REVIEW CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

FINAL DOCUMENT

PART I

Geneva, 1975
FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE REVIEW CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Final Document of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons consists of three parts:

I. Organization and Work of the Conference (NPT/CONF/35/I)

II. Documents of the Conference (NPT/CONF/35/II)

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II. DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

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Introduction

1. Article VIII, paragraph 3, of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which entered into force on 5 March 1970, provides that:

"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 ...".

2. At the twenty-eighth session, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 3184B (XXVIII). In the preamble, the General Assembly recalled resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, in which it had commended the Treaty, noted paragraph 3 of Article VIII of the Treaty, and expressed the expectation that the review conference would take place soon after the date of 5 March 1975, the fifth anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty. The operative part of resolution 3184B (XXVII) read as follows:

"1. Notes that, following appropriate consultation, a preparatory committee has been formed of Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons serving on the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency or represented at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to render the necessary assistance and to provide such services, including summary records, as may be required for the review conference and its preparation."

3. The Preparatory Committee was thus composed, at its first and second sessions, of the following 26 members: Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Hungary, Ireland, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States and Yugoslavia. At its third session, the following States Parties to the Treaty, having become members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) or of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), were included in the Committee: German Democratic Republic, Iran, Iraq, Thailand, Uruguay and Zaire.

4. The Committee held three sessions at Geneva: the first from 1 to 8 April 1974; the second from 26 August to 6 September 1974; and the third from 3 to 14 February 1975 Progress reports on the first two sessions of the Committee (NPT/PC.I/13 and NPT/PC.II/23) and the final report of the Committee (NPT/CONF/3) were circulated to the States Parties.

5. At the first meeting, on 1 April 1974, the Committee agreed that Ambassador W.H. Barton of Canada would serve as Chairman of the first session, Ambassador E. Wyzner of Poland as Chairman of the second session, and Ambassador L. Eckerberg of Sweden as Chairman of the third session, the three together
constituting the Bureau and the two not serving as Chairman at any given session to serve as Vice-Chairmen of that session. The Committee decided that the Chairman of the third session should open the Review Conference.

6. The Committee decided to issue as pre-session Conference documents working papers (NPT/CONF/6 to 10) pertaining to the implementation of various provisions of the Treaty, submitted to the Committee by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by the Director-General of the IAEA and by the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America in response to invitation from the Committee and subsequently updated and revised, as follows:

(a) by the Secretariat of the United Nations:

- Working Paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of the tenth paragraph of the Preamble of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. (NPT/CONF/8 and Add.1)

- Working Paper on basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Articles I and II of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. (NPT/CONF/5)

- Working Paper on basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with realization of the purposes of Articles IV and V of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. (NPT/CONF/10 and Add.1)

- Working Paper on basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. (NPT/CONF/7 and Add.1)

(b) by the International Atomic Energy Agency:

- Analytical and Technical Report on the IAEA's activities under Article III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. (NPT/CONF/6/Rev.1, NPT/CONF/6, Annex 9, NPT/CONF/6/Add.2)

- IAEA's Activities under Article IV of the NPT. (NPT/CONF/11 and Add.1)

- IAEA's Activities under Article V of the NPT. (NPT/CONF/12 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

(c) by the Agency on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL):

- Report on the implementation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and some comments and views with respect to Article VII and other related provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. (NPT/CONF/9 and Add.1)

7. The following additional documents were issued as official documents of the Conference prior to the opening of the Conference:

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<th>Document</th>
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<tr>
<td>NPT/CONF/1</td>
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<td>NPT/CONF/2</td>
<td>Draft rules of procedure</td>
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<td>NPT/CONF/3</td>
<td>Final Report of the Preparatory Committee</td>
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Organization of the Conference

8. In accordance with the decision of the Preparatory Committee, the Conference was convened on 5 May 1975 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva for a period of up to four weeks. After the opening of the Conference by Ambassador L. Eckerberg of Sweden, Chairman of the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee, the Conference elected by acclamation as its President Mrs. Inga Thorsson, Under-Secretary of State of Sweden.

9. At the opening session of the Conference Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations and Mr. Sigvard Eklund, Director-General of the IAEA addressed the Conference.

10. At the same meeting, the Conference adopted the draft rules of procedure recommended by the Preparatory Committee (NPT/CONF/2) without change except for an increase in the number of Vice-Presidents to 26 from the recommended 24 (NPT/CONF/20). The rules of procedure established (a) two Main Committees; (b) a General Committee, chaired by the President of the Conference and composed of the Chairmen of the Conference's two Main Committees, its Drafting Committee and its Credentials Committee, as well as the 26 Vice-Presidents of the Conference; (c) A Drafting Committee, composed of representatives of the same 31 States Parties represented on the General Committee; (d) a Credentials Committee, composed of a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen elected by the Conference, and six other members appointed by the Conference on the proposal of the President.

11. The Conference elected by acclamation, at the same meeting, Chairmen of the two Main Committees, the Drafting Committee and the Credentials Committee, as follows:
Main Committee I: Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria);
Main Committee II: Mr. William H. Barton (Canada);
Drafting Committee: Mr. Eugeniusz Wyzner (Poland); and
Credentials Committee: Mr. Hortencio J. Brillantes (Philippines)

The Conference also elected twenty-six Vice-Presidents from the following States Parties:

- Australia
- Czechoslovakia
- Denmark
- Ecuador
- German Democratic Republic
- Germany, Federal Republic of
- Ghana
- Ireland
- Honduras
- Hungary
- Lebanon
- Mauritius
- Mexico
- Mongolia
- Morocco
- Netherlands
- Peru
- Romania
- Syrian Arab Republic
- Thailand
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- United Kingdom
- Uruguay
- Yugoslavia
- Zaire

The Conference unanimously confirmed the nomination of Mr. Ilkka Pastinen as Secretary-General of the Conference. The nomination had been made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, following an invitation by the Preparatory Committee.

At its seventh meeting, on 8 May, the Conference completed the election of its officers by electing by acclamation the following: two Vice-Chairmen of Main Committee I - Mr. Raiko Nikolov (Bulgaria) and Mr. Stefano d'Andrea (Italy); two Vice-Chairmen of Main Committee II - Mr. Abdalla Hidaytalla (Sudan) and Mr. Swasti Srisukh (Thailand); two Vice-Chairmen of the Drafting Committee - Mr. Mario Carias (Honduras) and Mr. A.K. Fiadjos (Ghana); and two Vice-Chairmen of the Credentials Committee - Mr. P. Noterdaeme (“Belgium”) and Mr. Ilja Hulinsky (Czechoslovakia). The Conference also appointed the following six States Parties as members of the Credentials Committee on the proposal of the President: Gabon, Ghana, Jamaica, Jordan, the USSR, and the United States of America.

Participation at the Conference

Fifty-eight States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty participated in the Conference as follows: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Holy See, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, * Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, San Marino, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

*// Iraq, a party to the Treaty, attended the Conference as an observer at its own request.
14. In addition, seven States which have signed the Treaty but have not yet ratified it participated in the Conference without taking part in its decisions, as provided in paragraph 1 of Rule 44 of the Rules of Procedure: Egypt, Japan, Panama, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey and Venezuela.

15. Seven additional States, neither Parties nor Signatories of the Treaty, applied for Observer status in accordance with paragraph 2 of Rule 44: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Israel, South Africa and Spain. At the eleventh meeting of the Conference, such Observer Status was accorded to these seven countries.

16. At the same meeting, two regional organizations, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) and the League of Arab States, were granted Observer Agency status under paragraph 4 of Rule 44.

17. The United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency participated in the Conference under paragraph 3 of Rule 44.

18. Several non-Governmental Organizations attended the Conference under paragraph 5 of Rule 44.

19. A list of all delegations to the Conference, including States Parties, Signatories, Observer States, the United Nations, the IAEA, Observer Agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations is contained in the annexed document NPT/CONF/Inf.5 (Annex VI).

20. The Credentials Committee met on 27 May and reported on the credentials of States Parties (NPT/CONF/27). At its thirteenth plenary meeting, the Conference took note of the report.

Financial Arrangements

21. At its twelfth meeting the Conference, taking into account the principles included in the Schedule for the Division of Costs appearing in Appendix to Rule 12 of the Rules of Procedure, adopted the final schedule for the division of costs, based on the actual participation of Party and Signatory States in the Review Conference. (NPT/CONF/25/Rev.1)

Work of the Conference

22. The Conference held 14 plenary meetings between 5 and 30 May, when it concluded its work.

23. The General Committee, at its first meeting on 5 May, recommended that the provisional agenda by the Preparatory Committee (NPT/CONF/1) be adopted without change and allocated items to the two Main Committees, as follows, the remaining items to be considered by the plenary:

   (a) to Committee I:

     - item 13 "Review of the operation of the Treaty as provided for in its Article VIII (3):

       A. Implementation of the provisions of the Treaty relating to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, disarmament and international peace and security:
(1) Articles I, II and III (1, 2 and 4) and Preambular paragraphs 1-5

(2) Article VI and Preambular paragraphs 8-12

(3) Article VII

C. Other provisions of the Treaty


- item 14 "Role of the Treaty in the promotion of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and of nuclear disarmament and in strengthening international peace and security:
  A. Acceptance of the Treaty by States
  B. Measures aimed at promoting a wider acceptance of the Treaty."

(b) to Committee II:

- item 13 "Review of the operation of the Treaty as provided for in its Article VIII (3):
  B. Implementation of the provisions of the Treaty relating to peaceful applications of nuclear energy:
  (1) Article III and Article IV
  (2) Article V and Preambular paragraphs 6 and 7."

These recommendations were adopted by the plenary at its fourth session on 7 May.

24. The general debate in plenary, in which 46 States Parties and Signatories made statements, took place from 6 to 12 May.

25. Committee I held 14 meetings from 13 to 23 May. Its report (NPT/CONF/23) was submitted to the Conference at its twelfth plenary meeting on 26 May. Committee II held 16 meetings from 12 to 23 May, and its report (NPT/CONF/24) was also submitted to the Conference at its twelfth plenary meeting on 26 May. At the same meeting the Conference decided to transmit the two reports with all the annexed documents to the Drafting Committee.

26. At a series of meetings held from 26 to 29 May, the Drafting Committee considered the reports and documents transmitted to it, and submitted its report to the Conference on the latter date (NPT/CONF/32). The Conference, at its thirteenth plenary meeting, took note of the report.

Documentation

27. A list of the documents of the Conference is attached as Annex V.
General Assembly resolution 3261D (XXIX)

28. The Conference considered the role of peaceful nuclear explosions as provided for in the Treaty, in connexion with its general review of the operation of the Treaty. The subject was discussed, in particular, as part of the review of the operation of Article V and Preambular paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Treaty, also keeping in mind General Assembly resolution 3261D (XXIX). The results of the deliberations of the Conference on the subject are reflected in the Final Declaration of the Conference (see following paragraph).

Conclusion of the Conference

29. At its final (fourteenth) plenary meeting, on 30 May, the Conference adopted by consensus its Final Declaration based on a draft Declaration submitted by the President of the Conference on 29 May. The Final Declaration appears as Annex I.

30. A number of delegations, while not objecting to the consensus, submitted interpretative statements in connexion with the Final Declaration, which are included in Annex II. Others made oral statements of explanation of their position, which are fully reflected in the record of the final plenary meeting.

31. The Conference was not able to reach a consensus on the following draft resolutions annexing originally submitted draft additional protocols. These draft resolutions are included in Annex III.

(a) NPT/CONF/L.2/Rev.1 Draft resolution by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Senegal, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

(b) NPT/CONF/L.3/Rev.1 Draft resolution by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Senegal, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

(c) NPT/CONF/L.4/Rev.1 Draft resolution by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Senegal, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

32. The Conference was also not able to reach a consensus on the following draft resolutions, although parts of some of these draft resolutions were included in the Final Declaration.

