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CONCLUSION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF GUARANTEES OF THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR STATES

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Miodrag MIHAJLOVIĆ (Yugoslavia)

1. The inclusion of the item entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States" in the agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly was proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/33/241).
2. At its 4th and 5th plenary meetings, on 22 September 1978, 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 3rd meeting, on 6 October, the First Committee decided to consider separately items 125 and 128 and then to hold a combined general debate on the other items allocated to it relating to disarmament, namely, items 35 to 49. Item 128 was considered at the 20th to 28th meetings, from 30 October to 3 November (A/C.1/33/PV.20-28).
4. In connexion with item 128, the First Committee had before it the following documents:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 October 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Mongolia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting excerpts from the statement of Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, President of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, at the opening of the eighty-seventh session of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on 27 September 1978 at Ulan Bator (A/33/319);

(b) Letter dated 17 November 1978 from the representative of the United States of America to the Secretary of the First Committee, transmitting proposals of the United States of America for strengthening the confidence of non-nuclear-weapon States in their security against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons (A/C.1/33/7).

5. On 27 October, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/33/L.6), which was introduced by the representative of that country at the 20th meeting, on 30 October. On 30 November, a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.1) was submitted by Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Mauritius, Mongolia, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam. A further new revision (A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2) was submitted on 1 December by the same sponsors later joined by Iraq. The revised draft resolution, which was introduced by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the 59th meeting, on 1 December, read as follows:

"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 a nuclear holocaust,

"Noting that the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations is one of the fundamental principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter and reaffirmed in a number of United Nations declarations and resolutions,

"Noting with satisfaction the desire of States in various regions to prevent nuclear weapons from being introduced into their territories through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and being anxious to contribute to this objective,

"Welcoming the determination of States in various regions of the world to keep their territories free from nuclear weapons,

"Mindful of the statements and observations made by various States on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States,

"Desiring to promote the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament,

"1. Considers it necessary to take effective measures for the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States through appropriate international arrangements;

"2. Requests the Committee on Disarmament to consider to that end at the earliest possible date the drafts of an international convention on the subject, submitted at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as all proposals and suggestions on effective political and legal measures at the international level to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Committee on Disarmament all the documents relating to the discussion by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session of the item entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States",

"4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fourth session the item entitled 'Strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States'."

6. On 6 November, Pakistan submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/33/L.15), which it revised (A/C.1/33/L.15/Rev.1) on 30 November and introduced at the 59th meeting, on 1 December, the draft resolution which 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 continuation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race and the threat to mankind due to the possibility of the 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 over any possibility of the use or threat or 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 nuclear weapons,

"Considering that, until nuclear disarmament is achieved on a universal basis, it is imperative for the international community to develop, as appropriate, 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 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,

"Bearing in mind paragraph 59 of the Final Document adopted at its tenth special session which requested the nuclear-weapon States to urgently conclude effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons,

"Desirous of promoting the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of its tenth special session devoted to disarmament,

"Taking into consideration the views and proposals submitted on this subject at its thirty-third regular session,

"1. Urges that urgent efforts should be made to conclude effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons including consideration of an international convention and of alternative ways and means of achieving this objective;

"2. Takes note of the proposals submitted and views expressed on this subject at its thirty-third regular session 1/ and recommends to the Committee on Disarmament that it consider these and report on progress to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;

"3. Decides to include in the agenda of its thirty-fourth session an item entitled 'Strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons'."

7. At the 60th meeting, on 1 December, India, supported by Brazil, proposed an oral amendment to the third preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2, to add, after the words "establishment of nuclear-weapon-free-zones", the words "on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned". Australia orally proposed that the ninth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.15/Rev.1, reading:

"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 nuclear weapons",

be incorporated into the preambular part of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2, accepted the two oral amendments and also indicated that the ninth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.15/Rev.1 could become the fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2.

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8. At the same meeting, draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2, as amended, was put to the vote:

(a) The third preambular paragraph, on which a separate vote had been requested by Jordan, was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

(b) Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.6/Rev.2, as amended, was adopted by a recorded vote of 117 to 2, with 6 abstentions (see para. 10 below, draft resolution A). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, China.

Abstaining: Belgium, France, Greece, Pakistan, Somalia, Turkey.

9. At the same meeting, draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.15/Rev.1 was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (see para. 10 below, draft resolution B).

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening
of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States

A

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 a nuclear holocaust,

Noting that the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations is one of the fundamental principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed in a number of United Nations declarations and resolutions,

Noting with satisfaction the desire of States in various regions to prevent nuclear weapons from being introduced into their territories 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 contribute to this objective,

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 nuclear weapons,

Welcoming the determination of States in various regions of the world to keep their territories free from nuclear weapons,

Mindful of the statements and observations made by various States on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States,

Desiring to promote the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, 1/

1. Considers it necessary to take effective measures for the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States through appropriate international arrangements;

2. Requests the Committee on Disarmament to consider to that end, at the earliest possible date, the drafts of an international convention on the subject, submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session, as well as all proposals and suggestions on effective political and legal measures at the international level to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;

1/ Resolution S-10/2.

3. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Committee on Disarmament all the documents relating to the discussion by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session of the item entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States",

4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fourth session an item entitled "Strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States".

B

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 continuation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race and the threat to mankind due to the possibility of the 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 over any 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 nuclear weapons,

Considering that, until nuclear disarmament is achieved on a universal basis, it is imperative for the international community to develop, as appropriate, 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 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 adopted at its tenth special session, 1/ devoted to disarmament, in which the General Assembly requested the nuclear-weapon States urgently to conclude effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Desirous of promoting the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of its tenth special session,

Taking into consideration the views and proposals submitted on this subject at its thirty-third session,

1. Urges that urgent efforts should be made to conclude effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, including consideration of an international convention and of alternative ways and means of achieving this objective;

2. Takes note of the proposals submitted and views expressed on this subject at its thirty-third session 2/ and recommends that the Committee on Disarmament should consider them and submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;

3. Decides to include in the agenda of its thirty-fourth session an item entitled "Strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

1/ Resolution A/S-10/2.

2/ A/C.1/33/L.6, A/C.1/33/L.15, A/C.1/33/7, A/C.1/33/PV.20-28, A/C.1/33/PV.59-61.