



Twenty-second session  
Agenda item 28

## NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Report of the First Committee (part II)

Rapporteur: Mr. C. Torsten W. ÖRN (Sweden)

1. In conformity with the decision of the General Assembly at its 1642nd plenary meeting, on 19 December 1967, agenda item 28 (a), entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament", was maintained on the agenda of the twenty-second session.
2. At its 1643rd plenary meeting, on 24 April 1968, the General Assembly decided that the item should continue to be considered by the First Committee. The Committee discussed the item at the 1556th-1582nd meetings, from 26 April to 10 June.
3. The Committee had before it the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (A/7072 and Add.1, A/7080), containing: (a) the text of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (A/7072, annex I) submitted on 11 March 1968 by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, Co-Chairmen of the Conference; and (b) other related Conference documents.
4. On 1 May 1968, a draft resolution was submitted by Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America (A/C.1/L.421) and was subsequently co-sponsored by Lebanon and Somalia (A/C.1/L.421/Add.1). The draft resolution read as follows:

\* Reissued for technical reasons.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 2346 A (XXII) of 19 December 1967, 2153 A (XXI) of 17 November 1966, 2149 (XXI) of 4 November 1966, 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965 and 1665 (XVI) of 4 December 1961,

"Convinced of the urgency and great importance of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons,

"Having considered the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament dated 14 March 1968, and deeply appreciative of the historic work of the ENDC on this subject,

"Convinced that the non-proliferation treaty, the draft of which is attached to the ENDC's report, will be an effective measure to halt the spread of nuclear weapons,

"Convinced further that an agreement to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be followed by effective steps on cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament and that the non-proliferation treaty will contribute to this aim,

"1. Endorses the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;\*

"2. Requests the depositary Governments to open the treaty for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date;

"3. Expresses its hope for the widest possible adherence to the treaty;

"4. Requests the ENDC urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;

"5. Requests the ENDC to report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session."

\* See document A/7072, annex I.

5. On 3 May, a revised text of the draft resolution was submitted by Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Somalia, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1) and was subsequently co-sponsored by the United Arab Republic (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1/Add.1), Sudan and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1/Add.2), the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1/Add.3), Afghanistan

/...

(A/C./L.421/Rev.1/Add.4), Yemen (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1/Add.5) and Mauritius (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.1/Add.6). In the revised text, the reference to the foot-note was deleted from operative paragraph 1 and inserted in the fourth preambular paragraph.

6. On 28 May, a further revised text of the draft resolution was submitted by Afghanistan, Austria, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Yemen (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2).

The revised text read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 2346 A (XXII) of 19 December 1967, 2153 A (XXI) of 17 November 1966, 2149 (XXI) of 4 November 1966, 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965 and 1665 (XVI) of 4 December 1961,

"Convinced of the urgency and great importance of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and of intensifying international co-operation in the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy,

"Having considered the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament dated 14 March 1968, and appreciative of the work of the Committee on the elaboration of the draft non-proliferation treaty which is attached to that report,\*

"Convinced that, pursuant to the treaty's provisions, all signatories have the right to engage in research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and will be able to acquire source and special fissionable materials as well as equipment for the processing, use and production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes,

"Convinced further that an agreement to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be followed as soon as possible by effective measures on cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, and that the non-proliferation treaty will contribute to this aim,

"Affirming that in the interest of international peace and security both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States carry the responsibility of acting in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter that the sovereign equality of all States shall be respected, that the threat or use of force in international relations shall be refrained from, and that international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means,

/...

"1. Commends the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;

"2. Requests the depositary Governments to open the treaty for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date;

"3. Expresses the hope for the widest possible adherence to the treaty by both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States;

"4. Requests the ENDC and the nuclear-weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;

"5. Requests the ENDC to report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session."

---

\* See document A/7072, annex I.

7. On 31 May the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee Committee on Disarmament agreed to certain revisions of the text of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which were accepted by the co-sponsors of the revised draft resolution. The revised draft treaty (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.1) was annexed to the draft resolution, which was subsequently co-sponsored by Italy, New Zealand and Nigeria (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.2), Barbados, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, Uruguay and Venezuela (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.3), Belgium (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.4), Peru (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.5) and Liberia (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2/Add.6).

8. At its 1582nd meeting, on 10 June, the Committee adopted the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.421/Rev.2 and Add.1-6) by a roll-call vote of 92 to 4, with 22 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland,

/...

Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Albania, Cuba, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia.

Abstaining: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), France, Gabon, Guinea, India, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Uganda.

#### RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

#### Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 2346 (XXII) of 19 December 1967, 2153 A (XXI) of 17 November 1966, 2149 (XXI) of 4 November 1966, 2028 (XX) of 19 November 1965 and 1665 (XVI) of 4 December 1961,

Convinced of the urgency and great importance of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and of intensifying international co-operation in the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy,

Having considered the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, dated 14 March 1968,<sup>1/</sup> and appreciative of the work of the Committee on the elaboration of the draft non-proliferation treaty, which is attached to that report,<sup>2/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> A/7072.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., annex I.

Convinced that, pursuant to the provisions of the treaty, all signatories have the right to engage in research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and will be able to acquire source and special fissionable materials as well as equipment for the processing, use and production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes,

Convinced further that an agreement to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be followed as soon as possible by effective measures on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, and that the non-proliferation treaty will contribute to this aim,

Affirming that in the interest of international peace and security both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States carry the responsibility of acting in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations that the sovereign equality of all States shall be respected, that the threat or use of force in international relations shall be refrained from and that international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means,

1. Commends the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution ;
2. Requests the Depositary Governments to open the Treaty for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date;
3. Expresses the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty by both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States;
4. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the nuclear-weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;
5. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

ANNEX

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",

Considering the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

Believing that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war,

In conformity with resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

Undertaking to co-operate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,

Expressing their support for research, development and other efforts to further the application, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system, of the principle of safeguarding effectively the flow of source and special fissionable materials by use of instruments and other techniques at certain strategic points,

Affirming the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology, including any technological by-products which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices, should be available for peaceful purposes to all Parties to the Treaty, whether nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear-weapon States,

Convinced that, in furtherance of this principle, all Parties to the Treaty are entitled to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific information for, and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other States to, the further development of the applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes,

Declaring their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament,

Urging the co-operation of all States in the attainment of this objective,  
Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water in its preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,

Desiring to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

Recalling that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, States must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations, and that the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security are to be promoted with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources,

Have agreed as follows:

#### Article I

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

#### Article II

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes 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.

Article III

1. Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Procedures for the safeguards required by this article shall be followed with respect to source or special fissionable material whether it is being produced, processed or used in any principal nuclear facility or is outside any such facility. The safeguards required by this article shall be applied on all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within the territory of such State, under its jurisdiction, or carried out under its control anywhere.

2. Each State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to provide: (a) source or special fissionable material, or (b) equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissionable material, to any non-nuclear-weapon State for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable material shall be subject to the safeguards required by this article.

3. The safeguards required by this article shall be implemented in a manner designed to comply with article IV of this Treaty, and to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of the parties or international co-operation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities, including the international exchange of nuclear material and equipment for the processing, use or production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of this article and the principle of safeguarding set forth in the preamble.

4. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall conclude agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency to meet the requirements of this article either individually or together with other States in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Negotiation of such agreements

shall commence within 180 days from the original entry into force of this Treaty. For States depositing their instruments of ratification or accession after the 180-day period, negotiation of such agreements shall commence not later than the date of such deposit. Such agreements shall enter into force not later than eighteen months after the date of initiation of negotiations.

#### Article IV

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with articles I and II of this Treaty.

2. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world.

#### Article V

Each Party to the Treaty undertakes to take appropriate measures to ensure that, in accordance with this Treaty, under appropriate international observation and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty on a non-discriminatory basis and that the charge to such Parties for the explosive devices used will be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall be able to obtain such benefits, pursuant to a special international agreement or agreements, through an appropriate international body with adequate representation of non-nuclear-weapon States. Negotiations on this subject shall commence as soon as possible after the Treaty enters into force. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty so desiring may also obtain such benefits pursuant to bilateral agreements.

Article VI

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Article VII

Nothing in this Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

Article VIII

1. Any Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all Parties to the Treaty. Thereupon, if requested to do so by one third or more of the Parties to the Treaty, the Depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties to the Treaty, to consider such an amendment.
2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to the Treaty, including the votes of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The amendment shall enter into force for each Party that deposits its instrument of ratification of the amendment upon the deposit of such instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Thereafter, it shall enter into force for any other Party upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification of the amendment.
3. Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the

operation of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty.

#### Article IX

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.
2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.
3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by the States, the Governments of which are designated Depositaries of the Treaty, and forty other States signatory to this Treaty and the deposit of their instruments of ratification. For the purposes of this Treaty, a nuclear-weapon State is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to 1 January 1967.
4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.
5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and the date of receipt of any requests for convening a conference or other notices.
6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article X

1. 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. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.
2. Twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a Conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

Article XI

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_.

-----