(d) NPT/CONF/L.1* Draft resolution by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Senegal, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

(e) NPT/CONF/C.1/L.1 Draft resolution by Ghana, Nepal, Nigeria, Romania, Yugoslavia.
Draft resolution by Iran on Article VII.

Draft resolution by Romania on Article VI.

Proposal on the follow-up on the Conference by Italy.

Draft resolution by Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

Draft resolution by Mexico, Nigeria, Republic of Korea and the Philippines.

These draft resolutions are included in Annex IV to this final document.

33. All the proposals submitted to the Conference, as well as various views expressed which are fully reflected in the Summary Records, form part of this Final Document of the Conference and are forwarded as such for the consideration of Governments of States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.
FINAL DECLARATION OF THE REVIEW CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

PREAMBLE

The States Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which met in Geneva in May 1975, in accordance with the Treaty, to review the operation of the Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized,

Recognizing the continuing importance of the objectives of the Treaty,

Affirming the belief that universal adherence to the Treaty would greatly strengthen international peace and enhance the security of all States,

Firmly convinced that, in order to achieve this aim, it is essential to maintain, in the implementation of the Treaty, an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of all States Party to the Treaty, nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States,

Recognizing that the danger of nuclear warfare remains a grave threat to the survival of mankind,

Convinced that the prevention of any further proliferation of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices remains a vital element in efforts to avert nuclear warfare, and that the promotion of this objective will be furthered by more rapid progress towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the limitation and reduction of existing nuclear weapons, with a view to the eventual elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons, pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time,

Considering that the trend towards détente in relations between States provides a favourable climate within which more significant progress should be possible towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race,

Noting the important role which nuclear energy can, particularly in changing economic circumstances, play in power production and in contributing to the progressive elimination of the economic and technological gap between developing and developed States,
Recognizing that the accelerated spread and development of peaceful applications of nuclear energy will, in the absence of effective safeguards, contribute to further proliferation of nuclear explosive capability,

Recognizing the continuing necessity of full co-operation in the application and improvement of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,

Recalling that 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,

Reaffirming 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, and

Recognizing that all States Parties have a duty to strive for the adoption of tangible and effective measures to attain the objectives of the Treaty,

Declares as follows:

PURPOSES

The States Party to the Treaty reaffirm their strong common interest in averting the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. They reaffirm their strong support for the Treaty, their continued dedication to its principles and objectives, and their commitment to implement fully and more effectively its provisions.

They reaffirm the vital role of the Treaty in international efforts

- to avert further proliferation of nuclear weapons

- to achieve the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament, and

- to promote co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under adequate safeguards.

REVIEW OF ARTICLES I AND II

The review undertaken by the Conference confirms that the obligations undertaken under Articles I and II of the Treaty have been faithfully observed by all Parties. The Conference is convinced that the continued strict observance of these Articles remains central to the shared objective of averting the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.
REVIEW OF ARTICLE III

The Conference notes that the verification activities of the IAEA under Article III of the Treaty respect the sovereign rights of States and do not hamper the economic, scientific or technological development of the Parties to the Treaty or international co-operation in peaceful nuclear activities. It urges that this situation be maintained. The Conference attaches considerable importance to the continued application of safeguards under Article III, 1, on a non-discriminatory basis, for the equal benefit of all States Party to the Treaty.

The Conference notes the importance of systems of accounting for and control of nuclear material, from the standpoints both of the responsibilities of States Party to the Treaty and of co-operation with the IAEA in order to facilitate the implementation of the safeguards provided for in Article III, 1. The Conference expresses the hope that all States having peaceful nuclear activities will establish and maintain effective accounting and control systems and welcomes the readiness of the IAEA to assist States in so doing.

The Conference expresses its strong support for effective IAEA safeguards. In this context it recommends that intensified efforts be made towards the standardization and the universality of application of IAEA safeguards, while ensuring that safeguards agreements with non-nuclear-weapon States not Party to the Treaty are of adequate duration, preclude diversion to any nuclear explosive devices and contain appropriate provisions for the continuance of the application of safeguards upon re-export.

The Conference recommends that more attention and fuller support be given to the improvement of safeguards techniques, instrumentation, data-handling and implementation in order, among other things, to ensure optimum cost-effectiveness. It notes with satisfaction the establishment by the Director General of the IAEA of a standing advisory group on safeguards implementation.

The Conference emphasises the necessity for the States Party to the Treaty that have not yet done so to conclude as soon as possible safeguards agreements with the IAEA.

With regard to the implementation of Article III, 2 of the Treaty, the Conference notes that a number of States suppliers of nuclear material or equipment have adopted certain minimum, standard requirements for IAEA safeguards in connexion with their exports of certain such items to non-nuclear-weapon States not Party to the Treaty (IAEA document INFCIRC/209 and Addenda). The Conference attaches particular importance to the condition, established by those States, of an undertaking of non-diversion to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, as included in the said requirements.
The Conference urges that:

(a) in all achievable ways, common export requirements relating to safeguards be strengthened, in particular by extending the application of safeguards to all peaceful nuclear activities in importing States not Party to the Treaty;

(b) such common requirements be accorded the widest possible measure of acceptance among all suppliers and recipients;

(c) all Parties to the Treaty should actively pursue their efforts to these ends.

The Conference takes note of:

(a) the considered view of many Parties to the Treaty that the safeguards required under Article III, 2 should extend to all peaceful nuclear activities in importing States;

(b) (i) the suggestion that it is desirable to arrange for common safeguards requirements in respect of nuclear material processed, used or produced by the use of scientific and technological information transferred in tangible form to non-nuclear-weapon States not Party to the Treaty;

(ii) the hope that this aspect of safeguards could be further examined.

The Conference recommends that, during the review of the arrangements relating to the financing of safeguards in the IAEA which is to be undertaken by its Board of Governors at an appropriate time after 1975, the less favourable financial situation of the developing countries be fully taken into account. It recommends further that, on that occasion, the Parties to the Treaty concerned seek measures that would restrict within appropriate limits the respective shares of developing countries in safeguards costs.

The Conference attaches considerable importance, so far as safeguards inspectors are concerned, to adherence by the IAEA to Article VII.D of its Statute, prescribing, among other things, that "due regard shall be paid ... to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible"; it also recommends that safeguards training be made available to personnel from all geographic regions.

The Conference, convinced that nuclear materials should be effectively protected at all times, urges that action be pursued to elaborate further, within the IAEA, concrete recommendations for the physical protection of nuclear material in use, storage and transit, including principles relating to the responsibility of States, with a view to ensuring a uniform, minimum level of effective protection for such material.

It calls upon all States engaging in peaceful nuclear activities (i) to enter into such international agreements and arrangements as may be necessary to ensure such protection; and (ii) in the framework of their respective physical protection systems, to give the earliest possible effective application to the IAEA's recommendations.
REVIEW OF ARTICLE IV

The Conference reaffirms, in the framework of Article IV, 1, that nothing in the Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting, and notes with satisfaction that nothing in the Treaty has been identified 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 the Treaty.

The Conference reaffirms, in the framework of Article IV, 2, the undertaking by all Parties to the Treaty to facilitate the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the right of all Parties to the Treaty to participate in such exchange and welcomes the efforts made towards that end. Noting that the Treaty constitutes a favourable framework for broadening international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the Conference is convinced that on this basis, and in conformity with the Treaty, further efforts should be made to ensure that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology should be available to all Parties to the Treaty.

The Conference recognizes that there continues to be a need for the fullest possible exchange of nuclear materials, equipment and technology, including up-to-date developments, consistent with the objectives and safeguards requirements of the Treaty. The Conference reaffirms the undertaking of the Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so to 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. Recognizing, in the context of Article IV, 2, those growing needs of developing States the Conference considers it necessary to continue and increase assistance to them in this field bilaterally and through such multilateral channels as the IAEA and the United Nations Development Programme.

The Conference is of the view that, in order to implement as fully as possible Article IV of the Treaty, developed States Party to the Treaty should consider taking measures, making contributions and establishing programmes, as soon as possible, for the provision of special assistance in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for developing States Party to the Treaty.

The Conference recommends that, in reaching decisions on the provision of equipment, materials, services and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, on concessional and other appropriate financial arrangements and on the furnishing of technical assistance in the nuclear field, including co-operation related to the continuous operation of peaceful nuclear facilities, States Party to the Treaty should give weight to adherence to the Treaty by recipient States. The Conference recommends, in this connexion, that any special measures of co-operation to meet the growing needs of developing States Party to the Treaty might include increased and supplemental voluntary aid provided bilaterally or through multilateral channels such as the IAEA's facilities for administering funds-in-trust and gifts-in-kind.
The Conference further recommends that States' Party to the Treaty in a position to do so, meet, to the fullest extent possible, "technically sound" requests for technical assistance, submitted to the IAEA by developing States Party to the Treaty, which the IAEA is unable to finance from its own resources, as well as such "technically sound" requests as may be made by developing States Party to the Treaty which are not Members of the IAEA.

The Conference recognizes that regional or multinational nuclear fuel cycle centres may be an advantageous way to satisfy, safely and economically, the needs of many States in the course of initiating or expanding nuclear power programmes, while at the same time facilitating physical protection and the application of IAEA safeguards, and contributing to the goals of the Treaty.

The Conference welcomes the IAEA's studies in this area, and recommends that they be continued as expeditiously as possible. It considers that such studies should include, among other aspects, identification of the complex practical and organizational difficulties which will need to be dealt with in connexion with such projects.

The Conference urges all Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so to co-operate in these studies, particularly by providing to the IAEA where possible economic data concerning construction and operation of facilities such as chemical reprocessing plants, plutonium fuel fabrication plants, waste management installations, and longer-term spent fuel storage, and by assistance to the IAEA to enable it to undertake feasibility studies concerning the establishment of regional nuclear fuel cycle centres in specific geographic regions.

The Conference hopes that, if these studies lead to positive findings, and if the establishment of regional or multinational nuclear fuel cycle centres is undertaken, Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so, will co-operate in, and provide assistance for, the elaboration and realization of such projects.

REVIEW OF ARTICLE V

The Conference reaffirms the obligation of Parties to the Treaty to take appropriate measures to ensure that potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions are made available to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty in full accordance with the provisions of Article V and other applicable international obligations. In this connexion, the Conference also reaffirms that such services should be provided 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 should be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development.

The Conference notes that any potential benefits could be made available to non-nuclear-weapon States not Party to the Treaty by way of nuclear explosion services provided by nuclear-weapon States, as defined by the Treaty, and conducted under the appropriate international observation and international procedures called for in Article V and in accordance with other applicable international obligations. The Conference considers it imperative that access to potential benefits of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes not lead to any proliferation of nuclear explosive capability.
The Conference considers the IAEA to be the appropriate international body, referred to in Article V of the Treaty, through which potential benefits from peaceful applications of nuclear explosions could be made available to any non-nuclear-weapon State. Accordingly, the Conference urges the IAEA to expedite work on identifying and examining the important legal issues involved in, and to commence consideration of, the structure and content of the special international agreement or agreements contemplated in Article V of the Treaty, taking into account the views of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) and the United Nations General Assembly and enabling States Party to the Treaty but not Members of the IAEA which would wish to do so to participate in such work.

The Conference notes that the technology of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes is still at the stage of development and study and that there are a number of interrelated international legal and other aspects of such explosions which still need to be investigated.

The Conference commends the work in this field that has been carried out within the IAEA and looks forward to the continuance of such work pursuant to United Nations General Assembly resolution 3261 D (XXXIX). It emphasizes that the IAEA should play the central role in matters relating to the provision of services for the application of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. It believes that the IAEA should broaden its consideration of this subject to encompass, within its area of competence, all aspects and implications of the practical applications of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. To this end it urges the IAEA to set up appropriate machinery within which intergovernmental discussion can take place and through which advice can be given on the Agency's work in this field.

