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ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE  
IN THE REGION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Report of the Secretary-General

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INTRODUCTION

1. On 9 December 1974, the General Assembly, having considered the question of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, adopted resolution 3263 (XXIX) which, in its operative part, reads as follows:

"1. Commends the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East;

"2. Considers that, in order to advance the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East, it is indispensable that all parties concerned in the area proclaim solemnly and immediately their intention to refrain, on a reciprocal basis, from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons;

"3. Calls upon the parties concerned in the area to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons;

"4. Expresses the hope that all States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States, will lend their full co-operation for the effective realization of the aims of the present resolution;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to ascertain the views of the parties concerned with respect to the implementation of the present resolution, in particular with regard to its paragraphs 2 and 3, and to report to the Security Council at an early date and, subsequently, to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session;

"6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session the item entitled 'Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East'."

2. By note verbale dated 19 March 1975, the Secretary-General invited the following States: Bahrain, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syrian Arab Republic, United Arab Emirates and Yemen, to communicate to him by 30 May 1975 their views concerning the implementation of the resolution and, in particular, of its operative paragraphs 2 and 3. By note verbale dated 13 June 1975, the Secretary-General renewed this invitation to the parties concerned.

3. As of 21 July 1975, replies had been received by the Secretary-General as follows.

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REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

EGYPT

/Original: English/

/27 May 1975/

1. Egypt is prepared to proclaim solemnly its willingness to refrain from producing, testing, obtaining or acquiring nuclear weapons. This proclamation is conditioned on similar action being taken by all countries in the region, particularly those parties to regional conflicts and disputes.
2. The accession of the parties in the area of the Middle East to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is indispensable for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East. The signature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by Egypt in 1968 is a positive stance on the side of /Egypt/. The refusal of Israel so far to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has left Egypt with no choice but to stop short of ratifying the treaty. Egypt is ready to ratify the treaty the moment Israel accedes to it and becomes a party thereto.
3. Egypt requests the Secretary-General to consider taking certain measures against those countries in the region which might decline to reply to the Secretary-General's note or fail to implement General Assembly resolution 3263 (XXIX).
4. The full co-operation of all States, and in particular the nuclear-weapon States, is one of the decisive factors for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East.
5. A clear obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States neither to use nuclear weapons against countries in the region of the Middle East nor to introduce or permit the presence of nuclear weapons in the region is another prerequisite for the establishment of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.
6. An effective international control system should be established for the supervision and implementation of the above-mentioned obligations.

IRAN

/Original: English/

/27 May 1975/

1. The fact of Iran's strong and clear-cut commitment for the aims and objectives embodied in resolution 3263 (XXIX) is evident from its co-sponsorship of the said resolution concerning the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East, an idea that had been repeatedly advanced by Iran.

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2. By signing (1968) and ratifying (1970) the non-proliferation treaty, Iran has, from the start, undertaken to refrain from manufacturing, testing, obtaining or receiving nuclear weapons. Furthermore, our safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, signed under article III of the non-proliferation treaty, would place all our peaceful nuclear activities under international safeguards.
3. We believe that it is now incumbent upon all parties concerned in the area to proclaim solemnly and immediately - in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution - to refrain, on a reciprocal basis, from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons.
4. Iran considers that the accession of all the countries in the region to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons would help to realize the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East.
5. As stated during the debate related to our proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, Iran's position remains flexible on the question of the ways and means required in achieving the eventual goals of prohibiting the manufacture, acquisition, testing, stockpiling and transport of nuclear arms, under an effective system of control.
6. Moreover, it must be stressed that the full co-operation of all States, and in particular the nuclear-weapon States, as stated in operative paragraph 4, is necessary for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East. In this connexion, it bears emphasizing that a clear commitment on the part of the nuclear-weapon States neither to use nuclear weapons against countries in the region of the Middle East nor to allow the introduction of nuclear weapons into the region would be useful for the successful establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

IRAQ

/Original: English/  
/21 July 1975/

The Government of the Republic of Iraq advocates the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East. As far as operative paragraph 3 of resolution 3263 (XXIX) is concerned, Iraq has signed and ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and considers the accession to the treaty of all parties concerned in the region as an essential step to the implementation of United Nations resolution 3263 (XXIX).

KUWAIT

/Original: English/  
/12 May 1975/

Kuwait voted in favour of resolution 3263 (XXIX).

Kuwait signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on 15 August 1968.

Kuwait was reluctant to ratify the treaty because it noticed that Israel did not sign or accede to the treaty. Kuwait is willing to ratify the treaty provided that Israel accedes to it.

