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CONCLUSION OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE
NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES AGAINST THE USE OR THREAT OF USE
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Alemayehu MAKONNEN (Ethiopia)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The item entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons: report of the Committee on Disarmament" was included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-sixth session in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/155 of 12 December 1980.
2. At its 4th plenary meeting, on 18 September 1981, 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 7 October, the First Committee decided to hold a combined general debate on the items allocated to it relating to disarmament, namely, items 35 to 56 and 128 and 135. The general debate on these items took place at the 3rd to 26th meetings, from 19 October to 4 November 1981 (see A/C.1/36/PV.3-26).
4. In connexion with item 54, the Committee had before it the report of the Committee on Disarmament. 1/

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/35/27).

II. CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.1/36/L.17 and Rev.1

5. On 12 November 1981, Pakistan submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/36/L.17), which was introduced at the 35th meeting, on 19 November 1981. The draft resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Bearing in mind the need to allay the legitimate concern of the States of the world with regard to ensuring lasting security for their peoples,

"Convinced that nuclear weapons pose the greatest threat to mankind and to the survival of civilization,

"Deeply concerned at the continuing escalation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and the increasing danger of the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"Convinced that nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons are essential to remove the danger of nuclear war,

"Taking into account the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations,

"Deeply concerned about any possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"Recognizing that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty non-nuclear weapon States need to be safeguarded against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"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 from any quarter,

"Recognizing that effective measures to assure the 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 nuclear weapons,

"Recalling its resolution 3261 G (XXIX) of 9 December 1974,

"Further recalling its resolution 31/189 C of 21 December 1976,

"Bearing in mind paragraph 59 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly 2/ in which it requested the nuclear-weapon States urgently to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

2/ Resolution S-10/2.

"Desirous of promoting the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document,

"Recalling its resolutions 33/72 of 14 December 1978, 34/85 of 11 December 1979 and 35/155 of 12 December 1980,

"Further recalling paragraph 12 of the annex to its resolution 35/46, which contains the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade which states inter alia that "all efforts should be exerted, therefore, by the Committee on Disarmament urgently to negotiate with a view to reaching agreement, and to submit agreed texts where possible before the second special session devoted to disarmament on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"Welcoming the in-depth negotiations undertaken in the Committee on Disarmament and its Ad Hoc Working Group with a view to reaching agreement on this item,

"Noting the drafts of an international convention submitted under that item in the Committee on Disarmament, including the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group,

"Noting the decision of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1971, as well as the relevant recommendations of the Eleventh and Twelfth Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers, calling on the Committee on Disarmament to elaborate and reach an agreement on an international basis to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"Further noting the general support expressed in the Committee on Disarmament and in the General Assembly for the elaboration of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of nuclear weapons,

"1. Reaffirms 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;

"2. Notes with satisfaction that in the Committee on Disarmament there is no objection, in principle, to the idea of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, although there has been lack of progress in the Committee towards evolving a common approach acceptable to all;

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

"4. Recommends that further intensive efforts be devoted to the search for such a 'common approach' or 'common formula' and that the various alternative approaches, including in particular those considered during the 1981 session of the Committee on Disarmament, should be further explored in order to overcome the difficulties;

"5. Recommends that the Committee on Disarmament should actively continue negotiations with a view to reaching early agreement and concluding effective international arrangements, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, taking into account the widespread support for the conclusion of an international convention and giving consideration to any other proposals designed to secure the same objective;

"6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-seventh session the item entitled 'Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons'."

6. On 26 November, Pakistan submitted a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/36/L.17/Rev.1) whereby the third, sixth, seventh, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth preambular paragraphs and operative paragraph 2 were amended to read as follows:

(a) Third preambular paragraph:

"Deeply concerned at the continuing escalation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,"

(b) Sixth preambular paragraph:

"Deeply concerned about the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,"

(c) Seventh preambular paragraph:

"Recognizing that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of non-nuclear-weapon States need to be safeguarded against the use or threat of use of force including the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,"

(d) Seventeenth preambular paragraph:

"Noting the proposals submitted under that item in the Committee on Disarmament including the drafts of an international convention,"

(e) Eighteenth preambular paragraph:

"Taking note of the decision of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or

Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, as well as the relevant recommendations of the Eleventh and Twelfth Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers, calling on the Committee on Disarmament to elaborate and reach an agreement on an international basis to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,"

(f) Nineteenth preambular paragraph:

"Further noting the support expressed in the Committee on Disarmament and in the General Assembly for the elaboration of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, as well as the difficulties pointed out in evolving a common approach acceptable to all,"

(g) Operative paragraph 2:

"Notes with satisfaction that in the Committee on Disarmament there is no objection, in principle, to the idea of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, although the difficulties as regards evolving a common approach acceptable to all have also been pointed out."

7. At its 44th meeting, on 25 November, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.17/Rev.1 by a recorded vote of 121 to none, with 4 abstentions (see para. 8). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: India, Ivory Coast, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

III. RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the need to allay the legitimate concern of the States of the world with regard to ensuring lasting security for their peoples,

Convinced that nuclear weapons pose the greatest threat to mankind and to the survival of civilization,

Deeply concerned at the continuing escalation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Convinced that nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons are essential to remove the danger of nuclear war,

Taking into account the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations,

Deeply concerned about the possibility of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Recognizing that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of non-nuclear-weapon States need to be safeguarded against the use or threat of use of force, including the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

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 from any quarter,

Recognizing that effective measures to assure the 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 nuclear weapons,

Recalling its resolution 3261 G (XXIX) of 9 December 1974,

Further recalling its resolution 31/189 C of 21 December 1976,

Bearing in mind paragraph 59 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special

/...

Session of the General Assembly, 3/ in which it urged the nuclear-weapon States to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Desirous of promoting the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document,

Recalling its resolutions 33/72 of 14 December 1978, 34/85 of 11 December 1979 and 35/155 of 12 December 1980,

Further recalling paragraph 12 of the annex to its resolution 35/46 of 3 December 1980, containing the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, which states, inter alia that all efforts should be exerted, therefore, by the Committee on Disarmament urgently to negotiate with a view to reaching agreement, and to submit agreed texts, where possible before the second special session devoted to disarmament, on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Welcoming the in-depth negotiations undertaken in the Committee on Disarmament and its Ad Hoc Working Group with a view to reaching agreement on this item,

Noting the proposals submitted under that item in the Committee on Disarmament, including the drafts of an international convention,

Taking note of the decision of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, as well as the relevant recommendations of the Eleventh and Twelfth Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980 and at Baghdad from 1 to 5 June 1981, respectively, calling upon the Committee on Disarmament to elaborate and reach an agreement on an international basis to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Further noting the support expressed in the Committee on Disarmament and in the General Assembly for the elaboration of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, as well as the difficulties pointed out in evolving a common approach acceptable to all,

1. Reaffirms 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;

2. Notes with satisfaction that in the Committee on Disarmament there is no objection, in principle, to the idea of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, although the difficulties as regards evolving a common approach acceptable to all have also been pointed out;

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

4. Recommends that further intensive efforts should be devoted to the search for such a "common approach" or "common formula" and that the various alternative approaches, including in particular those considered during the session of the Committee on Disarmament held in 1981, should be further explored in order to overcome the difficulties;

5. Recommends that the Committee on Disarmament should actively continue negotiations, with a view to reaching early agreement and concluding effective international arrangements, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, taking into account the widespread support for the conclusion of an international convention and giving consideration to any other proposals designed to secure the same objective;

6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-seventh session the item entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".
