

cerned, and being anxious to contribute to the attainment of this objective,

Concerned at the continuing escalation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and the increased danger of recourse to use or threat of use of nuclear weapons,

Desirous of promoting the implementation of paragraph 59 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly,¹⁸ 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,

Recalling its resolutions on this subject as well as the relevant part of the special report of the Committee on Disarmament,¹⁹ submitted to the General Assembly at its twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament,

Noting that the Committee on Disarmament considered in 1983 the item entitled "Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons" and the work done by its *Ad Hoc* Working Group on this item, as reflected in the report of the Committee on Disarmament,²⁰

Noting the proposals submitted under that item in the Committee on Disarmament, including the drafts of an international convention, and the widespread international support for the conclusion of such a convention,

Wishing to promote an early and successful completion of the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament,²¹ aimed at the elaboration of a convention on the item,

Further noting that the idea of interim arrangements as a first step towards the conclusion of such a convention has also been considered in the Committee on Disarmament, particularly in the form of a Security Council resolution on this subject, and reaffirming the calls made in that respect in General Assembly resolutions 35/154 of 12 December 1980, 36/94 of 9 December 1981 and 37/80 of 9 December 1982,

Convinced that abandoning policies of first use of nuclear weapons would, *inter alia*, constitute a substantive contribution to the efforts to achieve progress towards effective strengthening of the security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States,

Welcoming once again the solemn declarations made by some nuclear-weapon States concerning non-first-use of nuclear weapons, in particular the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, assumed at the highest political level or confirmed at the twelfth special session of the General Assembly,

Convinced further 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, in the search for a solution to the problem of security assurances, priority should be given to the legitimate security concerns of the non-nuclear-weapon States which, by virtue of their forgoing the nuclear option and of not allowing nuclear weapons to be stationed on their territories, have every right to expect to be most effectively guaranteed 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;

2. *Notes with satisfaction* that in the Committee on Disarmament there is once again no objection, in principle, to the idea of an international convention on this subject, although the difficulties involved have also been pointed out;

3. *Expresses its regret* that the difficulties as regards evolving a common approach acceptable to all, related to differing perceptions of security interests of some nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, have once again prevented the Committee on Disarmament from making substantive progress towards the achievement of an agreement;

4. *Considers* that the Conference on Disarmament should continue to explore ways and means to overcome the difficulties encountered in the negotiations to reach an appropriate agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;

5. *Requests* the Conference on Disarmament to continue the negotiations, as recommended in the report of the Committee on Disarmament on its 1983 session,²⁰ with a view to concluding an international instrument of a legally binding character to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;

6. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-ninth session the item entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

97th plenary meeting
15 December 1983

38/68. Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons

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,

¹⁸ Resolution S-10/2.

¹⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Supplement No. 2 (A/S-12/2)*, sect. III.C.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/38/27)*, sect. III.C.

²¹ From 7 February 1984, the date of commencement of its annual session, the Committee on Disarmament is to be known as the "Conference on Disarmament" (see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/38/27)*, para. 21).

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 resolutions 3261 G (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 and 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,¹⁸ 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,

Desirous of promoting the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session,

Recalling its resolutions 33/72 of 14 December 1978, 34/85 of 11 December 1979, 35/155 of 12 December 1980, 36/95 of 9 December 1981 and 37/81 of 9 December 1982,

Further recalling paragraph 12 of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, contained in the annex to its resolution 35/46 of 3 December 1980, which states, *inter alia*, that all efforts should be exerted by the Committee on Disarmament urgently to negotiate with a view to reaching agreement 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 on Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-Nuclear-Weapon States against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons,²⁰ 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 Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983,²² as well as the relevant recommendations of the Organization of the Islamic Conference reiterated at the Thirteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Niamey from 22 to 26 August 1982,²³ 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 in the Committee on Disarmament, should be further explored in order to overcome the difficulties;

5. Recommends that the Conference on Disarmament²¹ 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-ninth 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".

97th plenary meeting
15 December 1983

38/69. Israeli nuclear armament

The General Assembly,

Recalling its previous resolutions on Israeli nuclear armament,

Recalling its relevant resolutions on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East,

Recalling also its resolution 35/157 of 12 December 1980 on military and nuclear collaboration with Israel,

Recalling its repeated condemnation of nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa,

Recalling Security Council resolution 487 (1981) of 19 June 1981 and taking note of the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa,²⁴

Noting with concern Israel's refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981),

Further noting with grave concern Israel's persistent refusal to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,²⁵ despite repeated calls by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Atomic Energy Agency, and to place its nuclear facilities under Agency safeguards,

Conscious of the grave consequences which endanger international peace and security as a result of Israel's development and acquisition of nuclear weapons and Israel's collaboration with South Africa to develop nuclear weapons and their delivery systems,

²² See A/38/132-S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 30.

²³ See A/37/567-S/15466, annex IV, para. 51.

²⁴ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 22 A (A/38/22/Add.1).

²⁵ Resolution 2373 (XXII), annex.