, Members of the Assembly will remember that during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador submitted a draft resolution on that item. At that time, however, the Assembly did not examine the draft resolution but decided to defer consideration of the item to the eighteenth session. The debate in the First Committee was therefore a long one, in which many delegations took part.

23. At the opening of the debate eleven Member States submitted a draft resolution to the Committee.

24. During the debate it became apparent that in general all members endorsed the principles and objectives of the draft resolution. Some delegations, however, were of the opinion that the draft resolution did not take the facts of the situation fully into account and was inadequate, and they said that, regretfully, they could not support it. The draft resolution was approved by 89 votes to none, with 14 abstentions.

25. Consequently, the First Committee recommends the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5618, para. 7] for adoption by the General Assembly.

*In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the decision taken by the Assembly, speakers will confine themselves to explaining their votes. The

Assembly will now take a decision on the various proposals, starting with the First Committee's recommendation on agenda item 26.

27. I have been informed that the draft resolutions on agenda items 26, 27 and 74 will have no financial implications apart from those already provided for by the Fifth Committee in its report [A/5619] on agenda item 73.

28. I now invite the Assembly to take up the draft resolution on item 26 which appears in the report of the First Committee [A/5571/Add.1, para. 12]. As this draft resolution was approved by acclamation in the First Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly will adopt it by acclamation?

29. I give the floor to the representative of Albania to explain his vote.

30. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I asked permission to speak in order to explain my vote on the draft resolution concerning the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests [A.5597 and Corr.1, para. 7] and on the other draft resolutions on the agenda. The Albanian delegation explained in the First Committee [1323rd meeting] the reasons why it voted against the draft resolution concerning the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. For the same reasons we shall vote against this draft resolution now.

31. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would remind the representative of Albania that the draft resolution now being put to the vote is the one which refers to general and complete disarmament and not the one referring to the question of the suspension of nuclear tests. I shall give him the floor in due course, when that particular draft resolution is put to the vote, but we are at present voting exclusively on the draft resolution concerning general and complete disarmament.

32. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I understand the President's explanation. However, since the Rapporteur of the First Committee spoke on all four agenda items, I thought I might explain my vote on all three of the draft resolutions concerning various aspects of disarmament. I shall speak also, if the President allows me to do so, on the question of general and complete disarmament.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Inasmuch as the representative of Albania wishes to speak on the four agenda items submitted simultaneously by the Rapporteur, he may explain his vote now.

34. I interrupted him simply because I thought he was referring specifically to the draft resolution on which we were about to vote, and I therefore told him that I would give those who wished to do so an opportunity to explain their vote on each draft resolution before it was put to the vote.

35. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The Albanian delegation explained in the First Committee its reasons for voting against the draft resolution concerning nuclear tests. For the same reasons, now that the draft resolution is before the General Assembly, we shall vote against it once more.

36. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, firmly attached to its consistent policy of peace, has spared no effort to make its modest contribution, alongside other peaceful countries, to the quest for a solution to the disarmament problem. It

has struggled unceasingly for the total prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, coupled with the prohibition and the total and final destruction of such weapons and with general and complete disarmament. It has supported all constructive proposals made with those objectives in view.

37. Guided by its firm determination to reach the desired objective, it has at the same time resolutely unmasked, on all occasions, the negative attitude taken and the various manoeuvres adopted by those who oppose any solution of the problem and who base their foreign policy on positions of strength.

38. Pursuing this same consistent policy, and taking into account the interests of its own security, of the security of all peaceful countries, and of the peace and security of the world, the People's Republic of Albania firmly opposed the partial test ban Treaty signed at Moscow by the three nuclear Powers.<sup>1/</sup>

39. By its declaration of 15 August 1963 the Albanian Government unequivocally defined its position with regard to that Treaty. The Albanian delegation has reaffirmed that position both in the General Assembly [1218th meeting] and in the First Committee.