The Conference attaches considerable importance to the consideration by the CCD, pursuant to United Nations General Assembly resolution 3261 D (XXXIX) and taking due account of the views of the IAEA, of the arms control implications of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

The Conference notes that the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly will receive reports pursuant to United Nations General Assembly resolution 3261 D (XXXIX) and will provide an opportunity for States to discuss questions related to the application of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. The Conference further notes that the results of discussion in the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session will be available to be taken into account by the IAEA and the CCD for their further consideration.

REVIEW OF ARTICLE VI

The Conference recalls the provisions of Article VI of the Treaty under which all Parties undertook to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating

- to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and

- to nuclear disarmament and

- to a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.
While welcoming the various agreements on arms limitation and disarmament elaborated and concluded over the last few years as steps contributing to the implementation of Article VI of the Treaty, the Conference expresses its serious concern that the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, is continuing unabated.

The Conference therefore urges constant and resolute efforts by each of the Parties to the Treaty, in particular by the nuclear-weapon States, to achieve an early and effective implementation of Article VI of the Treaty.

The Conference affirms the determination expressed in the preamble to the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty and reiterated in the preamble to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time. The Conference expresses the view that the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests is one of the most important measures to halt the nuclear arms race. It expresses the hope that the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty will take the lead in reaching an early solution of the technical and political difficulties on this issue. It appeals to these States to make every effort to reach agreement on the conclusion of an effective comprehensive test ban. To this end, the desire was expressed by a considerable number of delegations at the Conference that the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty should as soon as possible enter into an agreement, open to all States and containing appropriate provisions to ensure its effectiveness, to halt all nuclear weapons tests of adhering States for a specified time, whereupon the terms of such an agreement would be reviewed in the light of the opportunity, at that time, to achieve a universal and permanent cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. The Conference calls upon the nuclear-weapon States signatories of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons tests, meanwhile, to limit the number of their underground nuclear weapons tests to a minimum. The Conference believes that such steps would constitute an incentive of particular value to negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear weapons test explosions for all time.

The Conference appeals to the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms to endeavour to conclude at the earliest possible date the new agreement that was outlined by their leaders in November 1974. The Conference looks forward to the commencement of follow-on negotiations on further limitations of, and significant reductions in, their nuclear weapons systems as soon as possible following the conclusion of such an agreement.

The Conference notes that, notwithstanding earlier progress, the CCD has recently been unable to reach agreement on new substantive measures to advance the objectives of Article VI of the Treaty. It urges, therefore, all members of the CCD Party to the Treaty, in particular the nuclear-weapon States Party, to increase their efforts to achieve effective disarmament agreements on all subjects on the agenda of the CCD.

The Conference expresses the hope that all States Party to the Treaty, through the United Nations and the CCD and other negotiations in which they participate, will work with determination towards the conclusion of arms limitation and disarmament agreements which will contribute to the goal of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.
The Conference expresses the view that, disarmament being a matter of general concern, the provision of information to all governments and peoples on the situation in the field of the arms race and disarmament is of great importance for the attainment of the aims of Article VI. The Conference therefore invites the United Nations to consider ways and means of improving its existing facilities for collection, compilation and dissemination of information on disarmament issues, in order to keep all governments as well as world public opinion properly informed on progress achieved in the realization of the provisions of Article VI of the Treaty.

REVIEW OF ARTICLE VII AND THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES

Recognizing that all States have need to ensure their independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, the Conference emphasizes the particular importance of assuring and strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States Parties which have renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons. It acknowledges that States Parties find themselves in different security situations and therefore that various appropriate means are necessary to meet the security concerns of States Parties.

The Conference underlines the importance of adherence to the Treaty by non-nuclear-weapon States as the best means of reassuring one another of their renunciation of nuclear weapons and as one of the effective means of strengthening their mutual security.

The Conference takes note of the continued determination of the Depositary States to honour their statements, which were welcomed by the United Nations Security Council in resolution 255 (1968), that, to ensure the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty which is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

The Conference, bearing in mind Article VII of the Treaty, considers that the establishment of internationally recognized nuclear-weapon-free zones on the initiative and with the agreement of the directly concerned States of the zone, represents an effective means of curbing the spread of nuclear weapons, and could contribute significantly to the security of those States. It welcomes the steps which have been taken toward the establishment of such zones.

The Conference recognizes that for the maximum effectiveness of any Treaty arrangements for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone the co-operation of the nuclear-weapon States is necessary. At the Conference it was urged by a considerable number of delegations that nuclear-weapon States should provide, in an appropriate manner, binding security assurances to those States which become fully bound by the provisions of such regional arrangements.
At the Conference it was also urged that determined efforts must be made especially by the nuclear weapon States Party to the Treaty, to ensure the security of all non-nuclear-weapon States Parties. To this end the Conference urges all States, both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States to refrain, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, from the threat or the use of force in relations between States, involving either nuclear or non-nuclear-weapons. Additionally, it stresses the responsibility of all Parties to the Treaty and especially the nuclear-weapon States, to take effective steps to strengthen the security of non-nuclear-weapon States and to promote in all appropriate fora the consideration of all practical means to this end, taking into account the views expressed at this Conference.

REVIEW OF ARTICLE VIII

The Conference invites States Party to the Treaty which are Members of the United Nations to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include the following item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly: "Implementation of the conclusions of the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons".

The States Party to the Treaty participating in the Conference propose to the Depositary Governments that a second Conference to review the operation of the Treaty be convened in 1980.

The Conference accordingly invites States Party to the Treaty which are Members of the United Nations to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include the following item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly: "Implementation of the conclusions of the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and establishment of a preparatory committee for the second Conference."

REVIEW OF ARTICLE IX

The five years that have passed since the entry into force of the Treaty have demonstrated its wide international acceptance. The Conference welcomes the recent progress towards achieving wider adherence. At the same time, the Conference notes with concern that the Treaty has not as yet achieved universal adherence. Therefore, the Conference expresses the hope that States that have not already joined the Treaty should do so at the earliest possible date.
The delegations of the States members of the Group of 77 Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, taking part in the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, wish to place on record in the final document of the Conference that they have agreed not to oppose the consensus required in accordance with the rules of procedure for the adoption of the final declaration of the Conference, as a token of their great appreciation for the praiseworthy and unceasing endeavours of the President of the Conference, to whom we owe the preparation of the draft declaration (NPT/CONF/30/Rev.1), and on the condition sine qua non that the text of the present interpretative statement and the texts of the three draft resolutions NPT/CONF/L.2/Rev.1, NPT/CONF/L.3/Rev.1 and NPT/CONF/L.4/Rev.1, together with their annexed Working Papers NPT/CONF/17*, NPT/CONF/18* and NPT/CONF/22 respectively, as well as documents NPT/CONF/C.I/L.1, NPT/CONF/C.I/L.2, NPT/CONF/C.I/L.3, NPT/CONF/C.II/L.1 and NPT/CONF/C.II/L.2, are reproduced in full in the final document, immediately following the text of the final declaration. The delegations I referred to earlier likewise wish to place on record that the relevant provisions of the declaration, particularly those relating to the implementation of the tenth preambular paragraph and to Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to the need to safeguard the security on non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty must, as regards the position of those delegations with respect to such provisions, be interpreted in the light of the content of the three Working Papers, NPT/CONF/17*, NPT/CONF/18* and NPT/CONF/22 and of the other documents enumerated above.
Draft Resolution
(Document NPT/CONF/L.2/Rev.1)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Noting the reiteration in the preamble of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of the determination proclaimed since 1963 in the Partial Test Ban Treaty to "achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time",

Convinced that one of the most effective measures for strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and promoting universal adherence to it would be to put into practice that determination,

Taking into account that the delegations of Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Yugoslavia and Zaire have submitted to the Conference working paper NPT/CONF/17*, annexed to the present resolution, containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons concerning nuclear weapon tests, with a view to establishing procedures which, in the opinion of its co-sponsors, would facilitate the attainment of the permanent cessation of all test explosions of nuclear weapons,

Noting that it would be desirable that all States Party to the Treaty may examine this proposal and that over one third of them have been unable to send representatives to the Conference,

1. Endorses the aim of contributing to the attainment of the permanent cessation of all test explosions of nuclear weapons pursued by the draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons contained in working paper NPT/CONF/17* annexed to this resolution;

2. Requests the President of the Conference to transmit, through its Secretary-General, the present resolution with its annex to all States Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in order that they may give it due consideration;

3. Recommends to those States to bear in mind the conclusions they may reach as a result of such consideration when they examine, at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the item: "Implementation of the decisions adopted by the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons".

BOLIVIA, ECUADOR, GHANA, HONDURAS, JAMAICA, LEBANON, LIBERIA, MEXICO, MOROCCO, NEPAL, NICARAGUA, NIGERIA, PERU, PHILIPPINES, ROMANIA, SENEGAL, SUDAN, SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, YUGOSLAVIA AND ZAIRE
ANNEX

WORKING PAPER CONTAINING A DRAFT ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS REGARDING NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS

Introductory note

In its resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations expressed inter alia "the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty" on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

That hope was undoubtedly based on the conviction stated in unequivocal terms in the penultimate preambular paragraph of the same resolution in which the Assembly declared itself "convinced" 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".

To the foregoing one must add a whole series of facts which are equally pertinent in this regard, some of the most outstanding of which are recalled here:

That the Non-Proliferation Treaty itself has reiterated in its preamble the determination, proclaimed since 1963 in the Moscow Treaty, "to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time";

That in four of its very numerous resolutions on this question, the Assembly has "condemned" with the utmost vigour all nuclear weapon tests, in whatever environment they may be conducted;

That the Assembly itself has repeatedly expressed the conviction that, "whatever may be the differences on the question of verification, there is no valid reason for delaying the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban";

That it is also the Assembly, the most representative body of the international community, which has affirmed, in its most recent resolution - 3257 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 - on this subject, that "the continuance of nuclear weapon testing will intensify the arms race, thus increasing the danger of nuclear war";

That, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations emphatically stated more than three years ago, in his first address to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, on 20 February 1972: "All the technical and scientific aspects of the problem have been so fully explored that only a political decision is now necessary in order to achieve final agreement".

The inevitable conclusion which, in the opinion of the delegations co-sponsoring this working paper, is to be drawn from facts such as those just recalled is that one of the most effective measures for strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty and for promoting universal adherence to it would be that the three nuclear-weapon States, which are not only Parties to the Treaty but act as its depositaries as well, demonstrate their readiness to support with tangible deeds the provisions of the Treaty's preamble regarding the cessation of nuclear weapon tests.
For this reason the sponsoring delegations believe that they are making a positive contribution to the work of the Conference in submitting to it a draft "Additional Protocol I" on this subject. They are also convinced that the entry into force of the proposed instrument would in no way undermine the security of the depositary States, since the extent of the lead in nuclear war technology and the enormity of the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States of America are such that, even if they were to suspend all nuclear weapon tests for half a century, it is absolutely certain that they would continue to maintain an indisputable superiority. As if this were not sufficient, the Treaty's provisions regarding withdrawal, which would apply as well to the Protocol, would give each of the Parties the right to withdraw from the Protocol, "in exercising its national sovereignty", should any of them reach the conclusion that, at a given moment, the supreme interests of its country require it. On the other hand, it is equally certain that a Protocol such as the one proposed would constitute an incentive of particular value in order to prompt the other nuclear-weapon States to commit themselves to put an end to all of their tests with such weapons.

The text of the draft Protocol which, basing themselves on the foregoing considerations, the sponsoring delegations submit to the Conference is the following:

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL I TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Depositary Governments of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, referred to in this Protocol as "the Treaty",

Conscious that universal, or at least the widest possible, adherence to the Treaty will contribute to avoid an increase in the danger of nuclear war,

Convinced that one of the most effective procedures for attaining such adherence would be the implementation of the provisions of the Preamble of the Treaty reiterating the determination, proclaimed since 1963 in the Moscow Treaty, to achieve "the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time",

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1. They undertake to decree the suspension of all their underground nuclear weapons tests for a period of ten years, as soon as the number of Parties to the Treaty reaches one hundred.

