



Twentieth session

REQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF AN ADDITIONAL ITEM
IN THE AGENDA OF THE TWENTIETH SESSION

NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Letter dated 24 September 1965 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed to the President
of the General Assembly

On the instructions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I hereby request the inclusion of an item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" in the agenda of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

I enclose an explanatory memorandum, in accordance with rule 20 of the rules of procedure, and a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

(Signed) A. GRCMYKO
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

1. Ever since nuclear weapons first appeared, the Soviet Union has supported, as it now supports, their unconditional prohibition and the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons accumulated by States. The complete elimination of nuclear weapons and of their means of delivery is the core of the plan for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Government, which represents a dependable guarantee of world peace.
2. Inasmuch as no agreement has yet been reached on general and complete disarmament, it is of special importance to take measures as soon as possible to limit the arms race, and in particular the nuclear arms race. The achievement of agreement on prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons must occupy an important place among such measures.
3. At its fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth sessions, the General Assembly considered the problem of preventing the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons; the question was brought before the nineteenth session as well, but was not discussed for reasons which are well known. In the resolutions adopted on this question, the General Assembly expressed the conviction that an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons was growing more imminent and threatened not only to extend and intensify the arms race but also to increase the difficulties of avoiding war and of establishing international peace and security. The Assembly expressed the view that it was necessary to conclude an international agreement to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and called upon all States - nuclear States as well as those not possessing nuclear weapons - to direct their efforts to that end.
4. The Soviet Government, in common with the Governments of many other States, is concerned at the danger inherent in the proliferation of nuclear weapons and attaches great importance to measures to limit such proliferation. The growing capacity of a considerable number of States to manufacture nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons makes it increasingly important to take measures along those lines.
5. At the present time, the greatest danger as regards the proliferation of nuclear weapons is presented by the plans for the creation of a NATO multilateral or Atlantic nuclear force, within the framework of which it is intended to give access to nuclear weapons to the Federal Republic of Germany - a State which is

demanding the revision of European frontiers established as a result of the Second World War. The Soviet Union and the other States members of the Warsaw Treaty, as was stated in the communiqué of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of 20 January 1965, consider that the plans for the creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force, the formation of which is being urged by certain circles in the United States and West Germany, are a serious threat to the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world. The creation of such a force would increase imperialist and neo-colonialist pressure on the liberated countries and on the countries which are fighting for their independence.

6. If, in the present circumstances, other States besides the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and China, which already possess nuclear weapons and are permanent members of the Security Council, set about making their own nuclear weapons or acquire the means of owning, controlling and using such weapons, it will no longer be possible to halt their further spread.

7. In view of the dangerous consequences of any further spread of nuclear weapons, including their dissemination through the NATO multilateral or Atlantic nuclear force, the Soviet Government proposes the conclusion of an international agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which would completely deny to non-nuclear States both direct and indirect access to such weapons - in their own right or through military alliances. The attached draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons answers this purpose. The achievement of effective agreement on preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons would be in the interests of all States, both nuclear and non-nuclear, which seek to maintain and strengthen peace.

8. The Soviet Government hopes that the General Assembly will again consider the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. By calling for the earliest possible conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Assembly would be taking a major step towards a practical solution of the important and urgent question of measures to combat the further spread of nuclear weapons. The vital interests of all peoples demand that agreement should be reached on this problem.

TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as "the Parties to the Treaty",

Considering the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

In conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

Desiring the earliest possible attainment of agreement on the complete prohibition and elimination of all types of nuclear weapons within the framework of general and complete disarmament under strict international control,

Desiring to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States, thus facilitating the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

1. Parties to the Treaty possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to transfer such weapons in any form - directly or indirectly, through third States or groups of States - to the ownership or control of States or groups of States not possessing nuclear weapons and not to accord to such States or groups of States the right to participate in the ownership, control or use of nuclear weapons.

The said Parties to the Treaty shall not transfer nuclear weapons, or control over them or over their emplacement and use, to units of the armed forces or military personnel of States not possessing nuclear weapons, even if such units or personnel are under the command of a military alliance.

2. Parties to the Treaty possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to provide assistance - directly or indirectly, through third States or groups of States - to States not at present possessing nuclear weapons in the manufacture, in preparations for the manufacture or in the testing of such weapons and not to transmit to them any kind of manufacturing, research or other information or documentation which can be employed for purposes of the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons.

Article II

1. Parties to the Treaty not possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to create, manufacture or prepare for the manufacture of nuclear weapons either independently or together with other States, in their own territory or in the territory of other States. They also undertake to refrain from obtaining nuclear weapons in any form - directly or indirectly, through third States or groups of States - for purposes of ownership, control or use and shall not participate in the ownership, control or use of such weapons or in testing them.

The said Parties to the Treaty shall not seek to acquire control over nuclear weapons or over their emplacement and use for units of their armed forces or personnel thereof, even if such units or personnel are under the command of a military alliance.

2. Parties to the Treaty not possessing nuclear weapons undertake not to obtain or seek to obtain, from States possessing nuclear weapons, assistance in the manufacture of such weapons or relevant manufacturing, research or other information or documentation which can be employed for purposes of the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons.

Article III

The Parties to this Treaty shall refrain from offering any support, encouragement or inducement to States seeking to own, manufacture or exercise control over nuclear weapons.

Article IV

1. Any Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments, which shall circulate it to all Parties to the Treaty. Thereupon, if requested to do so by one third or more of the Parties, the Depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties, to consider such amendment.

2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to the Treaty, including the votes of all Parties possessing nuclear weapons. The amendment shall enter into force for all Parties upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all Parties possessing nuclear weapons.

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Article V

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by all Parties possessing nuclear weapons and the deposit of their instruments of ratification.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession to this Treaty, the date of its entry into force, and the date of receipt of any requests for conferences or other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article VI

This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration.

Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty three months in advance.

Article VII

This Treaty, the Russian, English, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in ... copies at the city of on the ... day of