40. Our position is that all those who cherish the cause of peace are in duty bound to spare no effort and to struggle resolutely for general and complete disarmament, so as to remove all the obstacles placed in the way of the solution of this problem and so as to expose, in particular, all the manoeuvres and tricks which run counter to the desired objective and which tend to mislead public opinion and to favour the aggressive plans and war preparations of the imperialists at the expense of the peaceful countries—the very countries that are threatened by that aggressive policy—and at the expense of the general peace for which the peoples are striving throughout the world.

41. We remain convinced that the Moscow Treaty on nuclear tests is an illusory manoeuvre and a dangerous move, opposed to the efforts that all countries and all peace-loving peoples must make to solve the great problem of our time—general and complete disarmament—and opposed to the cause of world peace.

42. The world needs real peace, not illusions. That is what all the peoples are urgently demanding. They are calling vigorously for general disarmament, prohibition of the testing and production of nuclear weapons, and the prohibition and complete and final destruction of those weapons of mass destruction. They want the spectre of nuclear war exorcised.

43. Can anyone seriously claim that the partial test ban Treaty meets this ardent desire of the peace-loving countries and peoples, or that it marks the slightest step in that direction? Of course not. On the contrary, it is meant to mislead the peoples and to serve the turn of the imperialists' war policy. We have resolutely opposed this Treaty out of regard for the sacred interests of peace and security for all mankind.

44. The Moscow Treaty is not a disarmament agreement and does not make for disarmament. By separating the cessation of tests from the fundamental problem of nuclear disarmament, which is of vital concern to the peoples of the whole world, it com-

<sup>1/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

pletely fails to resolve the question of the prohibition and complete and final destruction of nuclear weapons. It leaves the United States, in particular, completely free to manufacture and stockpile those weapons and even to use them in time of war. The Treaty does not prevent the United States from exporting and distributing those weapons of mass destruction to its allies, including the revanchists of West Germany; that is what it is doing now, in particular, through the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force.

45. The Treaty does not even solve the problem of the cessation of tests. In reality this agreement provides only for a temporary halt to testing in the atmosphere, which was already in effect. Under the terms of the Treaty, the United States can easily resume such testing, for example on the pretext of "exercising its national sovereignty".

46. Furthermore, the Treaty tends to legalize underground tests, thereby permitting the constant improvement of nuclear weapons and thus conferring an unquestionable advantage on the United States, which according to the claims of its own responsible officials, is the country with most experience in explosions of this type. Indeed, the United States Government has not been slow to make use of its advantages: it carried out underground tests immediately after the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty and according to official communiqués, had already carried out eleven such tests by 15 November 1963.

47. In short, the Treaty banning nuclear tests gives an indisputable advantage to certain imperialist Powers; it enables them to press on, under what they regard as relatively better conditions—because of the danger—our illusion this Treaty may create in people's minds—with the race to improve nuclear weapons further and to increase the existing stocks of those weapons. It is a help to their war preparations, strengthens their position for purposes of atomic blackmail, and increases the danger of nuclear war from that quarter.

48. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania will never consent to accede to such an agreement; it is designed to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of certain Powers and to tie the hands of the peaceful countries exposed to the imperialist threat of nuclear war, and it is prejudicial to the interests of the peoples and of general peace. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is therefore vehemently opposed to that Treaty. Faithfully pursuing its policy of peace, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will spare no effort, now or in the future, to make its modest contribution to the solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament and of general and complete disarmament.

49. For all the reasons I have just stated, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution concerning nuclear weapon tests [A/5597 and Corr.1, para. 7].

50. Allow me, Mr. President, to state very briefly now our position with regard to the draft resolution on general and complete disarmament [A/5571/Add.1, para. 12] and the draft resolution on the denuclearization of Latin America [A/5618, para. 7].

51. In the First Committee [1338th meeting] the Albanian delegation let it be known that it was prepared to give general support to the draft resolution on the question of general and complete disarmament in spite of certain regrettable omissions in that text. However, we were unable to accept the references

made, in the seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution, to the Moscow Treaty and the direct communications link between Moscow and Washington—our views on their significance from the disarmament standpoint have been plainly stated—and because of those references, we were obliged not to take part in the voting on that draft resolution. Our attitude will be the same in the General Assembly.