Article 2. They undertake also to extend by three years the moratorium contemplated in the preceding article, each time that five additional States become Parties to the Treaty.

Article 3. They undertake to transform the moratorium into a permanent cessation of all nuclear weapon tests, through the conclusion of a multilateral treaty for that purpose, as soon as the other nuclear weapon States indicate their willingness to become parties to said treaty.

Article 4. This Protocol will be of the same duration as the Treaty. Nevertheless the provisions of the latter's Article X regarding withdrawal shall apply to it.

Article 5. This Protocol shall be subject to ratification by the three Depositary States of the Treaty to which it is open for signature and shall enter into force on the date that the instruments of ratification of two of them are received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations who shall be the depositary of the Protocol.
Draft Resolution
(Document NPT/CONF/L.3/Rev.1)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Recalling the provisions of article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons whereby each of the Parties to the Treaty has undertaken inter alia "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",

Convinced that one of the most effective measures for strengthening the Treaty and promoting universal adherence to it would be the achievement of tangible results in the field of nuclear disarmament,

Taking into account that the delegations of Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire have submitted to the Conference working paper NPT/CONF/18*, annexed to the present resolution, containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty concerning nuclear disarmament, with a view to establishing procedures which, in the opinion of its co-sponsors, would facilitate the achievement at an early date of some important measures of nuclear disarmament,

Noting that it would be desirable that all States Party to the Treaty may examine this proposal and that over one third of them have been unable to send representatives to the Conference,

1. Endorses the aim of contributing to the attainment of effective measures towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament pursued by the draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons contained in working paper NPT/CONF/18* annexed to this resolution;

2. Requests the President of the Conference to transmit, through its Secretary-General, the present resolution with its annex to all States Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in order that they may give it due consideration;

3. Recommends to those States to bear in mind the conclusions they may reach as a result of such consideration when they examine, at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the item: "Implementation of the decisions adopted by the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons".
Annex

Working paper containing a draft additional protocol to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons regarding the implementation of its article VI

Introductory note

In its resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations expressed inter alia "the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty" on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

That hope was undoubtedly based on the conviction stated in unequivocal terms in the penultimate preambular paragraph of the same resolution in which the Assembly declared itself "convinced" 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".

It was no doubt for this same reason that the Treaty itself contains an article - article VI - aimed at reaffirming the Assembly's conviction referred to by providing that:

"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."

If, as set forth in the Treaty's article VIII, the basic objective of this Conference is to review how "the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty" have been, and are being, realized, the inevitable conclusions to be drawn from any objective analysis of reality are, with regard to the above-mentioned article, not only extremely disappointing but truly alarming. The nuclear arms race, far from ceasing as contemplated in the Treaty's article VI, has been stepped up in such a manner that it has given rise to the situation known as overkill. Implicit in such a situation is the constant threat of a nuclear holocaust, as shown by the two grave crises which in 1962 and 1973 gave rise to a general alert.

The imminence of this danger appears to have begun to find its way even in the highest political levels. Thus during the last session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of one of the two most powerful nuclear-weapon States stated emphatically:

"Stable and lasting peace is incompatible with the arms race. They are antipodes. One cannot seriously think of eliminating the threat of war, while at the same time increasing military budgets and endlessly building up armaments ... The supreme interests not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States, but also of the peoples of the whole world require that the Soviet Union and the United States, possessing the colossal might of nuclear weapons, should make every effort to achieve appropriate understandings and agreements".
To date the only results which the Treaty's depositary States can point to regarding their commitment under article VI are the meagre ones obtained in the bilateral negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear-weapon systems (SALT) which have been going on for some years. If in the international sphere those negotiations have had some beneficial consequences of a political and psychological nature, their very modest scope as disarmament measures has in practice appeared to be of no account. This has prompted the Assembly to urge the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States repeatedly, as it did in its latest resolution in this regard—resolution 3261 C (XXIX) of 9 December 1974—to broaden the scope and accelerate the pace of their negotiations, stressing anew "the necessity and urgency of reaching agreement on important qualitative limitations and substantial reductions of their strategic nuclear-weapon systems as a positive step towards nuclear disarmament".

In the light of the foregoing, it is axiomatic that one of the most effective measures for strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty and for promoting universal adherence to it would be that the two States possessing by far the largest nuclear arsenals in existence demonstrate their readiness to support with tangible deeds the provisions of the Treaty's article VI relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament.

For this reason the sponsoring delegations believe that they are making a positive contribution to the work of the Conference in submitting to it a draft "Additional Protocol II" on this subject. They are also convinced that the entry into force of the proposed instrument could not undermine the security of these two depositary States. On the one hand, the reductions suggested would in no way affect the system on which are based the proportions that they freely accepted in the Vladivostok accords. On the other hand, the extent of their lead in nuclear war technology and the enormity of their nuclear arsenals are such that, even after they had carried out the parity reductions called for in the Additional Protocol, the number of nuclear weapons and of delivery vehicles which each one would maintain would still be much superior to that which might be at the disposal of all of the other nuclear-weapon States taken together. As if this were not sufficient, the Treaty's provisions regarding withdrawal, which would apply as well to the Protocol, would give each of the Parties the right to withdraw from the Protocol, "in exercising its national sovereignty", should either of them reach the conclusion that, at a given moment, the supreme interests of its country require it. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that a Protocol such as the one proposed would constitute an incentive of particular value in order to prompt the other nuclear-weapon States to adopt measures for reductions similar to those set forth in it.

The text of the draft Protocol which, basing themselves on the foregoing considerations, the sponsoring delegations submit to the Conference is the following:

**ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL II TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

The Depositary Governments of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons—referred to in this Protocol as "the Treaty"—which participate in the bilateral negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear-weapon systems (SALT),
Conscious that universal, or at least the widest possible, adherence to the Treaty will contribute to avoid an increase in the danger of nuclear war,

Convinced that one of the most effective procedures for attaining such adherence would be the parallel achievement of tangible results relating to nuclear disarmament,

Bearing in mind that in the accords reached at Vladivostock in November of 1974 both Governments agreed that each side would be entitled to have an aggregate maximum of 2,400 intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers, and that only 1,320 of the ballistic missiles may be equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRV's),

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1. They solemnly reaffirm the obligations undertaken in article VI of the Treaty 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".

Article 2. They undertake, as soon as the number of Parties to the Treaty has reached one hundred:

(a) To reduce by fifty per cent the ceiling of 2,400 nuclear strategic delivery vehicles contemplated for each side under the Vladivostok accords;

(b) To reduce likewise by fifty per cent the ceiling of 1,320 strategic ballistic missiles which, under those accords, each side may equip with multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRV's).

Article 3. They also undertake, once such reductions have been carried out, to reduce by ten per cent the ceilings of 1,200 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and of 660 strategic ballistic missiles that may be equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRV's), each time that ten additional States become Parties to the Treaty.

Article 4. This Protocol will be of the same duration as the Treaty. Nevertheless the provisions of the latter's article X regarding withdrawal shall apply to it.

Article 5. This Protocol shall be subject to ratification by the two States to which it is open for signature and shall enter into force on the date both instruments of ratification have been received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations who shall be the depositary of the Protocol.
BOLIVIA, ECUADOR, GHANA, MEXICO, NIGERIA, PERU, ROMANIA, SENEGAL, SUDAN, YUGOSLAVIA AND ZAIRE

Draft resolution

(Document NPT/CONF/L.4/Rev.1)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Reiterating the provisions of the first preambular paragraph of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the effect that every effort should be made in order to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

Taking into account the resolution 3261 C (XXIX) adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly which considered that it is imperative for the international community to devise effective measures in order to ensure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States and recommend inter alia to Member States to consider in all appropriate forums, without loss of time, the question of strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States,

Convinced that one of the most effective measures for strengthening the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and promoting universal adherence to it would be to establish a system of security assurances within the framework of the Treaty,

Taking into account that the delegations of Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire have submitted to the Conference Working Paper NPT/CONF/22, annexed to the present resolution, containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which in the opinion of its co-sponsors, would facilitate the establishment of a system of security assurances within the framework of the Treaty,

Noting that it would be desirable that all States Party to the Treaty may examine this proposal and that over a third of them have been unable to send representatives to the Conference,

1. Endorses the aim of contributing to the ensuring and strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty in the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which have renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons pursuant by the draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons contained in Working Paper NPT/CONF/22* annexed to this resolution;

2. Requests the President of the Conference to transmit, through its Secretary-General, the present resolution with its annex to all States Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in order that they may give it due consideration;

3. Recommends to those States to bear in mind the conclusions they may reach as a result of such consideration when they examine, at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the item: "Implementation of the decisions adopted by the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons".
It is generally accepted that the non-nuclear-weapon States, by renouncing to acquire such weapons in accordance with Articles II and III of the Treaty, have the right to have their independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty guaranteed against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, the acceleration of the arms race and the accumulation of a great amount of arms during the period since the entry into force of the Treaty have led to the increase of the degree of insecurity in the world.

Resolution 255 (1968) of the Security Council relates to the possible action to be taken by the Security Council only when a nuclear attack has occurred. It does not offer, therefore, appropriate assurances for the prevention of the use or of the threat of use of nuclear weapons.

Finally, it should be borne in mind, in connexion with this matter, that the United Nations General Assembly in its Declaration of 24 November 1961 solemnly proclaimed that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity.

For the above reasons the sponsoring delegations believe that they are making a positive contribution to the work of the Conference in submitting to it the following draft:

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL III TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Depositary Governments of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, referred to in this Protocol as "The Treaty",

Recalling that, according to the Charter of the United Nations, the States have the obligation to 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,

Taking into account resolution 3261 G (XXIX) which considered inter alia that it is imperative for the international community to devise effective measures in order to ensure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States,

Recognizing that the effectiveness of the Treaty, its viability and universality depend, to a great extent, on its balanced character and on the existence of appropriate assurances for the States which have consented, by virtue of the Treaty, to renounce acquiring or manufacturing nuclear weapons,
Have agreed as follows:

Article 1. They solemnly undertake

(a) never and under no circumstances to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty whose territories are completely free from nuclear weapons, and,

(b) to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons against any other non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty.

Article 2. They undertake to encourage negotiations initiated by any group of States Parties to the Treaty or others to establish nuclear weapon free zones in their respective territories or regions, and to respect the statute of nuclear weapon free zones established.

Article 3. In the event a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty becomes a victim of an attack with nuclear weapons or of a threat with the use of such weapons, the States Parties to this Protocol, at the request of the victim of such threat or attack, undertake to provide to it immediate assistance without prejudice to their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

Article 4. This Protocol will be of the same duration as the Treaty. Nevertheless, the provisions of the latter’s Article X regarding withdrawal shall apply to it.

