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NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Ismail FAHMY (United Arab Republic)

- 1. On 24 September 1965, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requested the inclusion of the item "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" on the agenda of the twentieth session (A/5976). A draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was attached to the explanatory memorandum contained in the same document.
- 2. At its loss meeting, on 22 September 1965, the General Committee recommended the inclusion of the item in the agenda and its allocation to the First Committee (A/5999). At its 1336th and 1340th meetings, on 24 and 28 September 1965, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of the General Committee and referred the item to the First Committee for consideration and report (A/5991/Rev.1).
- 3. At its 1354th meeting, on 15 October, the First Committee decided to consider the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as the first item of its agenda ($\Lambda/C.1/900$).

The item was considered at the 1355th to 1373rd meetings held between 18 October and 8 November.

4. At the 1364th meeting, on 26 October, a draft resolution was submitted by the United States of America (A/C.1/L.337), by which the General Assembly would (1) urge the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to reconvene as early as possible and, taking into account all relevant proposals and the discussion on this question at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, to accord special priority at its next session to continued efforts to reach agreement on a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to agree on other related steps to halt and turn back the nuclear arms race;

- (2) request the Eighteen-Nation Committee to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on a treaty or agreement to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- At the 1366th meeting, on 27 October, a draft resolution was submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.1/L.338), by which the General Assembly would (1) consider it necessary to conclude a Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as quickly as possible, and urgently appeal to all States to exert every effort to achieve that aim; (2) consider that the Treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons should be based on the following main principles: (a) States possessing nuclear weapons should undertake not to transfer to States not possessing nuclear weapons, in any manner - directly or indirectly, through third States or groups of States, or through military alliances - nuclear weapons or the right to participate in the ownership of such weapons or in the possession, control, emplacement or use of nuclear weapons; not to assist those States in the manufacture, in preparation for the manufacture, or in the testing of such weapons; and not to transmit to them any information which could be used in the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons; (b) States not possessing nuclear weapons should undertake not to devise, manufacture or prepare to manufacture nuclear weapons, either independently or jointly with other States, in their own territory or in the territory of other States, and should renounce access to nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever - direct or indirect, through third States or through groups of States; (3) transmit the draft Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons submitted by the Soviet Union to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for detailed study; and (4) suggest that that Committee should come to an early agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons on the basis of the main principles stated above.
- 6. At the 1372nd meeting, on 5 November, a draft resolution on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was submitted by Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic (A/C.1/L.359). The draft resolution would (1) urge all States to take all steps necessary for the early conclusion of a treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons; (2) call upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give urgent consideration to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and, to that end, to reconvene as early as possible with a view to negotiating an international

treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, based on the following main principles: (a) the treaty should be void of any loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form; (b) the treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers; (c) a treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament; (d) there should be acceptable and workable provisions to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty; (e) nothing in the treaty should affect adversely the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories; (3) transmit the records of the First (Political) Committee during the discussion of the item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons", together with all relevant documents, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for its consideration; (4) request the Eighteen-Nation Committee to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons".

7. At the 1373rd meeting, on 8 November, the First Committee agreed to give priority to the eight-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.339); at the same meeting, the Committee adopted the draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 83 to none, with 6 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium,
Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada,
Central African Republic, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville),
Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus,
Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland,
Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland,
India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica,
Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg
Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands,
New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines,
Poland, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Syria,
Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda,

A/6097 English Page 4

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None

Abstaining: Cuba, France, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Romania.

The representatives of Chile and Togo stated in the Committee after the vote that had they been present at the time of voting they would have voted in favour of the draft resolution. The representative of Malawi indicated later that had he been present at the time of voting he, too, would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

8. After the adoption of the draft resolution, the representatives of the United States and the USSR announced that they would not press for a vote on their respective texts.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

9. The First Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

The General Assembly,

Conscious of its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for disarmament and the consolidation of peace,

Mindful of its responsibility in accordance with Article 11, paragraph 1, of the Charter which stipulates that the General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or both,

Recalling its resolutions 1665 (XVI) of 4 December 1961 and 1908 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963,

Recognizing the urgency and great importance of the question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons,

Noting with satisfaction the efforts of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic to achieve the solution of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as contained in their joint memorandum of 15 September 1965,

Convinced that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would endanger the security of all States and make more difficult the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Noting the declaration adopted by the Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its regular session, held at Cairo in July 1964, and the Declaration entitled "Frogramme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964,

Noting also the draft treaties to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons submitted by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, respectively,

Noting further that a draft unilateral non-acquisition declaration has been submitted by Italy,

Convinced that General Assembly resolutions 1652 (XVI) of 24 November 1961 and 1911 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963 aim at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons,

Believing that it is imperative to exert further efforts to conclude a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons,

- l. <u>Urges</u> all States to take all steps necessary for the early conclusion of a treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- 2. Calls upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give urgent consideration to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to that end to reconvene as early as possible with a view to negotiating an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, based on the following main principles:
- (a) The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form;
- (b) The treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers;

A/6097 English Page 6

- (c) A treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament;
- (d) There should be acceptable and workable provisions to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty;
- (e) Nothing in the treaty should affect adversely the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories;
- 3. <u>Transmits</u> the records of the First Committee during the discussion of the item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons", together with all relevant documents, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee for its consideration;
- 4. Requests the Eighteen-Nation Committee to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.