52. As to the draft resolution on the denuclearization of Latin America, we told the First Committee [1341st meeting] that we were in favour of that proposal, consistently with our general position in the matter; but we commented on some omissions in the text, and more specifically on the need to lay down certain necessary preliminary conditions for the attainment of the desired objective. We stated that because of those omissions we were not in a position to support the draft resolution in question. In addition, because of the references made to the Moscow Treaty in the fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, the Albanian delegation in the First Committee took no part in the voting on the proposal. Here again, our position will be the same in the General Assembly.

53. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In order to avoid any confusion I wish to make it clear to the General Assembly that although the reports on items 26, 27, 73 and 74 referred to the First Committee have been introduced by the Rapporteur in one single statement, each of the draft resolutions will be considered and voted on separately. Consequently, I now put to the vote the draft resolution on item 26 which appears in the report of the First Committee [A/5571/Add.1, para. 12].

54. As the representative of Albania did not refer specifically to this draft resolution and as it was approved by acclamation in the First Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts it by acclamation?

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

55. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I am sorry to have to speak again, but the President has just declared that the draft resolution on general and complete disarmament has been adopted by acclamation. I said in my explanation of vote that in the First Committee we had not taken part in the voting on that draft resolution, and that our attitude would be the same in the Assembly. With the President's permission I should like it made clear that the draft resolution was adopted by acclamation, or unanimously, by the Members of the Assembly who took part in the voting, with that qualification.

56. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I can assure the representative of Albania that the adoption of this draft resolution by acclamation does not imply that he participated in the vote. The fact that the Albanian representative did not wish to participate in the vote, as he expressly declared, will appear in the record. It has been decided that for counting purposes a representative not participating in the vote is to be considered not present at the time of the vote. The fact, however, that a particular delegation did not participate in the vote and stated so expressly will appear in the record of the meeting. The adoption of this draft resolution by acclamation is therefore without prejudice to the Albanian representative's right to state that he would not participate in the vote. This will appear in the record.

57. Before taking up the next item and to avoid any confusion—with the reservation that the position of the Albanian representative is to appear in the record—I wish to confirm that the draft resolution on general and complete disarmament has been adopted by the General Assembly by acclamation.

58. We now take up agenda item 27. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee appears in the report of that Committee [A/5617, para. 7] and I shall put it to the vote immediately. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*New Zealand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

*Abstaining:* New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Argentina, Austria, Burma, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Iceland, Iran, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Malaysia.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 64 votes to 18, with 25 abstentions.*

59. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I now invite the Assembly to consider the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report on agenda item 73 [A/5597 and Corr.1, para.7]. In connexion with this item the Assembly has before it the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5619] on the financial implications of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee.

60. I give the floor to the representative of the Central African Republic for an explanation of vote before the vote is taken.

61. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): The report [A/5597 and Corr.1] transmitting to the General Assembly for ratification the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee states that three States Members of the United Nations abstained in the vote taken in the Committee on what was, at that stage, a draft resolution submitted by seventeen Powers including the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the signatories of the Moscow Treaty.

62. My delegation, as is known, was one of the three which participated in the vote but which did not feel called upon either to align themselves with or to isolate themselves from the appeal addressed to "all States to become parties to the Treaty ... and to abide by its spirit and provisions".

63. My delegation fully appreciates the positive cooperation shown by the sponsors of the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

64. The people of the Central African Republic are a peaceful people. That is to say, their Government is concerned first and foremost with the vital question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The related and no less vital problem of the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions in all environments is likewise a matter of close concern to my country, which associated itself with other Member States in urging:

"The Great Powers ... in particular ... the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to pursue their discussions with the sincere desire to succeed, so that they may establish an effective system for the control of nuclear and conventional armaments applicable to all atomic Powers, present and future." [1037th meeting, paras. 14 and 15.]