Article 5. This Protocol shall be subject to ratification by the three Depositary States of the Treaty to which it is open for signature and shall enter into force on the date that the instruments of ratification of two of them are received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations who shall be the depositary of the Protocol.
GHANA, NEPAL, NIGERIA, ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA

Draft Resolution

(Document NPT/CONF/C.I/L.1)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 2661 A (XXV) of 1970 by which it urged the Governments of nuclear-weapon Powers to bring about an immediate halt in the nuclear arms race and to cease all testing as well as deployment of offensive and defensive nuclear-weapon systems,

Taking into account that peace and security in the world cannot be maintained unless an immediate stop is put to the nuclear arms race followed by nuclear disarmament,

Convinced that only the nuclear-weapon States can stop vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons which would substantially contribute towards preventing their horizontal proliferation as well,

Noting with satisfaction that the non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty have been faithfully abiding by the spirit and letter of Articles II and III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Deeply convinced that the halting of nuclear arms race and the undertaking of further measures of nuclear disarmament would significantly enhance the creation of essential conditions for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones,

1. Invites the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty to initiate, as soon as possible but not later than the end of 1976, negotiations on the conclusion of a treaty on the withdrawal from the territories of the non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty of all nuclear-weapon delivery systems, especially tactical nuclear weapons;

2. Requests the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty to immediately discontinue further deployment of all types of tactical and other nuclear-weapon-delivery systems within the territories of the non-nuclear-weapon States party to the Treaty and to simultaneously commence with their gradual withdrawal pending the entry into force of the aforementioned treaty;

3. Invites also the non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty on whose territories, waterways or air space the nuclear-weapon delivery systems are deployed not to allow the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against other non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty.
IRAN

Draft resolution on Article VII of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

(Document NPT/CONF/C.1/L.2)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Considering that article VII of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons stresses the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories;

Recognizing that the establishment of internationally recognized nuclear weapon-free zones in appropriate regions of the world on the initiative of States directly concerned represent a most effective means to curb the spread of nuclear weapons;

Recognizing in this connexion the particular value of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and its Additional Protocols;


Recalling resolution 3263 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 of the United Nations General Assembly on the Establishment of a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone in the region of the Middle East;

Recalling resolution 3265 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 of the United Nations on the Declaration and Establishment of a Nuclear-Free Zone in South Asia;

Recalling further the United Nations General Assembly resolution 3261 F (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 in which the Assembly decided to undertake a comprehensive study of the question of nuclear weapon-free zones in all its aspects;

Noting that in implementation of this decision a group of governmental experts has been set up to carry out this study under the auspices of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament;

1. Invites the Parties to the Treaty and in particular the nuclear weapon States to co-operate with the States in appropriate regions of the world which decide to establish nuclear weapon-free zones, under effective conditions and an adequate system of safeguards, in order to assure the total absence of such weapons in their respective territories;

2. Urges the nuclear weapon States to undertake a solemn obligation never to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against countries which have become Parties to and are fully bound by the provisions of such regional arrangements.
The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Recalling the obligations assumed by each of the Parties to the Treaty under its Article VI, 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,

Recalling further General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968 by which it expressed, inter alia, the conviction "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 it requested the then existing Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the Nuclear-Weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations to that end,

Deeply concerned that during the period since the entry into force of the Treaty the nuclear arms race has, nevertheless, continued at an accelerated pace, resulting in accumulation of a great amount of nuclear weapons in the world,

Reaffirming the role of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in the negotiation of those effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament and of a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, which have been referred to in Article VI of the Treaty,

Mindful of the importance of the cooperation of governments and all media in the attainment of the objectives of the Treaty,

1. Requests all Governments Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which are members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, particularly the Depositary Governments, to bring their decisive contribution, in conformity with the obligations assumed by them under Article VI of the Treaty, to developing within the Conference the necessary conditions which would enable it to effectively deal with the measures provided in Article VI of the Treaty as follows:

   (a) to offer the disarmament negotiations the required perspective in achieving the aims of Article VI of the Treaty most urgently, by a comprehensive approach to the matters relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament and to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,
(b) to continuously review the operation and the methods of work of the Conference to assure that the negotiations are conducted in the most efficient manner, fully compatible with the principles of equality and the security and the interests of all States;

2. Considers it necessary that a system of retrieval and distribution as well as of assessment and analysis of information on armaments and disarmament issues be established, within the United Nations in order to keep properly informed all governments as well as the international public opinion of the progress achieved in the realization of the provisions of Article VI of the Treaty.
Draft Resolution

(Document NPT/CONF/C.II/L.1)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Reaffirming the provisions of article V of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, according to which non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall be able to obtain the "potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions" under the favourable conditions described therein,

Recalling that the same article provides for the obtainment of such benefits "pursuant to a special international agreement or agreements" and that "negotiations on this subject shall commence as soon as possible after the Treaty enters into force",

Taking into account the authoritative interpretation which, at the 1577th meeting of the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, held on 31 May 1968, the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America gave to the above-mentioned provisions, as evidenced in Conference document NPT/CONF/14 of 24 February 1975,

Noting that, although five years have elapsed since the Treaty entered into force, the pertinent negotiations have yet to begin,

Urges the Depositary Governments of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to initiate immediate consultations with all of the other States Party to the Treaty in order to reach agreement on the most appropriate place and date for holding a meeting of the Parties in order to conclude the basic special international agreement contemplated in article V of that Treaty.
MEXICO, NIGERIA, REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES

Draft Resolution

(Document NPT/CONF/C.II/12)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Convinced of the common responsibilities of Parties to the Treaty for the effective implementation of the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear energy, including any technological by-products which may be derived from the development of nuclear explosive devices, shall be made available for peaceful purposes to all Parties to the Treaty,

Convinced further that, in furtherance of the effective implementation of this principle, all Parties to the Treaty should participate in the fullest possible exchange of materials, equipment and scientific and technological information, and to coordinate, through international co-operation to the further development of the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes,

Conscious of the need in particular of developing countries to obtain technology of all types, including nuclear technology, at low costs and on fair terms of transfer, in order to promote their economic and social development, thus strengthening international peace and security,

Taking note of the activity so far undertaken by the International Atomic Energy Agency with a view to facilitating the international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, provided in Article IV of the Treaty,

Hoping that the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty would make available, through the International Atomic Energy Agency, part of the fissionable material resulting from the measures of nuclear disarmament to the non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty;

Decides,

1. that preferential treatment and concessional terms shall be provided by the Parties to the Treaty to developing non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty in the supply of equipment, material and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which would include, inter alia, fissionable material and the related service in the nuclear fuel cycle;

(b) that a Special Fund be established for the provision of technical assistance in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy to developing non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty. This Fund, which shall also be utilized for the provision of nuclear research facilities including research reactors and fuel needed for the continuing operation of research reactors in developing non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty, shall be maintained at an adequate level to meet the required needs. The Depositary States shall contribute 60 per cent of the Fund and the developed non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty shall provide the balance. The schedule for the division of costs for the present Review Conference, appropriately pro-rated, shall serve as the basis for determining the contribution to this Fund of each respective State Party to the Treaty. The International Atomic Energy Agency
shall be entrusted with the administration and management of the Fund which shall not form part of the regular or operational budgets of the Agency;

(c) that a Special Nuclear Fund be established to provide financing under concessional terms for the nuclear projects in the territories of developing non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty. The Fund shall be kept at a reasonable minimum annual level and contributions to this Fund shall be assessed in the same manner as the Special Fund referred to under paragraph 1(b) above. These amounts shall be administered on an ad hoc basis by an international organization or an existing regional financing institution located in Africa, Asia or Latin America, to be designated by the donor country with the agreement of the recipient country;

2. Decides further that preferential treatment shall be provided by the Parties to the Treaty to developed non-nuclear weapon States Parties to the Treaty in the supply of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which would include, inter alia, the supply of uranium and enrichment and re-processing services.
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

On behalf of the delegations of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Peoples Republic, the Mongolian Peoples Republic, the Peoples Republic of Poland, the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic and on behalf of my own delegation I would like to declare that these delegations fully support the statement made by the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in particular as to the contents of the Final Declaration.

We came to this Conference with the determination to strengthen the non-proliferation regime and thus to contribute to the cause of disarmament and arms limitation.

The aim of the Conference was to strengthen the Treaty and to make it still more effective. In this constructive spirit we participated in this Conference and worked together with other delegations. We believe that the Declaration which was adopted by the Conference will promote this aim. In the course of the Conference, evident proof of the fact has been furnished that the Treaty has become an irreversible and extraordinary positive reality of international life. The Treaty has not only proved to be advantageous for the Parties to it, but also corresponds to the interests of all peoples and States.

The fact that immediately before as well as during the Conference, some ten other States have acceded to the Treaty, thus demonstrating their agreement with the Treaty, is also evidence of its continued attractiveness. We express the hope that countries still outside the Treaty will join us in order to strengthen peace and international security.

I ask you, Madame President, to include this statement in the Final Document.
The Delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany welcomes that consensus could be reached on the general declaration. At the conclusion of the Conference, we want to put the following statement on the record of this Conference to be included in the appropriate Annex of the final document:

- We support the recommendations of the final declaration and will, within the framework of our possibilities, work for their implementation;
- The Federal Republic of Germany considers the Treaty to be a necessary and important instrument for the maintenance of peace;
- It is, therefore, the strong belief of my Government that security and world peace would best be served if all States became members to the NPT;
- We repeat the hope expressed in our opening statement that all States members to the NPT submit their peaceful nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards;
- The text of the final declaration can be regarded as encouraging in this respect;
- My delegation is satisfied that the Conference has endorsed the standard export requirements introduced by the vast majority of the supplier countries of nuclear material or equipment, and wishes to reiterate its firm resolve to strengthen and to broaden common export safeguards requirements in the future, by a gradual process and with the objective of non-proliferation firmly in mind;
- The paragraphs in the declaration relating to Article IV also meet with our approval, although some delegations, including mine, had to make certain concessions in negotiating these texts. I want to take this opportunity to emphasize that, in our view, Article IV is too often misconstrued as merely a device for establishing new development assistance funds. In reality it is the charter of the universal exchange of knowledge in the nuclear realm.

IRAN

Our aim in this Conference has been to reach consensus. We had sought to achieve two objectives:

(i) To review the NPT after five years: come to an agreement on its implementation, discuss its strengths and weaknesses in the light of technological and political transformations and

(ii) reaffirm our commitment to the NPT as an extremely important means of controlling proliferation.

Now, in affirming our support of the NPT we have sought to show its success and demonstrate our solidarity to those states which, for their own reasons, have chosen not to adhere to the Treaty as yet. Now the type of consensus, that is the content of the consensus that we have sought to achieve here in the past four weeks, has been extremely important.
In seeking to achieve a realistic consensus by emphasizing the content of the consensus as much as the achievement of any consensus - we have sought to demonstrate the vitality of the NPT regime to those States presently outside it. As we are all aware, several of the States outside the NPT have an overdeveloped sense of realism. It has been our belief that nothing could be calculated to appeal to these States less than the achievement of a false, weak, evasive, or generally equivocal text emanating from this Review Conference.

To our mind, the heart of the NPT is a balance of obligations and rights between those states possessing nuclear weapons and those renouncing the option so to do.

We therefore place a particular emphasis on Articles VI, VII of the Treaty and the question of Security Assurances. And here I will deal with two specific points I mentioned before:

1. We cannot accept the view that at this Conference the conventional arms race is as important as the nuclear arms race, that non-nuclear-weapon States have the same responsibilities as nuclear-weapon States in implementing Article VI, or that the major focus of Article VI is an equivalent emphasis on general and complete disarmament as well as on the cessation of the nuclear arms race. Both are referred to in Article VI but clearly the cessation of the nuclear arms race is the major focus of that Article.

Unfortunately in the formulation of the final Declaration regarding Article VI on pages 7-8 of the English text, we find a quite different interpretation of that article. The wording here appears to reflect a quite different focus. It is a subtle shifting of the primary emphasis on Article VI from the nuclear arms race and the consequent responsibilities of the nuclear-weapon States in its implementation. This interpretation of Article VI, in our opinion, seriously imbalances the Treaty, and my delegation would like to register its reservation with respect to this particular part of the Declaration.

2. On Article VII, it is our conviction that the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones undertaken on the initiative of the states of the region, recognized internationally, and under adequate safeguards would enhance the prospects of containing nuclear proliferation. We sought to have the Conference acknowledge the responsibility of nuclear-weapon States to these zones. A corollary of this, we believe is an undertaking by the nuclear states to respect the provisions of such zones and to pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against them.

