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NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. G.G. TCHERNOUCHTCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

- 1. The item "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament" was included by the Secretary-General in the provisional agenda of the twenty-first session (A/6350) on the basis of resolution 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965.
- 2. At its 163rd meeting, on 22 September 1966, the General Committee recommended the inclusion of the item in the agenda and its allocation to the First Committee (A/6395). At its 1415th plenary meeting, on 24 September, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of the General Committee and referred the item to the First Committee for consideration and report.
- 3. At its 1430th meeting, on 13 October, the First Committee decided to consider the item as the second on its agenda (A/C.1/933). It was considered at the 1441st to 1450th meetings, from 3 to 10 November.
- 4. On 27 October, a draft resolution was submitted by Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Jordan, Kenva, Kuwait, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Micaragua, Nigeria, Paraguay, Senegal, Sweden, Syria, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tenzania, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia (A/C.1/L.371 and Corr.1). It was subsequently co-sponsored by the Central African Republic, Ghana, Lebanon, Libya and Malta (A/C.1/L.371/Add.1), Indonesia, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago and Zambia (A/C.1/L.371/Add.2), Mauritania (A/C.1/L.371/Add.3), Liberia and Upper Volta (A/C.1/L.371/Add.4), Tunisia (A/C.1/L.371/Add.5), and

Gabon (A/C.1/L.371/Add.6). By this draft resolution the General Assembly would: (1) reaffirm its resolution 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965; (2) urge all States to take all necessary steps conducive to the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; (3) invite the nuclear-weapon Powers to give an assurance that they will not use, or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States; (4) call upon all States to adhere strictly to the principles laid down in resolution 2028 (XX) for the negotiation of the non-proliferation treaty; (5) call upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give high priority to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the mandate of the General Assembly in its resolution 2028 (XX); (6) transmit the records of the First Committee relating to the discussion of the item, together with all relevant documents, to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; (7) request the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- 5. On 31 October Pakistan submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.372), which was subsequently co-sponsored by Jamaica (A/C.1/L.372/Add.1), Saudi Arabia (A/C.1/L.372/Add.2), Libya and Somalia (A/C.1/L.372/Add.3). By this draft resolution the General Assembly would: (1) decide to convene a conference of non-nuclear weapon States to meet not later than July 1967 to consider the following and other related questions: (a) How could the security of the non-nuclear States best be assured? (b) How might non-nuclear Powers co-operate among themselves in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons? (c) How could nuclear devices be used for exclusively peaceful purposes? and (2) request the President of the General Assembly immediately to set up a Preparatory Committee widely representative of the non-nuclear weapon States to make appropriate arrangements for convening the conference.
- 6. On 1 November, <u>Cameroon</u> submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.373) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.371 and Corr.1 by which: (1) operative paragraphs 2 and 4 of the draft resolution would be replaced by a new paragraph to read as follows:
 - "2. <u>Urges all States</u> to adhere strictly to the principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) and to take all necessary steps conducive to the negotiation and conclusion as soon as possible of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons";

and (2) operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution would be amended as follows:

- "3. <u>Invites</u> the nuclear weapon Powers to give an assurance that they will not use, or threaten to use nuclear weapons against other States."
- 7. On 8 November, Sierra Leone submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.375) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.372 by which operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would be replaced by the following:

"Decides to convene a conference of non-nuclear weapon States not later than July 1967 to consider the following and other related questions:

- (a) The security of non-nuclear Powers in the face of the nuclear threat.
- (b) Co-operation among non-nuclear Powers to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
 - (c) The exclusive use of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes."
- 8. On 9 November, <u>Kuwait</u> submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.376) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.372 by which (1) in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution the words "July 1967" would be replaced by the words "July 1968"; and (2) at the end of operative paragraph 2, the following would be added: "and to consider and report to the General Assembly at the twenty-second session on the question of association of nuclear States with the work of the Conference".
- 9. On 9 November, a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.371/Rev.1) was submitted by Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, the Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Paraguay, Rwanda, Senegal, Sweden, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia. By the revised draft resolution the General Assembly would: (1) reaffirm its resolution 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965; (2) urge all States to take all necessary steps conducive to the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; (3) call upon all nuclear weapon Powers to refrain from the use, or the threat of use of nuclear weapons

against States which may conclude treaties of the nature defined in paragraph 2 (e)

