QUESTION OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Report of the First Committee (part I)

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

1. The item "Question of general and complete disarmament: 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 2031 (XX) of 3 December 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 third on its agenda (A/C.1/933). It was considered at the 1450th to 1462nd meetings, from 10 to 25 November.

4. On 25 October, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.370) was submitted by Poland, whereby the General Assembly would: (1) request the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report on the effects of the use of nuclear weapons; (2) recommend that the report should be based on accessible material and worked out with the assistance of appropriate experts-consultants appointed by the Secretary-General; (3) call upon Governments, national and international scientific and other institutions and organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the preparation of the report; (4) request that the report should be published and transmitted to the Governments of States Members of the United Nations not later
than 1 June 1967; (5) call upon the Governments of all States to secure the widest possible distribution of the report in their respective languages, and to acquaint public opinion with its contents also through other media of communication; (6) decide to include the report of the Secretary-General in the agenda of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session for consideration.

5. On 7 November, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.374) was submitted by Hungary, whereby the General Assembly, guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter and contemporary international law, considering that weapons of mass destruction constitute a danger for all mankind, recalling that the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 on "Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare" has been signed and adopted and is recognized by many States, would: (1) demand strict and absolute compliance by all States with the principles and norms established by the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925, which prohibits the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons; (2) condemn any actions aimed at the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons; (3) declare that the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence constitutes an international crime.

6. On 9 November, a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1) was submitted by Canada, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway and Poland. It was subsequently co-sponsored by Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, India, Lebanon, Liberia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia and Sweden (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.1/Corr.1), Austria, Bulgaria, Mongolia, New Zealand and Yugoslavia (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.2), Mali (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.3), Afghanistan and Sudan (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.4), Belgium and Ireland (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.5), Hungary and Tunisia (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.6), Mauritania (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.7) and Bolivia (A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1/Add.8). By this revised draft resolution the General Assembly would: (1) request the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and on the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons; (2) recommend that the report be based on accessible material and be prepared with the assistance of qualified experts-consultants appointed by the Secretary-General; (3) request that the report be published and transmitted...
to the Governments of States Members of the United Nations in time to permit its
consideration at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly; (4) recommend
that the Governments of all States Members of the United Nations give the report
wide distribution in their respective languages through various media of
communication so as to acquaint public opinion with its contents.

7. On 11 November, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.377) was submitted by Poland
and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, whereby the General Assembly would:
(1) consider that flights of aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and other kinds of
weapons of mass destruction beyond national frontiers were increasing tension and
might cause radio-active contamination of man's environment, create a threat to
human life and lead to serious incidents endangering the cause of peace; and (2)
call upon all States to refrain from sending aircraft carrying nuclear weapons
and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction on flights beyond national frontiers.

8. On 14 November, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.378) was submitted by Brazil,
Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic, which
was subsequently co-sponsored by Yugoslavia (A/C.1/L.378/Add.1) and Bolivia
(A/C.1/L.378/Add.2). By this draft resolution the General Assembly would:
(1) request the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to
continue to exert new efforts with a view to achieving substantial progress in
reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under
effective international control, as well as on collateral measures and, in
particular, on an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear
weapons, and the completion of the test ban treaty so that it covers underground
nuclear weapons tests; (2) decide to refer to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation
Committee on Disarmament all documents and records of the First Committee concerning
all matters related to the disarmament question; (3) request the Conference of
the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to resume its work as early as possible
and to report to the General Assembly, as appropriate, on the progress achieved.

9. On 16 November, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.379) was submitted by Iran,
Morocco, Tunisia and the United Republic of Tanzania, which on 17 November was
revised by the sponsors and co-sponsored by the Ivory Coast (A/C.1/L.379/Rev.1).
By the revised draft resolution, the General Assembly would: (1) urge the
Governments of all States to intensify their efforts to achieve agreement on
general and complete disarmament under effective international control in order to hasten realization of the benefits to mankind called for by the Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament contained in resolution 1837 (XVII) of 18 December 1962; (2) appeal to the Governments of all States to give consideration to the allocation of a small proportion of their annual military expenditures to the campaign against world illiteracy under the auspices of UNESCO within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade; (3) invite the Governments of all States to study the possibility, as a first step towards general and complete disarmament under international control, of undertaking to forgo any increase of military expenditures beyond their present level and thereafter to reduce them by a stated amount or percentage each year, with a view to allocating the annual savings therefrom to the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade; (4) invite the Governments of the developed countries to conduct the necessary studies of the detailed aspects of the economic consequences of collateral and partial measures of disarmament, with a view to developing the information, plans and policies for the diversion of the savings from such measures to the support of the United Nations Development Programme, bearing in mind the imperative needs of the developing countries; (5) request the Secretary-General to transmit this resolution to the World Conference on Disarmament for inclusion in its agenda when it meets pursuant to resolution 2050 (XX); (6) request Member States to provide information to the Secretary-General concerning action taken by them on the recommendation contained in this resolution and requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

10. On 16 November, Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.381) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.374 by which: (1) the following words would be added at the end of the second preambular paragraph: "and are incompatible with the accepted norms of civilization"; (2) a new third preambular paragraph would be inserted to read as follows:

"Affirming that the maintenance of restrictions on the sovereignty of nations in the conduct of warfare are in the interest of maintaining these standards of civilization,"

(3) operative paragraphs 2 and 3 would be replaced by the following:
2. Deplores the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence;

3. Invites all States to adhere to the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 on "Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare."