Although the final Declaration deals with this, in paragraph 5 of page 9, the formulation of this passage is not satisfactory to my delegation.

In spite of these remarks we would like to once again stress our general support of the final declaration as an affirmation of our commitment to the success of the Treaty.

Madame President,

ITALY

Original: ENGLISH

I feel it is my duty to join other speakers and put on record the position of my Government on some of the items of the draft declaration you have submitted to us.

On paragraph 5 of the Preamble, I want to underline that that paragraph is interpreted by us as falling within the scope of Articles I and II of the Treaty. I recall, in this connexion, the statement made by the Italian Government with the approval of the Italian Parliament at the time of ratification, as well as at the time of signature of the NPT, concerning nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes.
This reading of the Treaty also covers the last sentence of the second paragraph of the Section "Review of Article V". We agree of course on the need to avert any risk of further proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, in our view the language adopted can in no way alter and does not alter the scope of Article V.

As to the part of the Document concerning the "Purposes", an agreement had been reached, in the working group in which I had the honour to participate, on a compromise formula. This agreement concerned the last item in the list of purposes as contained in document NPT/CONF/C.1/3. The formula read as follows: "To bring about an expanded and more effective co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under adequate safeguards".

I am therefore surprised that in a subsequent meeting of another group, at which I was not present, the addition which had then been suggested by another delegation: - "under adequate safeguards" - has been inserted in the text, while the other component of the compromise formula, on which a clear consensus had been achieved, was ignored.

As to the Section "Review of Article III", it is important for me to stress that any initiative in the field of safeguards must be taken with due regard to the provisions of article III, 3 of the Treaty.

Furthermore on "Review of Article III", I should like to spend one word on physical protection of nuclear materials. I have no reservation on this text, which we approve. However, we think that it should have been placed elsewhere as it is not related to the obligations envisaged in Article III, which strictly concerns safeguards. I mention this in order to stress that physical protection should involve - as indicated by the language used in the document - the whole international community; all the members of which should share an interest in physical protection.

With regard to the Section "Review of Article IV", I must express the opinion that the text falls short of our expectations. Naturally, we are confronted with a compromise to which we have ourselves contributed. Yet we want to emphasize again the importance that the Italian Government attach to the fulfilment of the provision of Article IV. Speaking two days ago in Paris at the meeting of the International Energy Agency, the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Rumor, in indicating the limiting factors to the success of the vast nuclear power programme which we are undertaking, recalled again the vital importance of the problems connected with access to nuclear technology and to the nuclear fuel market, under equal and stable conditions.

The implementation of the Treaty obligations concerning such matters - and I refer in particular to equity and stability of prices and continuity of fuel supply - is not clearly reviewed in the document before us. Moreover, preferential treatment for the Parties to the Treaty - in the very interest of universal adherence - could have been more clearly spelled out. We trust that the discussions which have taken place in this hall, and the views expressed by a number of Delegations on these same matters, will have a real impact on the future policies of all concerned.

On the review regarding the same Article IV, we have taken note that the problem of regional fuel cycle centres will be the object of study. We trust that this exercise will not weaken the impact of Article IV. We reserve however our position with regard to the assessment of this part of the text until we will be able to evaluate the results of the projected study.
Concerning the Section "Review of Article VII" and in particular the security of non-nuclear States, we have repeatedly stressed the different objective situations in which States find themselves in this respect. Consequently, in our view, a specific reference would be necessary to the arrangements which many States - in the exercise of the right of individual and collective self-defence - have freely entered.

Similarly, while recognizing the importance of the establishment of nuclear-free zones in appropriate regions of the world as a means of curbing nuclear proliferation, as well as the importance of guaranteeing the security of the States concerned, we interpret the relevant provisions of the Document in the sense that the creation of such nuclear-free zones must not detract from existing security arrangements.

In conclusion, I should like to say that my remarks should be understood as in no way diminishing our interest in, and appreciation for this first NPT review. We are happy to see that a second Review Conference will follow: an objective that, as you know, was much in the mind of the Italian Delegation.

In our view full compliance with the Treaty is the best way through which we can hope to achieve wider participation. This is an essential element for the attainment of the vital purposes of the Treaty. It is in this spirit that our remarks were made.

PERU Original: SPANISH

The delegation of Peru states for the record that the review of the operation of the Treaty has made clear the responsibility of the Depositary States for the failure to implement Articles VI and VII of the Treaty attributed to them by the non-nuclear States Parties; that said responsibility is clearly set forth in the draft resolutions submitted by the non-nuclear States and reproduced in this final document; and that, therefore, the consensus on which the adoption of the draft Final Declaration of the Conference prepared by the President is based is subject to the interpretation contained in those draft resolutions.

ROMANIA Original: ENGLISH

In his statement of 7 May, before this Assembly, the head of the Romanian delegation stressed the importance that my country attaches to this Conference as a collective means of verification, with the participation of all States, of the way in which the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are being realized.

After the Treaty's first five years of operation, our basic conclusion was, and it remains the same today, that while the non-nuclear-weapon States had scrupulously fulfilled their undertakings not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons, the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race have continued and even accelerated. As a result of the increasing destructive capacity of the new generation of nuclear weapons and of the massive stockpiling of armaments, nuclear weapons in particular, the whole world is in a grave state of insecurity. At the same time, despite the IAEA's efforts, the non-nuclear-weapon States and especially the developing countries are far from having received the assistance they have counted on, so that nuclear energy should become the instrument expected to help their economic development.

My delegation came therefore to this Conference with the expectation that, in view of the above, practical measures would be considered and adopted, aimed: (1) at
giving a new impetus to nuclear disarmament negotiations; (2) at contributing to the ensuring and strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, which under the Treaty have renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons; (3) at promoting a true international co-operation and assistance in the field of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

During the last four weeks, intensive work, following that performed by the Preparatory Committee, has been carried out. In this process each delegation has had the occasion to present, in a responsible manner, the views and the positions of its respective Government.

Regretfully, this valuable process of negotiations has not reached the expected practical results. It has only underlined the unsatisfactory state of affairs within the membership of the Treaty, the shortcomings of this important international document and, in fact, even a certain degree of lack of communication between the nuclear and the non-nuclear-weapon States.

Nevertheless, the Conference has offered a good occasion for all Parties to express their views and has pointed to the main fields of vital interests for each of them, towards the solution of which we all have to continue to work, collectively, in the future.

Today we have before us, due to your most appreciative efforts, Madame President, a text which constituted an attempt at achieving a compromise in the difficult situation in which the Conference found itself, but which falls short of our expectations.

The tacit acceptance by all of us, including my own delegation, of the proposed General Declaration should be interpreted only as an expression of the attachment of the States Parties to the noble goals and aspirations pursued by the Treaty. At the same time we want to state that as a whole the present text is exceedingly unbalanced. The vital issues on which the viability of the Treaty and its universality depend are not reflected in an appropriate manner. The Declaration does not contain any concrete measures directed to giving the necessary impetus to disarmament negotiations, to ensuring the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States, to broadening international co-operation for peaceful uses of nuclear energy as expected by all of mankind. We are expressing our deep regret and dissatisfaction that there was no possibility to agree on generally acceptable measures on such outstanding issues of global concern.

The document confines itself to evaluating the past in an over-optimistic manner, while the measures designed to assure the realization of the purposes of the Preamble and of the provisions of the Treaty, which was the basic objective of the Conference, are practically non-existent.

In addition, attempts have been made to extend the interpretation of the purposes of the Treaty in some respects, to deepen even more the imbalance existing in the field of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

As regards the review of Article III, paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Declaration, the Romanian delegation wishes to reserve its position by interpreting them solely in accordance with the letter of Article III, point 2 of the Treaty.

At the same time we want to state that in our interpretation all the measures of safeguards included in the Declaration should strictly respect the sovereign rights of all States.
They should be implemented in such a manner as to avoid any obstacle to the economic or technological development of the Parties or of 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, as provided by the Treaty itself.

We are firmly convinced that it is only on this basis that all the Parties of the Treaty will equally benefit from peaceful applications of nuclear technology.

The Romanian delegation asks, therefore, that these reservations be duly recorded.

As I have already pointed out, from the very moment of becoming a Party to this Treaty, which was an act of full responsibility on the part of my Government, in considering the general interests of all the international community, Romania has resolutely acted for the achievement of the main objectives of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, including the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, an issue which had been left pending at the conclusion of the Treaty.

It is in this spirit that we have also given particular attention at this Conference to the question of security guarantees for the non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty.

The solution of this issue consists in the legal obligation by the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty never and under no circumstances to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty. This is the interpretation which the Romanian delegation gives to the chapter of the Declaration on this issue, and we ask that it be recorded.

The draft Additional Protocol (document NPT/CONF/22) initiated by Romania was intended to respond to this shortcoming of the Treaty.

Fully aware of the vital interest of all countries in their security, but first of all of the non-nuclear-weapon States, which in their majority are small and medium-sized countries, the draft Additional Protocol represented a concrete measure to be taken by the Conference, aimed at ensuring and strengthening the security of the States which undertook to renounce the nuclear option.

We realize the complexity of the problem and our draft sought only to advance an idea to be negotiated with good will.

Unfortunately, a dialogue could not be started on this issue either. Naturally an international conference cannot progress when it does not treat on an equal basis all the views and opinions put forward by all sovereign and independent States participating in it. Nevertheless the discussion proved that the issue of security guarantees is of vital interest to most of the States. It has been consolidated as a basic issue of general interest for our future work in strengthening the Treaty.

We hope that the transmission of the draft Protocol for study by States Parties to the Treaty, and subsequently its consideration by the United Nations General Assembly, may stimulate concrete negotiations.

The stand of my delegation at this Conference reflected the general line of the policy of Romania, firmly committed to the strengthening of international peace and security.
On the basis of the mandate received from its Government, the Romanian delegation has done its best to contribute to the attainment of the common goals of humanity: peace, disarmament and co-operation with all States. We have constructively co-operated with all those who shared the same objective.

We leave this Conference with the sentiment that such endeavours should be stronger in the future, if we want to succeed in our common goals.

SWEDEN

The Swedish Delegation supports the part of the general declaration which deals with article VII and the security of NNWS. With respect to the paragraph dealing with Security Council Resolution 255 (1968) my Delegation wishes to put on record its view that should assistance to a country be contemplated under these provisions, that country shall have the right to decide if and under what conditions assistance might be granted.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Madame President,

In your statement of 6 May 1975, you emphatically stated that the Conference was embarking on a momentous task, the result of which might well extend far into the future. You also reminded us of the repercussions of a possible failure to reach agreement on basic problems facing the Review Conference; this was when you said "over the world people of goodwill and common sense and knowledge are looking to the Conference for positive results".

These remarks have remained vivid in our mind throughout the long hours spent in discussions, negotiations and debates.

At the darkest hours, when it became clear that the future of non-proliferation was at stake, you launched what you rightly called "a new initiative" contained now in the declaration before us. We welcomed it because, like you, we believe that the Review Conference must produce "something" or the entire structure of non-proliferation would probably collapse. A collapse would surely have played into the hands of the aggressor, the blackmailer, the racist and the expansionist. It would have shaken the foundation of universal adherence - a goal that we all are firmly committed to.

The document just adopted has got that "something", which we had to produce willingly or unwillingly, but its content, and I am sure you agree with us, does not solve the basic problems that were identified in your 12 May statement.

But we have chosen to accept a quarter of a loaf instead of half a loaf because we wanted to preserve the achievements already realized under the NPT regime and hope for a better future.

