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FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 17 June 1968, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Arthur J. GOLDBERG
(United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1430)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 12 June 1968 from the Permanent Representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8630).

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to the business for which we have convened and since the opportunity did not arise at the last meeting because of the circumstances under which that meeting took place, I would take a brief moment to do what in reality cannot adequately be done briefly: to pay personal and official tribute and respect to the outgoing President of the Council, our distinguished colleague Lord Caradon of the United Kingdom.

2. It is difficult to find the right words to use on such an occasion, for there is much that could and should be said. But, clearly, it would be wrong if I did not express, on behalf of my own delegation, and, I believe, of all members of the Council, deep admiration and gratitude for the vigour, impartiality, good humour, sense of fair play and dedication to the principles which characterized the leadership given to this Council last month by Lord Caradon. It was not that we did not expect these qualities to come to the fore; on the contrary, on the basis of our past experience we did. We are very grateful to Lord Caradon for the manner in which he presided over the Council.

3. I would conclude, as I have been doing in the past several days, on another personal note. When I seek to count the things I shall be deprived of when I leave my present position, which I now reassure the Council will be the day following our disposition of the business at present at hand, I always end up by putting high on the list the company, the example and the inspiration of my friend and colleague Lord Caradon.

4. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I wish to thank you for those over-generous comments. I would merely say in reply that all of us are happy to have this further opportunity of serving under your Presidency, and to add that there is no President for whom we could have a greater admiration and affection.

5. The PRESIDENT: I thank you, Lord Caradon.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 12 June 1968 from the Permanent Representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8630)

6. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the matter placed before it in the letter addressed to the President on 12 June 1968 by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, circulated in document S/8630. On the same date, a draft resolution was submitted by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and it is now before the Council in document S/8631. Since all members of the Council have this document before them, I shall forgo reading the draft resolution and shall proceed to call on the first speaker inscribed on my list for the discussion of the question before the Council, namely, the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

7. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The recently adjourned twenty-second resumed session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution [2373 (XXII)] commending the draft Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The fact that it was supported by an overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations reflects the deep concern of all nations at the threat of a devastating nuclear war and their desire to strengthen international peace and security.

8. The time has now come when the preparatory work for the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons must be completed in the United Nations. This important and final step by the United Nations should be the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution on the question of safeguards for non-nuclear-weapon States. The three nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the Security Council—the Soviet Union, the

United States and the United Kingdom—have, as the President of the Security Council has already announced, submitted for the Council's consideration a draft resolution aimed at the solution of this problem.

9. The question of the Security Council's adopting, in connexion with the forthcoming Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a special decision on the measures to strengthen the security of non-nuclear-weapon countries did not, of course, arise because participation in the Non-Proliferation Treaty raises any new problems for the non-nuclear-weapon States from the point of view of their security. On the contrary, the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty, by removing the threat of the spread of nuclear weapons over our planet, will in itself constitute a step forward towards greater world security. There can be no difference of opinion on that score.

10. But if this is true, it is also true that many non-nuclear-weapon States expressing their readiness to adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and therefore to assume the obligation not to produce or acquire nuclear weapons, do feel in this connexion a desire to receive certain additional guarantees of their safety against nuclear aggression. The fact is, the nuclear weapons will still not disappear with the conclusion of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation; the possibility of an outbreak of nuclear war in the world will remain even against non-nuclear-weapon States.

11. The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom meets this desire of the non-nuclear-weapon countries which are prepared to become parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is based on the generally accepted premise that any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States. In this connexion, the draft provides that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear-weapon State permanent members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

12. This is the key provision of the draft. It provides the solution to the question of strengthening the security of the non-nuclear countries within the framework of utilizing the mechanism of the Security Council which, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Such an approach is, in our opinion, logical and natural. At the same time it meets the interests of increasing the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace.

13. The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States for consideration by the Security Council also provides that the Security Council would reaffirm the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

14. In our opinion, this new reaffirmation of these Charter provisions in the Security Council resolution dealing with safeguards for non-nuclear States under the conditions of their participation in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, is of great importance, in that it would be a timely removal of the threat of the use of nuclear weapons against such non-nuclear States.

15. The draft resolution aims at expressing a positive attitude towards the intention expressed by certain States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used. The Soviet Union is among those States which intend to provide or support, if necessary, such immediate assistance to the countries concerned.