11. On 17 November, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America submitted amendments (A/C.1/L.382) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.374 by which: (1) the word "contemporary" would be deleted from the first preambular paragraph so that it would read:

"Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law,

(2) the following additional preambular paragraph would be added:

"Noting that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has the task of seeking an agreement for a cessation of development and production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and other weapons from national arsenals as called for in the draft proposals for general and complete disarmament now before the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament."

(3) operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 would be replaced by the following:

"Calls for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 and condemns all actions contrary to those objectives;"

12. On 21 November, Burundi, Guinea, Kenya, Mauritania, Somalia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Upper Volta submitted revised amendments (A/C.1/L.381/Rev.1) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.374, by which: (1) the following words would be added at the end of the second preambular paragraph: "and are incompatible with the accepted norms of civilization;" (2) a new third preambular paragraph would be inserted to read as follows:

"Affirming that the strict observance of the rules of international law on the conduct of warfare is in the interest of maintaining these standards of civilization,"

and (3) operative paragraphs 2 and 3 would be replaced by the following:

2. Deplores the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence;

3. Invites all States to accede to the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 on "Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare."
13. At the 1460th meeting, on 22 November, the representative of Hungary accepted the revised amendments (A/C.1/L.381/Rev.1) to draft resolution A/C.1/L.374, and a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1) incorporating the above amendments was co-sponsored by Burundi, Guinea, Hungary, Kenya, Mauritania, Somalia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Upper Volta. Subsequently, Nigeria and Syria co-sponsored the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1/Add.1).

14. At the same meeting, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America re-submitted their amendments in document A/C.1/L.382/Rev.1 to apply to the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1).

15. At the 1461st meeting, on 23 November, the representative of Poland, speaking on behalf of his delegation and that of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, stated that they would not press their draft resolution (A/C.1/L.377) to a vote, but that they would revert to it in the future.

16. At the same meeting, at the request of the sponsors, the Committee decided that the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.379/Rev.1 would be postponed sine die, pending consultations by the Chairman.

17. On 23 November, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America submitted revised amendments (A/C.1/L.382/Rev.2) to the revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1), the third of which read as follows:

"Replace operative paragraphs 1 and 2 by the following:

"Calls for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 and condemns all actions contrary to those objectives;"

18. At the 1462nd meeting, on 23 November, the Committee voted on revised draft resolution A/C.1/L.370/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1/Corr.1 and Rev.1/Add.2-8, which was adopted unanimously by 100 votes to none, with no abstentions (see paragraph 22 below, draft resolution A).

19. At the same meeting, the Committee voted on the revised amendments (A/C.1/L.382/Rev.2) to revised draft resolution A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1. At the request of the representative of Hungary, separate votes were taken on each of the three amendments. The voting was as follows:
(a) The first amendment was adopted by a roll-call vote of 55 to none, with 47 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

(b) The second amendment was adopted by a roll-call vote of 53 to none, with 50 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

/...
(c) The third amendment was adopted by a roll-call vote of 51 to 34, with 19 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

**In favour:** Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

**Against:** Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

**Abstaining:** Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Cyprus, Dahomey, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, India, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Spain, Togo.

20. Revised draft resolution A/C.1/L.374/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, as amended by document A/C.1/L.382/Rev.2, was then adopted by a roll-call vote of 101 to none, with 3 abstentions (see paragraph 22 below, draft resolution B). The voting was as follows:

**In favour:** Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.
Against: None.

Abstaining: Cuba, France, Gabon.

21. At the same meeting, draft resolution A/C.1/L.378 and Add.1-2 was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (see paragraph 22 below, draft resolution C).

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

   Question of general and complete disarmament

A

The General Assembly,

Considering that one of the main purposes of the United Nations is to save mankind from the scourge of war,

Convinced that the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, constitutes a threat to peace,

Believing that the peoples of the world should be made fully aware of this threat,

Noting the interest in a report on various aspects of the problem of nuclear weapons which has been expressed by many Governments, as well as by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report for 1965-1966\(^1\) and on other occasions,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and on the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons;

2. Recommends that the report be based on accessible material and be prepared with the assistance of qualified experts-consultants appointed by the Secretary-General;

\(^1\) Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-First Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/6301/Add.1).
B

The General Assembly,

Guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law,

Considering that weapons of mass destruction constitute a danger for all mankind and are incompatible with the accepted norms of civilization,

Affirming that the strict observance of the rules of international law on the conduct of warfare is in the interest of maintaining these standards of civilization,

Recalling that the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 on "Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare" has been signed and adopted and is recognized by many States,

Noting that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has the task of seeking an agreement for a cessation of development and production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and for the elimination of all such weapons from national arsenals, as called for in the draft reports for general and complete disarmament now before the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament,

1. Calls for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 on "Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare" and condemns all actions contrary to those objectives;

2. Invites all States to accede to the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925.
The General Assembly,

Having received the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, 2/

Recalling its resolutions 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959, 1722 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, 1767 (XVII) of 21 November 1962, 1908 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963 and 2031 (XX) of 3 December 1965,

Conscious of its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for disarmament and the preservation of peace,

Firmly believing that it is imperative to exert further efforts to reach early progress on the road to general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

1. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to continue to exert new efforts with a view to achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as well as on collateral measures, and in particular on an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and on the completion of the test ban treaty so that it covers underground nuclear-weapon tests;

2. Decides to refer to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament all documents and records of the First Committee concerning all matters related to the disarmament question;

3. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to resume its work as early as possible and to report to the General Assembly, as appropriate, on the progress achieved.

2/ A/6390-DC/228.