Nonetheless, we must put on record some reservations or interpretations relating to the following parts:
1. Review of Article VII and problems of security guarantees

This part as it is formulated now constitutes a set-back to a strong momentum which has been gathering strength since 1968, onward, to obtain security guarantees that would protect non-nuclear NPT Parties against nuclear aggression and nuclear blackmail. This part of the Declaration does not, and regrettably so, contain any formulation, nor even an indication, relating to obligations of Depositary States to extend both positive and negative security guarantees to NPT Parties. Instead, there is an attempt to shift the urgency of extending guarantees from Parties directly concerned to non-nuclear-weapon Parties through the creation of nuclear-free zones, an effort that we would have lauded if it had been accompanied by an equal attempt at supporting security guarantees. This lacuna has, in our opinion, weakened to a certain extent the credibility of the assurances under Security Council resolution 255 and the tripartite declaration.

2. On the Review of Article III

It is our firm belief that irrespective of the field of competence of the IAEA, the Declaration should have extended safeguards measures to all nuclear activities of non-NPT countries receiving any nuclear material or equipment. Therefore, whenever the following or a similar sentence reading "application of safeguards to all peaceful nuclear activities" appears in the text, we should read the word "activities" as meaning activities of all kinds, peaceful or non-peaceful, declared to be such or not declared as such.

3. Review of Article IV

We reserve our position on those parts relating to Article IV which do not fulfill the following conditions:

- Preferential treatment to developing NPT Parties without harming the interests of any developing non-party;

- Concessional and preferential arrangements to developing nations, whether Parties or non-Parties to the NPT;

- The establishment of a "Special Fund" as well as a "Special Nuclear Fund", as provided for in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution proposed by Mexico, Nigeria and the Philippines, (NPT/CONF/C.II/L.2) in order to institutionalize and stabilize the flow of assistance to developing nations in accordance with Article IV of the NPT.

Now, allow me to raise two issues closely related to our work, namely, the issue of participation and that of attendance. We cannot hush-hush the fact that only 55 out of 94 Parties to the NPT participated in our work. Absenteeism is a phenomenon that should be carefully studied. It betrays, in our opinion, either a lack of interest in improving the NPT regime or a loss of faith in the utility of a dialogue between nuclear and non-weapon Parties to the NPT. Whatever may be the case, the results of the Conference have immensely suffered from the absence of so many NPT Parties. This was mostly felt in the ranks of developing nations.

Our second remark relates to the admission of Israel and South Africa to attend as observers. The Conference did show a positive attitude towards their request. But these two countries did not show any positive interest in the work of the Conference. We are at the end, yet we have seen no contribution on their part.
Their presence was only felt when it came to sabotaging certain constructive proposals or exerting pressures directly or indirectly. We did not object to their presence because we knew beforehand that they had come for diversionary and for propaganda purposes. But the Conference was not deceived, because it must have realized that their contribution to the cause of the NPT was nil. The Conference must have regretted its decision.

We can be critical of the progress achieved at this Conference, but our criticism should be construed as a constructive one. We wish to the NPT all success; and despite the limited objectives we achieved, we shall increase our efforts to strengthen the NPT regime in all its aspects. We hope that the nuclear-weapon Powers Parties to the NPT will take our legitimate demands and concern into serious consideration.

I should like to signify the wish of my Delegation to see this statement annexed to the final document of the Conference.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

For almost a month - the duration of this Conference - its participants have carefully and thoroughly reviewed the operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, expressed opinions on the practical application of the Treaty and made numerous proposals concerning the implementation of its provisions.

Taken as a whole, the results of the Conference permit the conclusion that it has convincingly demonstrated the obvious fact that the five years of the Treaty's existence have confirmed its vitality, its effectiveness and its continued importance in today's world.

As regards the significance of the Conference, one is justified in laying special emphasis on the constructive role it has played in increasing the universality of the Treaty and in making the non-proliferation regime even more effective. It is already clear that the Conference has promoted the adherence of a whole series of States to the Treaty. Just before and during the Conference, the number of Parties was expanded by the addition of an important group of States, including some with a highly developed atomic industry, and this has been a significant step towards the future strengthening of the Treaty. We hope that the outcome of the Conference will encourage accession by additional States as well as completion of the process of ratification by the countries which have signed the Treaty.

A significant fact recognized in the statements of all delegations is that the key Articles and essential part of the Treaty - Articles I and II - are being strictly observed by all Parties.

We regard the unanimous confirmation of the effective implementation of those Articles and of the Article on international control as the most important result of the Conference, and we note with satisfaction that this result has been reflected in the final declaration.

In that connexion, it is worth noting that the Conference has also discussed a series of proposals aimed at achieving maximum effectiveness for the Treaty. There has been unanimous support for proposals relating to Article III, paragraph 2 of the Treaty, the physical protection of nuclear material, the establishment of regional nuclear fuel-cycle centres, and other matters.
As to the situation with regard to the implementation of Article IV, we are pleased to note that the Non-Proliferation Treaty has made a very significant contribution to the development of international co-operation in the utilization of nuclear energy.

Great significance must also be attached to the recommendations adopted by the Conference concerning the implementation of Article V of the Treaty which provide that any non-nuclear-weapon State deciding to use, on the basis of the Treaty's provisions, the energy of a nuclear explosion for purposes of its economic development, would be able to obtain effective assistance both from the Depositary States and from the International Atomic Energy Agency.

All of these constructive recommendations for the further strengthening of the non-proliferation regime have been duly reflected in the final declaration of the Conference.

It cannot be overlooked that proposals were also made at the Conference which were not in harmony with the objective of strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty and which really sought to revise it. And that is how we assessed them in our statements during the Conference. Naturally it was not such proposals, which were not approved by the Conference, that determined the direction of the Conference's work or its results. They only represented the opinions of particular delegations.

The Soviet delegation is gratified that the Conference has succeeded in arriving at a draft final document whose provisions, on the whole, are of a constructive nature.

Nevertheless, the Soviet delegation would like to state that it has certain reservations with regard to some of the declaration's provisions relating to the implementation of Articles VI and VII of the Treaty.

It is the position of the Soviet Union, which is an advocate of nuclear disarmament, that measures in that field must not be prejudicial to the security of the parties concerned. The Soviet Union also considers that the basic problems of disarmament - and especially of nuclear disarmament - can only be solved with the participation of all the nuclear Powers.

As regards the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, we deem it necessary to emphasize that the Soviet Union is in favour of the cessation of all testing, including underground testing, by all States. That is the position of principle of the Soviet Union.

As to the provisions of the draft declaration dealing with the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the delegation of the USSR wishes to state that the Soviet Union attaches great significance to the talks and considers agreements and understandings reached in those talks to be of exceptional importance for the cause of peace and international security. The position of the Soviet Union on that question is set forth in the Soviet-American declaration adopted at the Vladivostok meeting in November 1974.

On the question of security guarantees for non-nuclear States Parties to the Treaty, the Soviet delegation would like to observe that Security Council resolution 255 (1968) and the declarations made by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom in relation thereto constitute an effective instrument for guaranteeing the security of Parties to the Treaty not possessing nuclear weapons.
The strengthening of the security of States is the object of the resolution of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and simultaneous permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Adoption by the Security Council of a decision approving that resolution would give it binding force and constitute an important step for strengthening the security of the non-nuclear States.

That purpose would also be served by the creation of nuclear-free zones. We favour the creation of such zones in various regions of the world on condition that measures are carried out which genuinely transform the territories of the States concerned into zones completely free of nuclear weapons and which exclude any loopholes for violating the non-nuclear status of the zones. As regards the Treaty on the nuclear-free zone in Latin America, our position is well known and there is no need to re-define it.

The USSR delegation does not support the proposal mentioned in the final declaration of the Conference concerning United Nations facilities for the collection, compilation and dissemination of information on disarmament issues because the existing organs of the United Nations suffice to ensure that all States and world opinion are informed on such issues.

With reference to the recommendation in the draft declaration on the convening of the next Conference to review the operation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the USSR delegation wishes to state that the procedure for reviewing the operation of the Treaty is clearly laid down in the text of the Treaty itself - in Article VIII, paragraph 3.

In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to express its conviction that the Conference, now about to conclude its work, will endow the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons with even greater effectiveness and thereby contribute to intensifying and expanding the process of international détente.

The Soviet delegation requests that its statement be included in the final document of the Conference.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

My delegation is pleased to have joined in the adoption of the Final Declaration of this, the first NPT Review Conference. We believe that, by reaching agreement on the Conference Declaration - which is the culmination of our efforts over the last four weeks - we have taken an important step forward.

The Declaration is a realistic document, containing recommendations for improving the effectiveness of the Treaty's operation and most important of the non-proliferation regime generally. Some ideas, including those relating to international co-operation on physical security, to improvements of safeguards on exports, and to regional solutions to fuel cycle needs, are innovative, and are receiving broad international endorsement for the first time. In addition, the Conference Declaration strongly underlines the need for determined and timely efforts to achieve widely shared objectives. Taken as a whole, the Final Declaration establishes a practical and comprehensive course of action for strengthening the non-proliferation regime. It shows clearly that we all have a shared and overriding interest in the success of efforts to curb nuclear proliferation, which is a continuing and complicated process.
We recognize that no delegation can give unqualified support to each of the
conclusions and recommendations contained in the Declaration. Some may have reservations
about particular ideas expressed in the document; others may regret that some of their
suggestions were not included, or were given less emphasis than they would have preferred.
This is as true of our delegation as it is of others.

I would like to take this opportunity to briefly state for the record our views on
some of the issues covered in the Final Declaration. First, I would like to reiterate
that we look forward, as soon as possible after the conclusion of the agreement
outlined at Vladivostok, to the commencement of follow-on negotiations on further
limitations and reductions in the level of strategic arms.

Second, with respect to the question of restraints on nuclear testing, my government
joins in affirming the determination of participants of this Conference to achieve the
discontinuance of all explosions of nuclear weapons for all time. The Final
Declaration notes that a number of Delegations at the Conference expressed the desire
that the nuclear-weapon States Parties enter as soon as possible into an agreement to
halt all nuclear-weapon tests for a specified period of time. Our view is that any
treaty or agreement on nuclear-weapons testing must contain provisions for adequate
verification and must solve the problem of peaceful nuclear explosions. It would not
be realistic to assume that an agreement banning all nuclear-weapons testing, whether
by nuclear-weapon States Party to the NPT or by all testing Powers, could be concluded
before solutions to these problems are found.

With reference to nuclear-free zones, we believe that the creation of such zones
could effectively complement the NPT as a means of preventing the spread of nuclear
explosive capabilities. We have emphasized that, to be effective, regional
arrangements should meet the following criteria:

The initiative should be taken by the States in the region concerned. The zone
should preferably include all States in the area whose participation is deemed
important. The creation of the zone should not disturb necessary security arrange-
ments; and provision must be made for adequate verification. Finally, we do not
believe that the objective of non-proliferation would be served if a nuclear-free zone
arrangement permitted the indigenous development of nuclear explosives for any
purpose. No effort to achieve non-proliferation could succeed if it permitted such
indigenous development of nuclear explosives by non-nuclear-weapon States, or failed
to safeguard against diversion of nuclear materials to such use.

A number of Delegations at the Conference urged that nuclear-weapon States provide,
in an appropriate manner, binding security assurances to those States which became
fully bound by the provisions of a regional arrangement. My government adhered to
Protocol II of the Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, which contains such a
binding security assurance, after determining that that treaty met the criteria noted
above. However, we believe that each nuclear-free zone proposal must be judged on
its own merits to determine whether the provision of specific security assurances
would be likely to have a favourable effect. Moreover, we do not believe it would be
realistic to expect nuclear-weapon States to make implied commitments to provide such
assurances before the scope and content of any nuclear-free zone arrangement are worked
out.

I ask that this written statement be incorporated in Annex II of the final
document.
Madame President,

You have in your opening address quite correctly posed a number of questions to which this Conference should provide answers. Let us now see what has actually been accomplished.

The Yugoslav delegation to the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty considers that:

- the nuclear-weapons States have not fulfilled their basic obligation assumed under the Treaty:

1. They have not discontinued the nuclear arms race
2. They have not stopped the nuclear weapon tests
3. Vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons has continued
4. No substantial assistance has been given to the non-nuclear weapon States, that is, the developing countries, in the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes,

- the non-nuclear-weapons States have fulfilled, in every respect, their obligations ensuing from the Treaty.