65. The Central African Republic, conscious of the paucity of its national income and of the long, rough road it must travel, as a developing country of Africa, to reach full and harmonious economic, social, cultural and human prosperity, does not manufacture conventional armaments, much less nuclear armaments; it has no ambitions to figure among the atomic Powers, present or future. There seems to be no need, therefore, to appeal to it "to become a party to the Treaty and to abide by its provisions".

66. Of course, my country, like other Member States, welcomes the signing of the agreement concluded at Moscow. It warmly applauded this because in our eyes the Moscow Treaty is a positive sign and an earnest of the reduction of tension which is needed to restore international relations to normal in order to seek out adequate solutions to the important problems still pending. The conclusion of the agreement between the three great Powers is seen as at last opening the door to the negotiation and rapid conclusion of further decisive agreements, particularly on disarmament, which mankind, haunted by the great nuclear fear, wishes with all its heart and soul to be general and complete, and which should be placed under the control of a suitable international body.

67. For reasons that are easy to guess, the Moscow Treaty did not at the same time provide for the cessation of underground nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions. That omission, unfortunately, is not calculated to put an end to the contamination of the earth by radio-active substances, in the words of the preamble to the Treaty. Furthermore the tripartite agreement provides in article IV that:

"Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country." [A/5488, annex I, E.]

68. In the last analysis, then, there is every justification for thinking that the spectre of insecurity still looms over mankind. That is why the Government of

the Central African Republic believes with the late President Kennedy that the world has not yet emerged from the shadows.

69. To accede to the Moscow Treaty in its present form would be—in the words of a great political figure—to make a purely platonic gesture, to concede a symbolic gesture. That is my Government's humble opinion.

70. My country, keenly aware of the existence of the prodigious nuclear arsenal maintained by the big three, shares the feelings of those who are in favour of "the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" and of the destruction and the prohibition of the manufacture, under adequate control, of the means of delivering nuclear weapons. This, indeed, is the difficult, thankless but noble task of the Eighteen-Nation Committee to which, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, I wish to pay once again a stirring tribute for its continuous efforts, at the same time urging the Committee to pursue its negotiations with dogged determination to achieve in, we hope, the very near future the aims set in the preamble to the Moscow Treaty.

71. To reaffirm a clear and well-defined attitude, my country wishes neither to fall into line nor to isolate itself; on the contrary, it wishes to wait until the way is clear enough for it to go straight ahead. For that reason the position already taken by my delegation in the First Committee will remain unchanged when the draft resolution [A/5597 and Corr.1, para. 7] and its financial implications [A/5619] are put to the vote.

72. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report [A/5597 and Corr.1, para. 7].

*The draft resolution was adopted by 104 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.*

73. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now consider item 74, the last item on today's agenda. The First Committee recommends the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5618, para. 7] on this subject for adoption by the General Assembly. We shall now vote on the draft resolution. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal,

Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Poland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 15 abstentions.*

74. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I shall now give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

75. Mr. BERNARDES (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation wishes to express its satisfaction with the result of the vote on the denuclearization of Latin America. The resolution approved here today represents a step forward towards making our continent an area of peace and tranquillity rather than of fear and strife. My delegation is also gratified by the encouragement just given by the international community to an idea whose importance we have been trying to emphasize for some time.

76. The abstention of some countries was not meant to imply opposition to the proposal of the five Latin American Presidents, as they themselves made clear in the First Committee. It merely expresses doubts as to the concrete steps suggested by the resolution just adopted. We can say, therefore, that the idea of denuclearizing Latin America received the unanimous support of the Assembly.

77. No matter how significant the resolution we have adopted, the Latin American nations are only at the threshold of common efforts aiming at denuclearization. It will not be obtained by fiat or by magic. Only patient negotiations and hard work can pave the way to it. My delegation is confident of the ultimate result of this effort because it represents a great challenge, a challenge of building peace and averting war.

78. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In the opinion of the Mexican delegation, the resolution on the denuclearization of Latin America, which the General Assembly of the United Nations has just adopted by the vote of an impressive majority of Member States, without a single vote in opposition, is both a challenge and a testimony. It is a challenge to the ability of the Latin American States to work together and to achieve unanimous results that reflect the intense desire for peace with which, we are sure, all their peoples without exception are imbued.

