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Forty-second session  
Agenda item 54**CONCLUSION OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE  
STRENGTHENING OF THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES  
AGAINST THE USE OR THREAT OF USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**Report of the First CommitteeRapporteur a Mr. Kazimierz TOMASZEWSKI (Poland)**I. INTRODUCTION**

1. The item entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons" was included in the provisional agenda of the forty-second session in accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/51 of 3 December 1986.
2. At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 18 September 1987, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee, decided to include the item in its agenda and to allocate it to the First Committee.
3. At its 2nd meeting, on 1 October, the First Committee decided to hold a general debate on the disarmament items allocated to it, namely, items 48 to 69, followed by statements on specific disarmament agenda items and a continuation of the general debate, as necessary. The deliberations on those items took place between the 3rd and the 31st meetings, from 12 October to 3 November (see A/C.1/42/PV.3-31).
4. In connection with item 54, the First Committee had before it the following documents:

- (a) Report of the Conference on Disarmament; 1/

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-second Session,  
Supplement No. 27 (A/42/27).

(b) Letter dated 15 July 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of the final statement of the fifth session of the Interaction Council, held at Kuala Lumpur from 19 to 21 April 1987 (A/42/407);

(c) Letter dated 23 October 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the final communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to the forty-second session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 5 to 7 October 1987 (A/42/6813).

## II. CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.1/42/L.19

5. On 26 October, Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Mongolia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution, entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons" (A/C.1/42/L.19). The draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Bulgaria at the 33rd meeting, on 4 November.

6. At its 36th meeting, on 9 November, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.19 by a recorded vote of 87 to 18, with 15 abstentions (see para. 7). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Algeria, Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, **Botswana**, Bulgaria, **Burkina Faso**, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, **Côte d'Ivoire**, Cuba, **Cyprus**, **Czechoslovakia**, **Democratic Yemen**, Djibouti, **Ecuador**, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, **German Democratic Republic**, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, **India**, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao **People's** Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamakiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, **Mongolia**, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, **Nigeria**, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, **Venezuela**, **Viet Nam**, Yemen, Yugoslavia, **Zaire**, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, **Germany**, Federal Republic of, **Iceland**, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Malta, Sudan, Sweden, Uruguay.

### III. RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons

The General Assembly,

Convinced of the need to take effective measures for the strengthening of the security of States, and prompted by the desire shared by all nations to eliminate war and prevent nuclear conflagration,

Considering that, until nuclear disarmament is achieved on a universal basis, it is imperative for the international community to develop effective measures to ensure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Recognizing that effective measures to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons can constitute a positive contribution to the prevention of the spread of such weapons,

Noting with satisfaction the determination of non-nuclear-weapon States in various parts of the world to prevent nuclear weapons from being introduced into their territories and to ensure the complete absence of such weapons in their respective regions, including through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, and being anxious to encourage and contribute to the attainment of this objective,

Desirous of promoting the implementation of paragraph 39 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, 2/ the first special session devoted to disarmament, in which it urged the nuclear-weapon States to pursue efforts to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

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2/ Resolution S-10/2.

Recalling its numerous resolutions on this subject, as well as the relevant part of the special report of the Committee on Disarmament 3/ submitted to the General Assembly at its twelfth special **session, 4/** the second special session devoted to disarmament,

Noting that the Conference on Disarmament considered in 1987 the item entitled "Effective international arrangements to **assure non-nuclear-weapon** States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons", as reflected in its report, 5/ where it is stated that discussions on the conclusions that could be drawn from the **work** of the Ad Hoc Committee on this item, including consideration of the possibilities for **interim** measures and alternatives **once** again proved inconclusive,

Noting further that during that consideration the importance of making progress on this issue was underlined in the light of the forthcoming third special session ~~of~~ the General Assembly **devoted** to disarmament,

Recalling the proposals submitted on the subject to the General Assembly and in the Conference on Disarmament, including the drafts of an international convention, and the widespread **international** support for the conclusion of such a convention,

Aware that additional proposals on the substance **of** the issue of security assurances with respect **to** non-nuclear-weapon States were submitted in the Conference on Disarmament in 1987, as **reflected** in its report, 5/

Aware also that the work on the substance of the effective arrangements and discussion on **various** aspects and elements of an interim solution revealed that specific difficulties relating to differing perceptions of **security** interests persisted and that the complex nature of the issues involved continued to prevent agreement on a "common formula",

Recognizing the need for *fresh* approaches **to** the solution of urgent security issues in the nuclear age, many of which relate to the security of non-nuclear-weapon States as well,

Aware of the wide support in the Conference on Disarmament for continuing the search for a **"common formula-**, which could be included in an international legally binding instrument to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

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3/ The **Committee** on Disarmament was redesignated the Conference on Disarmament as **from** 7 February 1984.

4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Supplement No. 2 (A/S-12/2), sect. **III.C.**

5/ Ibid., Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/42/27), sect. **III.F.**

Welcoming once again the solemn declarations made by some nuclear-weapon States concerning non-first use of nuclear weapons, and convinced that if all nuclear-weapon States were to assume obligations not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, that would be tantamount in practice to banning the use of nuclear weapons against all States, including all non-nuclear-weapon States,

Considering that the non-nuclear-weapon States having no nuclear weapons on their territories have every right to receive reliable, uniform and unconditional international legal assurances against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

1. Reaffirms once again the urgent need to reach agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and to find a common approach acceptable to all;

2. Considers that the Conference on Disarmament should continue to explore ways and means of overcoming the difficulties encountered in carrying out negotiations on this question;

3. Appeals to all States, especially the nuclear-weapon States, to demonstrate political will and to exercise the flexibility necessary to reach agreement on a "common formula", which could be included in an international instrument of a legally binding nature;

4. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to continue active negotiations on this subject and to establish for this purpose the respective ad hoc committee at the beginning of its 1988 session;

5. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-third session the item entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

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