Kuwait is willing to proclaim solemnly its intention to refrain, on a reciprocal basis, from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons provided that all parties concerned, especially Israel, make a similar declaration.

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OMAN

/Original: English/  
/12 May 1975/

Oman fully supports resolution 3263 (XXIX) and this is manifested in the fact that Oman does not possess any nuclear weapons, nor does it intend to become a nuclear weapon nation in the future. As for acceding to the non-proliferation treaty, Oman is now studying the question favourably.

QATAR

/Original: English/  
/6 May 1975/

Israel's abstention regarding that resolution /3263 (XXIX)/ during the twenty-ninth session warrants us to act as expected from us by paragraph 2 of that resolution. Because of Israel's position on that matter, the trend in the Arab countries is to postpone the adherence of those who have not yet joined until Israel joins.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

/Original: Arabic/  
/5 June 1975/

1. The Syrian Arab Republic welcomes in principle the idea of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, and has expressed this position by supporting General Assembly resolution 3263 (XXIX). It believes, however, that the establishment of such a zone in the Middle East would not in itself be an adequate measure for ensuring the security and peace of the peoples of the region, unless it is accompanied by the adherence of all parties concerned to, and support for, all other steps aiming at halting the spread of nuclear weapons, prohibiting all types of nuclear tests and ascertaining that nuclear energy and nuclear technical know-how are being used exclusively for peaceful purposes under effective international control and supervision.

2. The Syrian Arab Republic considers that if a nuclear-weapon-free zone is to be effectively established in the Middle East, the provisions of operative paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned resolution would have to be implemented, in which case the competent international bodies would request all parties concerned in the region to proclaim officially - in accordance with the provision of the

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paragraph - their undertaking to refrain from producing, testing, acquiring, obtaining or possessing nuclear weapons in any form. It also believes that adequate international control measures should be established to ensure the constant respect by those parties concerned for their commitments under the above-mentioned declaration.

3. Naturally, no official declaration issued in this connexion by any of the parties concerned in the area would have any significance of seriousness and sincerity unless such a party first signs and ratifies the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons or accedes to it and respects its provisions and terms. The Syrian Arab Republic considers the measures provided for in the operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 3263 (XXIX) as forming an indivisible whole and an indispensable prerequisite for the realization of the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East.

4. It must be pointed out, however, that the Syrian Arab Republic already signed and ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, took positive stands on all disarmament questions and supported all the important resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its last as well as at previous sessions. Israel, on the other hand, has taken an opposite stand by refusing to sign, ratify or accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Moreover, it continues to take negative attitudes on the disarmament questions and to refrain from supporting a number of relevant important General Assembly resolutions, including resolution 3263 (XXIX), a case that categorically proves lack of good faith on its part in as far as this most critical aspect of security is concerned.

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Addendum

LEBANON

30 May 1975

Lebanon, which is a State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, approves the content of paragraph 2 of resolution 3263 (XXIX) adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1974 on condition that all States situated in the region of the Middle East also subscribe to it.

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Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

JORDAN

/Original: English/

/14 August 1975/

1. The Jordanian Government agrees that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East can contribute most effectively to halting the proliferation of those instruments of mass destruction and to promoting progress towards nuclear disarmament. The Government is ready to undertake the necessary reciprocal obligations towards the achievement of this purpose.
2. The Jordanian Government is ready to proclaim solemnly, in accordance with paragraph 2 of the above resolution, its intention to refrain from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons, if all the other parties concerned in the Middle East are ready to do the same.
3. The achievement of the above-mentioned goal requires all the parties concerned in the area, as stated in paragraph 3 of the resolution, to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Jordan signed and ratified this Treaty. Israel has refused so far to sign and ratify the Treaty. The goal of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East region will remain unattained as long as a principal party fails to accede to the Treaty and abide by its provisions.
4. The nuclear-weapon States must undertake a specific mutual obligation to refrain from introducing nuclear weapons into the region of the Middle East, in accordance with the spirit and provisions of the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution.

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Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

BAHRAIN

/Original: English/

/22 September 1975/

The Government of Bahrain supports the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3263 (XXIX) adopted on 9 December 1974. Such support arises primarily from its desire to protect the region from the devastation of a destructive war and protect its people from confrontation which is not in the interest of humanity or the people of the region. The stockpiling, production or development of nuclear weapons is first and foremost, a threat to the peace and security of the people of the area and, second, a threat to world peace and a direct threat to human civilization and the aspiration of people for peace and for building their economy and civilization.