of resolution 2028 (XX); (4) request the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to consider urgently the proposal that the nuclear weapon Powers should give an assurance that they will not use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States without nuclear weapons on their territories and any other proposals that have been or may be made for the solution of this problem; (5) call upon all States to adhere strictly to the principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) for the negotiation of this treaty; (6) call upon the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give high priority to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the mandate of the General Assembly in its resolution 2028 (XX); (7) transmit 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 Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; (8) request the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- 10. At the 1448th meeting, on 9 November, the representative of Cameroon agreed that, in the light of the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.371/Rev.1) the Cameroon amendments (A/C.1/L.373) to the original draft resolution (A/C.1/L.371 and Corr.1) no longer applied.
- 11. At the 1449th meeting, on 10 November, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.372 accepted the amendments submitted by Kuwait (A/C.1/L.376). At the same meeting, Sierra Leone announced that it witherew its amendments (A/C.1/L.375). 12. At the 1450th meeting, on 10 November, the Committee proceeded to vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.371/Rev.1, and draft resolution A/C.1/L.372 incorporating
- the amendments of Kuwait (A/C.1/L.376).

 13. The representative of Cameroon asked for separate votes to be taken on different parts of the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.371/Rev.1). However, following a procedural discussion, he said that he would not press his motion.

 14. A separate vote on operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.371/Rev.1 was requested by the United States. The paragraph was adopted by a vote of 98 to none, with 4 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 103 to 1, with 2 abstentions (see paragraph 16, draft resolution A).

15. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.372, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 46 to 1, with 56 abstentions (see paragraph 16, draft resolution B). The voting was as follows:

In favour:

Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Japan Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania.

Against:

India.

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Eyelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Ceylon, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Poland, Rwanda, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

16. The First Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

Α

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, $\frac{1}{2}$

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Noting that it has not yet been possible to reach agreement on an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

<u>Viewing with apprehension</u> the possibility that such a situation may lead not only to an increase of nuclear arsenals and to a spread of nuclear weapons over the world but also to an increase in the number of nuclear weapon Powers.

Believing that if such a situation persists it may lead to the aggravation of tensions between States and the risk of a nuclear war.

Believing further that the remaining differences between all concerned should be resolved quickly so as to prevent any further delay in the conclusion of an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Convinced, therefore, that it is imperative to make further efforts to bring to a conclusion a treaty which reflects the mandate given by the General Assembly in its resolution 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965, and which is acceptable to all concerned and satisfactory to the international community.

- 1. Reaffirms its resolution 2028 (XX);
- 2. <u>Urges</u> all States to take all necessary steps conducive to the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- 3. <u>Calls upon</u> all nuclear weapon Powers to refrain from the use, or the threat of use, of nuclear weapons against States which may conclude treaties of the nature defined in paragraph 2 (e) of resolution 2028 (XX);
- 4. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to consider urgently the proposal that the nuclear weapon Powers should give an assurance that they will not use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States without nuclear weapons on their territories, and any other proposals that have been or may be made for the solution of this problem;
- 5. <u>Calls upon</u> all States to adhere strictly to the principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) for the negotiation of the above-mentioned treaty;
- 6. <u>Calls upon</u> the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give high priority to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the mandate contained in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX);
- 7. Transmits the records of the First Committee relating to the discussion of the item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons", together with all relevant documents, to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament;

8. Requests the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to submit to the General Assembly at an early date a report on the results of its work on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

В

The General Assembly,

Recalling previous resolutions on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons,

Considering that the further spread of nuclear weapons would endanger the

peace and security of all States,

Convinced that the emergence of additional nuclear weapon Powers would provoke an uncontrollable nuclear arms race.

Reiterating that the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons is a matter of the highest priority demanding the unceasing attention of both nuclear and non-nuclear weapon Powers.

Believing that a conference of non-nuclear weapon Powers would contribute to the conclusion of arrangements designed to safeguard the security of these States,

- 1. <u>Decides</u> to convene a Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States to meet not later than July 1968 to consider the following and other related questions:
 - "(a) How can the security of the non-nuclear States best be assured?
 - "(b) How may non-nuclear Powers co-operate among themselves in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons?
 - "(c) How can nuclear devices be used for exclusively peaceful purposes?"
- 2. Requests the President of the General Assembly immediately to set up a Preparatory Committee for the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States, widely representative of the non-nuclear weapon States, to make appropriate arrangements for convening the Conference, to consider the question of association of nuclear States with the work of the Conference and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.