16. In this connexion, the Soviet Government makes the following declaration:

"The Government of the Soviet Union notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"We welcome the willingness of these States to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

"The Soviet Union also notes the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

"Bearing these considerations in mind, the Soviet Union declares the following:

"Aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would qualitatively create a qualitatively new situation in which the nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking 'effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace'. Therefore, any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions will be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

"The Soviet Union reaffirms its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State, party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

"The Soviet Union reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

"The Soviet Union's vote for the resolution before us and this statement of the way in which the Soviet Union intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon States and are also proposing to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and that these States have made similar statements as to the ways in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter."

17. This declaration by the Soviet Government, which speaks for itself, will come into force at the same time as the entry into force of the Security Council resolution dealing with the safeguards for non-nuclear States.

18. We feel sure that this statement by the Soviet Government, in conjunction with similar steps taken by the other permanent members of the Security Council who intend to subscribe to the Treaty and with the Security Council resolution on safeguards for non-nuclear countries, will be welcomed by the non-nuclear States which, in the General Assembly a few days ago,¹ supported the draft Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and will shortly become Parties to that Treaty.

19. It should be added to what we have said that, after the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is signed and enters into force, further efforts must naturally be made to increase the safeguards for the non-nuclear countries and international security as a whole. The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue resolutely to strive for the successful solution of the problem of banning the use of nuclear weapons, of eliminating stockpiles, of the complete banning of nuclear weapons and of general and complete disarmament. Each additional step in the field of limiting the nuclear arms race and in the field of disarmament will do even more to strengthen the security of the non-nuclear States and of all the States of the world.

20. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank Mr. Kuznetsov for his contribution to our debate.

21. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Before I formally give an assurance on behalf of my Government I wish

to state four propositions which seem to me of first importance.

22. First, these assurances are made as a result of representations submitted by non-nuclear-weapon States. My Government and others readily responded.

23. It was the initiative of non-nuclear-weapon States which has led to the assurances we give today.

24. Secondly, the assurances have been deliberately made without any limitation in time and to meet world-wide diversity of security interests.

25. It is for that reason that they are and must be in general terms.

26. Thirdly, we have had no doubt that it was right that the assurances should be given here in the Security Council and within the framework of the Charter. To do otherwise would surely have been to derogate from the authority of the United Nations and from the obligations which we have all solemnly undertaken as Members of the Organization and supporters of the Charter.

27. There can be no question that it is right in a matter of international peace and security to act in and through the Security Council.

28. Fourthly, it seems clear to my Government, and I trust to everyone, that any country contemplating nuclear aggression or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear signatory of the Treaty would be deterred by these assurances—assurances given in common by the most powerful nuclear States in the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union. Their interests coincide in preventing any such aggression or threat. Surely no one can doubt that the common determination of East and West in this issue of supreme international concern is a development of the utmost significance and importance in world affairs.

29. It is the action already taken in the General Assembly and now the common purpose of the three Powers as manifested here in the Council today which gives us all solid ground for confidence. It is in the belief that these assurances together with the Treaty make a positive and valuable advance in pursuit of international peace and security that I now formally give the following declaration on behalf of my Government:

"The Government of the United Kingdom notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"We welcome the willingness of these States to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1672nd meeting.

"The United Kingdom also notes the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

"Bearing these considerations in mind, the United Kingdom declares the following:

"Aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a qualitatively new situation in which the nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or to remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking 'effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace'. Therefore, any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

"The United Kingdom affirms its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State, party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

"The United Kingdom reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

"The United Kingdom vote for the resolution before us and this statement of the way in which the United Kingdom intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon States and are also proposing to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and that these States have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter."

30. That is the formal assurance which I now give on behalf of my Government.

31. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank Lord Caradon for his contribution to our debate.

32. I should like to make a statement as the representative of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

33. During more than four years of negotiation on the non-proliferation treaty in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, one of the major problems considered was how to provide assurance to non-nuclear-weapon States that their security would be enhanced, rather than impaired, by their renouncing nuclear weapons in accordance with the treaty. This question was a subject of extensive public debate as well as of lengthy private negotiations. The conclusion reached by the sponsors of the present draft resolution was that, in addition to the security benefits provided by the treaty itself, further assurance of security could most appropriately be afforded in the context of the United Nations Charter under which every Member of our Organization has assumed a solemn obligation to co-operate in the maintenance of peace.