The Conference has revealed contradictions both in the comprehension of the substance and the meaning of the Treaty, as well as regarding the fundamental issues on the agenda of the Conference:

1. The nuclear-weapon States and the States sharing their views have made an effort to preserve the NFT as an instrument by which they will retain all the advantages which the Treaty offers them;

2. The non-nuclear-weapon States, and in particular the developing countries, demand a programme of measures strengthening and consolidating the Treaty, measures that would enhance the equality in the rights and duties between the nuclear and non-nuclear States.

The Conference has failed to reach a consensus both in the informal working groups and in the Committees on any substantive issue. This reflects profound divergencies on fundamental issues.

The responsibility for such a situation at the Conference, in our opinion, rests primarily with the nuclear-weapon States - the Depositaries.
The submitted draft final declaration, contained in document NPT/COP/50, does not faithfully reflect the deliberations and positions stated at the Conference, nor does it contain all pertinent elements of the proposed documents.

The Yugoslav delegations would like to state that, had the vote been taken on the Declaration, my delegation would not have taken part in the voting. However, since voting did not take place, it will not stand in the way of consensus, provided that this statement is fully recorded.

In conclusion, I would like to state that my Government, bearing in mind the above-mentioned points, finds itself in a position to re-examine its attitude towards the Treaty and to draw corresponding conclusions.

See Annex II for the text of the three resolutions above.
ANNEX IV

Draft resolutions NPT/CONF/L.18; NPT/CONF/C.I/L.1-3; NPT/CONF/29; NPT/CONF/C.II/L.1-2

1. Draft resolutions NPT/CONF/L.18 and NPT/CONF/29 are attached.

BOLIVIA, ECUADOR, GHANA, HONDURAS, JAMAICA, LEBANON, LIBERIA, MEXICO, MOROCCO, NICARAGUA, NIGERIA, PERU, PHILIPPINES, ROMANIA, SENEGAL, SUDAN, SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, THAILAND, YUGOSLAVIA AND ZAIRE

Draft Resolution

(Document NPT/CONF/L.1*)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Having reviewed the operation of the Treaty in accordance with the provisions of its article VIII,

Noting that such a review has demonstrated the necessity that effective measures be taken in order to promote the realization of the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty,

Convinced of the desirability that a second Conference with the same purposes as the first be convened in five years,

Convinced further that it is necessary that the General Assembly of the United Nations have the opportunity to review every two years the implementation of the resolutions and other instruments adopted by the first Conference,

1. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include the following item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly: "Implementation of the resolutions and other instruments adopted by the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons";

2. Requests also the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include the following item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly: "Implementation of the resolutions and other instruments adopted by the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and establishment of a preparatory committee for the second Conference to be held in 1980 for the same purposes as the first".

*/ Re-issued for technical reasons.
ITALY

Proposal on the follow-up of the Conference
(Document NPT/CONF/29)

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Considering that paragraph 3 of Article VIII of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons provides that "at intervals of five years" after the first review conference contemplated in that paragraph, "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 ... objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty",

Considering that review conferences are an important instrument in the endeavour to assure "that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized" in that they ensure a continuity in the evaluation of the actions severally and jointly undertaken or pursued by the Parties in order fully to comply with the obligations incumbent upon them under the Treaty,

Considering that the results of the Conference demonstrate that a second review conference should be held, within the framework of paragraph 3 of Article VIII, at the earliest possible time in view of the necessity that a further assessment of the implementation of the Treaty be made at an early date,

Considering that delegations to the Conference have expressed a firm belief in the necessity of such a second review conference,

Urges all the Parties to the Treaty to submit to the Depositary Governments at the earliest possible time a proposal for a new review conference to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in the year 1980, in accordance with Article VIII, paragraph 3 of the Treaty and for the purposes indicated therein.
LIST OF DOCUMENTS

NPT/CONF/1
Provisional agenda

NPT/CONF/2
Draft rules of procedure

NPT/CONF/3
Final Report of the Preparatory Committee

NPT/CONF/3/Corr.1
Final Report of the Preparatory Committee
Correction to Annex I

NPT/CONF/4
Arrangements for meeting the costs of the Conference:
A. Rule 12 of the draft rules of procedure
B. Revised statement on financial implications of the Conference

NPT/CONF/5
Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Articles I and II of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

NPT/CONF/6/Rev.1
Analytical and Technical Report on the IAEA's activities under Article III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

NPT/CONF/6/Annex 9
Recommendations for the physical protection of nuclear material. (This is the document referred to in NPT/CONF/6/Rev.1.)

NPT/CONF/6/Add.2-3
List of deposits of instruments of ratification or accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

NPT/CONF/7
Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

NPT/CONF/7/Add.1
Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Supplement

NPT/CONF/8
Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of the tenth preambular paragraph of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of the tenth preambular paragraph of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Supplement

OPANAL's Report on the implementation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and some comments and views with respect to Article VII and other related provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty

Addendum

Background paper on the basic facts within the framework of the United Nations in connexion with the realization of the purposes of Articles IV and V of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Supplement

Background paper on IAEA's Activities under Article IV of the NPT

Statistics relating to the provision of technical assistance by the Agency in 1974

Background paper on IAEA's Activities under Article V of the NPT

Background paper on IAEA's Activities under Article V of the NPT

Feasibility and utility and health and safety aspects of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes

Letter dated 18 December 1974 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Chairman of the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Letter dated 5 February 1975 from the Head of the Delegation of Mexico to the Preparatory Committee for the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons addressed to the Chairman of the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee
NPT/CONF/15
Working paper on the final documents of the NPT Review Conference by Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire

NPT/CONF/16
Adoption of the agenda and programme of work

NPT/CONF/17* and Add.1-4
Working paper containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons regarding nuclear weapon tests by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire

NPT/CONF/18* and Add.1-3
Working paper containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons regarding the implementation of its Article VI by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire

NPT/CONF/19
Agenda of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons adopted at the 4th Plenary Meeting on 7 May 1975

NPT/CONF/20 and Add.1
Rules of Procedure of the Review Conference

NPT/CONF/21
Text of a resolution adopted on 6 May 1975 by the United States Senate, together with the full text of the message of the President of the United States to the Conference referred to in the resolution by the United States of America

NPT/CONF/22 and Add.1-2
Working paper containing a draft additional protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons regarding the Establishment of a system of security assurances within the framework of the Treaty by Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire

NPT/CONF/23 and Corr.1
Report of Committee I

NPT/CONF/24
Report of Committee II

NPT/CONF/25
Revised Schedule for the Division of Costs

NPT/CONF/25/Rev.1*
Revised Schedule for the Division of Costs

NPT/CONF/26
Statement by Mrs. Inga Thorsson, President of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, at the conclusion of the general debate

NPT/CONF/27
Report of the Credentials Committee

NPT/CONF/28
Working Paper submitted by the United States on Article VI

NPT/CONF/29
Proposal on the follow-up of the Conference (Italy)

NPT/CONF/30 and Rev.1
Draft submitted by the President Final Declaration of the Review Conference of Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
Draft Report of the Drafting Committee

Report of the Drafting Committee

Draft Final Document of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Statement by the Turkish Delegation

Final document of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Ghana, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire - draft resolution

Add Ecuador, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, the Philippines and Thailand as co-sponsors

Add Nicaragua and Syrian Arab Republic as co-sponsors

Add Bolivia as a co-sponsor

Add Senegal as a co-sponsor

Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire - draft resolution

Add Senegal as a co-sponsor

Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zaire - draft resolution

Add Senegal as a co-sponsor

Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zaire - draft resolution

Add Senegal as a co-sponsor

Items of the Agenda of the Review Conference allocated to Committee I at the 4th Plenary Meeting on 7 May 1975

Working Paper containing formulations for the Final Declarations (Preamble) submitted by German Democratic Republic

Working Paper submitted by Australia, Canada and Ireland. Draft paragraphs in a final declaration (Preamble)

Working Paper containing formulations for the Final Declarations on Article VI of the NPT submitted by Czechoslovakia, Mongolia

Working Paper containing formulations for the Final Declaration on Article VII and Security Assurances submitted by the Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Poland
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<td>Annex V, page 5</td>
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Working Paper submitted by Italy. Draft Preamble of a Final Declaration (Preamble)

Working Paper containing a suggested formulation in the final declaration on "Participation" submitted by Federal Republic of Germany, Australia and Canada

Working Paper submitted by Sweden on Article VI

Working Paper submitted by Mexico containing amendments to draft initial paragraphs for the Preamble to a general declaration (as contained in documents NPT/CONF/C.I/2, 3 and 6 and 6/Corr.1)

Ghana, Nepal, Nigeria, Romania, Yugoslavia -- Draft Resolution

Iran. Draft Resolution on Article VII of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Draft resolution on Article VI submitted by Romania

**COMMITTEE II**

Working Paper Containing Formulations for the Final Declarations (Preamble) submitted by German Democratic Republic

Working Paper submitted by Italy

Draft Preamble of a Final Declaration Preamble

Belgium, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic and the Netherlands

Suggested formulations in the final declaration on Article III

The Philippines. Suggested formulations in the final declaration on Article III

Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany

Suggested formulations in the final declaration on the physical protection of nuclear materials

Romania. Draft resolution on Article IV of the Treaty

Bulgaria, Canada, German Democratic Republic

Suggested formulations in the final declaration on Article IV

Australia, Austria, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, Mongolia, Poland and the United Kingdom

Suggested formulations in the final declaration on Article V

Sweden. Amendment to the formulations suggested in the final declaration by Australia, Austria, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, Mongolia, Poland and the United Kingdom on Article V
NPT/CONF/35/I
Annex V
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NPT/CONF/C.II/10
Greece, Hungary, United States of America
Suggested formulation in the final declaration of
Article IV

NPT/CONF/C.II/11
Canada, Finland and the Netherlands
Suggested formulations in the final declaration on
Article III(2)

NPT/CONF/C.II/L.1
Ghana, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania an
Yugoslavia - Draft resolution

NPT/CONF/C.II/L.1/Add.1
Add Syrian Arab Republic

NPT/CONF/C.II/L.2
Draft resolution proposed by Mexico, Nigeria and
the Philippines

NPT/CONF/C.II/L.2/Add.1
Add Republic of Korea

PLENARY MEETINGS

NPT/CONF/SR.1-14
Summary Records of the First to the Fourteenth Meeting

COMMITTEE I

NPT/CONF/C.I/SR.1-14
Summary Records of the First to the Fourteenth Meeting

COMMITTEE II

NPT/CONF/C.II/SR.1-16
Summary Records of the First to the Sixteenth Meetings

DRAFTING COMMITTEE

NPT/CONF/DC/SR.1-5
Summary Records of the First to the Fifth Meetings

NPT/CONF/INF.1
Basic information for Delegations on Conference
Arrangements

NPT/CONF/INF.2
List of documents

NPT/CONF/INF.3
Offices and telephone numbers of Conference President a
Secretariat 5 - 11 May 1975

NPT/CONF/INF.3/Rev.1
Offices and telephone numbers of Conference President a
Secretariat 12 - 30 May 1975

NPT/CONF/INF.3/Rev.2
Offices and telephone numbers of Conference President a
Secretariat 19 - 30 May 1975

NPT/CONF/INF.4
Offices and telephone numbers of the United Nations and
International Atomic Energy Agency Delegations

NPT/CONF/INF.4/Rev.1
Offices and telephone numbers of the United Nations and
International Atomic Energy Agency Delegations

NPT/CONF/INF.4/Rev.2
Offices and telephone numbers of the United Nations and
International Atomic Energy Agency Delegations

NPT/CONF/INF.5 and Add.1
List of Delegations
Annex VI

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