In response to the provisions of the General Assembly resolution, the Government of Bahrain is undertaking to satisfy the constitutional procedures required to accede to the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons adopted by the General Assembly on 12 June 1968, under resolution 2373 (XXII). Furthermore, Bahrain Government is ready to proclaim solemnly, in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 3263 (XXIX), its intention to refrain from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way, possessing nuclear weapons provided that all States situated in the region of the Middle East are ready to make the same proclamation.

ISRAEL

/Original: English/  
/22 September 1975/

The Government of Israel wishes to state its support for the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Middle East and considers that this would be a desirable further step towards a just and durable peace in the region, in the light of the new climate created by the recent agreement between Israel and Egypt.

At the same time, it wishes to observe that the notable precedents recalled in the resolution, such as the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in Latin America, were the result of negotiations and agreement between all the States of the regions concerned. In conformity with this precedent and in accordance with general international practice, it is the view of the Government of Israel, that such negotiations, leading ultimately to the conclusion of a formal agreement between all the States of the region, are the only means by which a nuclear weapon-free zone can be established.

The Government of Israel, for its part, confirms its readiness to participate in a conference of all the States of the region convened for this purpose, and regrets that the Arab States have so far shown no readiness to take part in such a conference. This casts doubt on the sincerity of their support for a nuclear weapon-free zone in the region.

With reference to operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, the Government of Israel supports the principle of such a proclamation, to be made jointly and on a reciprocal basis by all the States of the region, but considers that the proclamation could only be meaningfully made after the successful outcome of negotiations for the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the region.

With reference to operative paragraph 3 of the resolution, the Government of Israel cannot disregard the fact that Governments of Arab countries bordering on Israel and beyond, unstintingly evoke the threat of force and attempt actively and increasingly to ostracize Israel from the international community. It notes with regret that the Syrian Arab Republic made the following declaration upon ratification of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"The acceptance of this treaty by the Syrian Arab Republic shall in no way signify recognition of Israel or entail entry into relations with Israel thereunder." This declaration is incompatible with the aims and spirit of the treaty, and constitutes a grave obstacle to the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the region. The Government of Israel, for its part, voted in favour of the treaty, supports its principles, and is at present studying its legal and other implications.

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Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

EGYPT

/Original: Arabic/

/13 October 1975/

On instructions from my Government, I wish to transmit to you the text of the statement issued today, 13 October 1975, by Mr. Ismael Fahmy, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in connexion with Israel's reply with respect to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, as contained in document A/10221/Add.1 of 8 October 1975. The statement reads as follows:

"1. As the reply shows, the Israeli position is neither new nor serious; quite the contrary, it clearly indicates Israel's true intentions and policy with regard to this subject.

"2. The fact referred to in the reply, that Israel voted in the General Assembly in favour of the resolution on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, does not suffice to establish a conviction, at the Arab or world level, of Israel's good intentions or to make for a situation where Israel is more seriously committed to refrain from producing or obtaining nuclear weapons. This position, which is announced by Israel in a bombastic manner, is meaningless unless followed by Israel's accession to the Treaty through signature, ratification and observance of all the provisions thereof. Israel also rejects any international inspection with regard to its nuclear reactor at Dimona and is determined to acquire sophisticated weapons with nuclear potential. Moreover, Israel's indication that it is at present studying the legal and other implications of the non-proliferation Treaty does not make the well-known Israeli position any more serious. More than seven years have elapsed since the establishment of the Treaty; thus Israel has had ample time to examine and re-examine the implications of the Treaty instead of evading accession to it and of doing nothing except indicating that it is studying the Treaty and its legal and other implications.

"3. The situation has not undergone any change whatsoever and could not possibly be changed by a diplomatic manoeuvre such as that contained in Israel's reply, which reflects the same Israeli method of misinterpretation and falsification of facts; nor will it be changed by the oft-repeated statement published by Israeli mass media and other media that Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the region. The situation will only be changed when:

- (a) Israel fully accedes to the non-proliferation Treaty;
- (b) Israel opens the Dimona reactor to international inspection;
- (c) Israel ceases its attempts to obtain sophisticated weapons with nuclear potential.

"4. As regards Israel's demand that negotiations between the States of the region should be the only means by which a nuclear-weapon-free zone could be established, Israel thereby lays down conditions which it realizes are rejected a priori, with a view to evading accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. There is a host of methods which can be followed if the intentions are truly good, such as the accession of all the States of the region to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This method alone would ensure that the region will be free from nuclear weapons; that may be followed, for example, by a binding declaration to refrain from introducing or using nuclear weapons, to be issued by all the States of the region which are Members of the United Nations or members of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna."

(Signed) Ahmed Esmat ABDEL MEGUID  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
Arab Republic of Egypt  
to the United Nations

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