34. The United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom—as the other sponsors of the draft resolution have informed the Council—therefore agreed to sponsor a draft resolution on security assurances here in the Security Council, the organ of the United Nations which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The text of this draft resolution now before the Council was first made public in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee by the representatives of those three Governments on 7 March of this year. A key paragraph of the resolution envisages declarations of intention by the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom in support of the provision of assurances to parties to the treaty. The substance of these proposed declarations of intention was likewise described to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee and made public on 7 March.

35. The text of the draft resolution was also officially circulated to each Member of the United Nations as annex II of the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, dated 19 March 1968. This document was circulated by the Secretariat as General Assembly document A/7072.² This is the identical resolution which now lies before us in Security Council document S/8631, sponsored by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States.

36. Thus the text of the draft resolution now before the Council, as well as the substance of the accompanying declarations of intention, have been public knowledge since 7 March last, and have been officially before all Members of the United Nations, including the Security Council, since 19 March.

37. During the debate on the non-proliferation treaty which began in the First Committee of the General Assembly on 26 April, the security assurances question was discussed in statements by many delegations, including my own. In my statement on 15 May,³ I reaffirmed the intention of the United States to make, in conjunction with the Security Council's consideration of the proposed resolution, the formal declaration described in Geneva by the United States representative on 7 March. In the same statement I repeated the full substance of this intended

² See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1967 and 1968*, document DC/23 and Add.1.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, First Committee*, 1568th meeting.

declaration. During the same debate the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom likewise reaffirmed the intention of their Governments to make similar declarations at the same time.

38. In the course of the First Committee's consideration of this matter, several delegations informally indicated to us a strong desire that the Security Council should convene promptly to consider security assurances. To this end, on 12 June, immediately after the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 2373 (XXII), commending the non-proliferation treaty and requesting that it be opened for signature at the earliest possible date, the representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom called for a meeting of the Security Council. At the same time they circulated to all the text of the draft resolution which now lies before the Council. On 14 June the United States also informally distributed to all members of the Council the text of the declaration which my Government proposes to make here today, and on the same date the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom delegations likewise informally circulated the texts of their declarations.

39. After appropriate consultation with the members of the Council, it was decided to convene the Council this afternoon to begin consideration of this important matter.

40. On behalf of my Government, I shall now read to the Council the formal declaration of the United States of America:

"The Government of the United States notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"We welcome the willingness of these States to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

"The United States also notes the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

"Bearing these considerations in mind, the United States declares the following:

"Aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a qualitatively new situation in which the nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or to

remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking 'effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace'. Therefore, any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

"The United States affirms its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

"The United States reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

"The United States vote for the resolution before us and this statement of the way in which the United States intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon States and are also proposing to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and that these States have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter."

41. Having made that declaration, I wish now to comment on the historic significance of the initiative being taken here today.

42. That the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, whatever their respective views on other matters, have now united in sponsoring this draft resolution, and in making solemn declarations in support of it, is a political fact of the first order. This concerted action by these major nuclear-weapon States introduces a powerful element of deterrence against aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression.

43. The United States believes that this Security Council resolution, and the declarations made in conjunction with it, will lay a firm political, moral and legal basis for ensuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon parties to the non-proliferation treaty.

44. I know that all members of the Security Council will consider the value to their national security, and to that of all non-nuclear-weapon States which may become parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, of the security assurances made and sponsored by the principal nuclear-weapon Powers. In so considering them, each State should ask itself

not "will these assurances, combined with the treaty, give this country perfect security?"—because there is, of course, no perfect security in this world—but, rather, "will these security assurances, combined with the non-proliferation treaty, give this country more security than it would otherwise enjoy?" The United States is confident that a careful appraisal in the light of this pertinent question will result in an affirmative answer by the Council, and that the adoption of this resolution will be a major contribution to international peace and security.

45. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): May I be allowed, with all due respect to your position, Mr. President, to point out how unwise it was of you to tell us that you are going to withdraw from the Security Council as soon as our debate on non-proliferation comes to an end. I intended to speak for two minutes on the subject of non-proliferation. I shall now be tempted to speak for two hours, and many of my friends and colleagues will be tempted to do the same in the hope of keeping you longer in the Security Council, where we have all been able to appreciate your exceptional qualities of intelligence, eloquence, precision and logic. You have an unshakable faith in the force of justice and in the value of legal reasoning and its power of conviction. All your statements have been striking in the exactness of their presentation, development and conclusions. May I say that, you think to a great extent like a Frenchman, so excellent is your Cartesian logic.

46. These qualities, which have made you in turn a brilliant student, a celebrated lawyer, a negotiator commanding particular respect in labour circles, Secretary of Labor, a member of the Supreme Court—one of the highest offices that can be conferred on a United States citizen—; you place at the service of the principles which constitute the greatness of American civilization: the passion for freedom, the search for equality among men, races and religions, and, finally, the last of the three principles which my country was the first to proclaim and to which the United States attaches equal importance, the principle of fraternity. To all of this you add that remarkable trait inherent in the American character, the untiring pursuit of rapid progress in civilization, in relations among men, in happiness and well-being for all. It is true that, as representatives, we have not always agreed with you in our debates. That was inevitable and was even a good thing, since the very purpose of the United Nations is to enable the different ideas to be brought together, confronted and discussed in the hope—or even the certainty—that such a confrontation of ideas will necessarily produce some light, some reconciliation, a little more harmony and a greater chance for peace.

47. We knew that we could not expect to keep forever a man who has such a long and brilliant future before him as our colleague. But, having returned to the United Nations only nine months ago, I am sorry that I have not had longer, like other colleagues, in which to have had the benefit of your experience, your exceptional mind and your sensitivity. In the important duties you will no doubt be fulfilling in the near future, we ask you to retain your friendship for and your kind interest in your United Nations colleagues. Now I shall resist the temptation to

speak for two hours and I think I shall speak for only two minutes.

48. Having met to discuss a draft resolution concerning the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, the Security Council has before it a text which is in fact closely linked to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

49. That is why, when we spoke in the General Assembly,⁴ the French delegation thought it necessary to state forthwith its position on the text which has been submitted to us today. Having said that we would abstain in the vote on a draft resolution which recommended the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, we announced that we would also abstain in the vote in the Security Council.

50. In so doing, the French delegation does not mean to stand in the way of the adoption of a draft resolution that in no way changes the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. That is clear from the very contents of the draft, from the declared intention of its sponsors and from the fact that there has been no recourse to the procedure laid down in Article 108 for any amendment of the Charter. Nevertheless, the French delegation cannot associate itself with the draft resolution, for reasons which I should like to recall.

51. The French Government is as aware as any other government of the terrible danger that nuclear weapons represent for all of us, but it maintains that the only way of overcoming that threat is to cease the manufacture of such weapons and to destroy the stockpiles. My Government reiterates that the real problem is that of the elimination of atomic weapons; the nations of the world will not receive the guarantees of security to which they are entitled until the nuclear Powers agree to embark upon the road towards nuclear disarmament and until they reach that goal.

52. France, which has acquired nuclear weapons for strictly defensive purposes only, is ready to take any action in this matter to which the other Powers might be willing to agree.

53. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank Ambassador Bérard for his contribution to our debate and for his very generous and kind remarks about me. For a representative of France to say that someone has the mind of a Frenchman is the highest compliment that can be paid. I appreciate all he has said about me, both personally and as representative of his great country. His country has been allied with mine from the very beginnings of our Republic. The ties of friendship and alliance are very precious to the United States and its people, who share with France a common dedication to the great principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. The ties of personal friendship that bind me to Ambassador Bérard are very precious to me and I shall always treasure them.

54. There are no other names on the list of speakers for this afternoon. However, several representatives have indicated that they wish to make statements tomorrow morning. Accordingly, after having consulted the members of the

⁴ *Ibid.*, Plenary Meetings, 1672nd meeting.

Council, I should like to suggest that the next meeting be scheduled for tomorrow morning at 10.30 a.m. to continue the consideration of the matter at present on the agenda. In addition, I should like to indicate that consultations among the members of the Council have shown general agreement that a meeting should be scheduled for tomorrow afternoon

at 3.30 p.m. to take up the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Cyprus.

55. Since I hear no objection, I take it that the Council agrees to the schedule I have just outlined.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

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