79. The Assembly has today successfully completed its work on this item for this session. It has unequivocally given its encouragement and moral support to the initiative taken by the five Latin American Heads of State, embodied in the joint Declaration of 29 April 1963.2/

80. In the resolution we have just adopted the Assembly notes this initiative with satisfaction and expresses the hope that the Latin American States will "initiate studies ... concerning the measures that should be agreed upon with a view to achieving the aims of the said declaration". But the most arduous and difficult

<sup>2/</sup> Declaration on the denuclearization of Latin America issued by the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico.

part of the task of carrying out the noble enterprise of denuclearization has yet to be done. It is the duty of the Governments of the Latin American republics to begin this task without delay.

81. While the resolution represents a challenge, it also constitutes a testimony that Latin America has now come of age and is able to assess correctly the real desires of its peoples. At the economic level, the Latin American Free Trade Association has already been created through the joint efforts of the Latin American countries and I think we can be confident that in a not too distant future another Latin American association will come into being, designed to exclude nuclear weapons for ever from all the territories within the area whose limits we shall have to define.

82. The fact that the resolution we have just adopted was drawn up entirely by Latin American States, the fact that it has received the unconditional support of eighteen of these States—and in our opinion there are no grounds for interpreting the abstention of the other two States as excluding ultimate unanimity speaks very highly for the political maturity of our peoples and Governments. It shows clearly that we can say with confidence that we know what we want and shall know how to achieve it.

83. We want to help make it possible for our children to grow up free from the terror inspired by the threat of nuclear war.

84. We want to make sure that no part of Latin America will ever be used for testing nuclear weapons, no matter how or where the tests might be carried out.

85. We want to eliminate even the slightest possibility that the scanty resources at our disposal for the development of our countries and for raising the level of living of our peoples might be wasted in a ruinous and manifestly absurd nuclear armaments race.

86. We want all States, and especially the nuclear Powers, to agree to respect strictly, in all its aspects and consequences, the legal statute for the denuclearization of Latin America which we have just adopted.

87. As we have stated from the beginning, we want this question to remain outside the so-called "cold-war", with regard to which we still nurture the hope that the Treaty of Moscow indicates the beginning of a final thaw. What is at stake is of the utmost importance. It involves the very life of present and future generations of Latin Americans, as is stated

in the resolution adopted today. No one can escape responsibility before history for his conduct in the common task that is essential if these noble objectives are to be achieved.

88. We are well aware of the complexity and magnitude of the task before us; we must achieve a multilateral agreement that will fully satisfy, first, the States of the region and States that have anything to do with territories in the region, and, secondly, the nuclear Powers, despite the fact that their interests will often be adversely affected.

89. We are confident, nevertheless, that in the not too distant future—perhaps at the nineteenth session—the Latin American States will be able to bring such an agreement before the Assembly. As President López Mateos stated in his memorable letter of 21 March 1963, "It is true that the difficulties to be overcome are great but I like to think—basing my belief on our past experience as peace-loving nations—that our will and ability to overcome them are equally great".

90. We do not intend to act rashly or hastily. We shall follow the advice of the wise Latin adage and make haste slowly, but we shall make haste.

91. Today, with the historic resolution adopted by this Assembly, Latin America starts along the road to denuclearization. We are convinced that sooner or later we shall achieve that goal, for we can count upon the unreserved and enthusiastic support of all our peoples.

#### Organization of work

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before the meeting rises I wish to announce that the next plenary meeting of the General Assembly will take place at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow, when we shall begin consideration of item 23 of the agenda. After the plenary meeting tomorrow morning I intend to convene plenary meetings on Friday morning and afternoon and on the five working days of next week, in order to complete our consideration of this important item.

93. Once again I urge delegations wishing to speak on this item to be good enough to put their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible. If we are obliged to cancel meetings on Friday or next week for lack of speakers on this item, it will be absolutely impossible for the Assembly to finish its work within the allotted time

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*