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Addendum 2 to the Report of the Acting Secretary-General on  
the Inquiry conducted in accordance with General Assembly  
Resolution 1664 (XVI)

Replies from Members to whom the Inquiry was addressed

1. AFGHANISTAN

Original text: English  
22 March 1962

I have the honour to convey the views of my Government in connexion with your note of 2 January 1962, No. FO 134, concerning resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1070th meeting on 4 December 1961.

The Government of Afghanistan has always favourably viewed any international efforts in the field of disarmament and has consistently supported such measures in the League of Nations and also in the United Nations. It was on the basis of this policy that Afghanistan supported resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961.

The Government of Afghanistan supports the view that countries not possessing nuclear weapons should refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and refuse to receive nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country.

The Government of Afghanistan is of the opinion that the consideration of an international convention will prove useful in the achievement of limiting nuclear weapons with the hope that the existing weapons will be destroyed. By taking such an initiative countries not possessing nuclear weapons will make a great contribution of universal importance for the maintenance of peace and security.

The Government of Afghanistan takes this opportunity to add that no efforts should be spared for putting an end to further manufacture of nuclear weapons and resumption of nuclear tests.

(Signed) R. PAZHWAK  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Afghanistan  
to the United Nations

2. ALBANIA

[Original text: French]

15 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. FO134 of 2 January 1962 containing the text of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI).

With regard to the question of disarmament in general and the prohibition of the testing and further spread of nuclear weapons, I feel I should emphasize that the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is clear and well known.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has devoted all its efforts and all its energies to the peaceful development of the country, to the safeguarding of peace in the world and to the strengthening of international co-operation based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and on the principle of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social and political systems. Within the framework of this consistent policy, it has supported and continues to support whole-heartedly the proposals of the Soviet Union on general and complete disarmament, as well as the efforts directed towards the cessation of atomic and nuclear weapons tests, the complete prohibition of the manufacture of these weapons, and the liquidation of existing stocks. The Albanian Government firmly endorsed the proposal of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe - known as the "Rapacki Plan" - and proposals to establish wide areas free of atomic bases, nuclear weapons and missiles both in Europe and in Africa, the Far East and Latin America.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has itself taken active steps in this direction and shown initiative. Thus, on 2 July 1958 it drew the attention of the Government of the Italian Republic to the grave danger to peace and security in the area of the Adriatic and the Balkans presented by its negotiations with the Government of the United States of America concerning the conclusion of an agreement for the construction of missile bases on Italian

territory, and requested the Italian Government to refrain from embarking on this dangerous course. After the Italo-American agreement on the construction of missile bases on Italian territory had been signed, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania again, on 2 May 1959, approached the Government of the Italian Republic, urging it not to undertake the construction of such bases and warning it of the serious consequences which such action would entail.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania made similar approaches to the Greek Government and gave it fair warning, particularly in a statement of 22 May 1959, that, in the interests of the Greek people in the first place as well as in the interests of peace, it should not sign the agreement with the United States of America for the establishment of missile bases on Greek territory.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania wishes to take this opportunity to stress the continuing importance of the proposals which it made together with the Soviet Government in the joint Albanian-Soviet statement of 30 May 1959 on the transformation of the area of the Balkans and the Adriatic into a zone free of atomic weapons and missiles, a step which would contribute greatly to the cause of universal peace.

In the spirit of this proposal, and ever mindful of the highest interests of all peoples and of universal peace, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania declared itself ready, in its statement of 15 June 1959, to begin talks with all the Governments concerned with a view to transforming the area of the Balkans and the Adriatic, and the whole Mediterranean area, into a zone of peace and friendship free of atomic weapons and missiles.

In bringing these facts to your notice, I am authorized by my Government to state that the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania concerning the problems mentioned above is still the same, and it is in this spirit that it will work unremittingly, to the utmost of its ability, for the realization of general and complete disarmament, for the removal of the danger of nuclear war which threatens humanity, and for the development of relations based on mutually advantageous co-operation between all the peoples of the world, in peace and friendship.

(Signed) Behar SHTYLLA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
People's Republic of Albania

3. AUSTRALIA

[Original text: English]  
15 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 2 January 1962, concerning resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1070th meeting on 4 December 1961. In this letter, you seek the views of the Australian Government as to "the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of other countries".

The Australian Government is most conscious of the dangers inherent in an expansion beyond the present number of nuclear Powers. For its own part, Australia neither manufactures nuclear weapons nor at present has such weapons in its territory.

Australia has long recognized the dangers which could arise from the emergence of additional nuclear Powers. On 19 September 1957, the Australian Prime Minister, the Right Honourable R.G. Menzies, in addressing the House of Representatives said inter alia:

"..... There is advantage for the world in having nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons in the hands of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, and in no others.

The Great Powers, apart from their enormous resources, are sufficiently informed about the deadly character of these weapons to find themselves reluctant to cause a war in which they are used. The possession of these violent forces is, in the case of these great nations, a deterrent not only to prospective enemies but to themselves.

"But should the manufacture of nuclear weapons be extended to a number of other powers, great or small, the chances of irresponsible action with calamitous repercussions in the world would be materially increased."

The views expressed in the Australian Prime Minister's statement of 1957 which I have just quoted predate the initiative in the United Nations of the Government of the Republic of Ireland to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. Australia's policy and the reasons for it remain as stated

by the Prime Minister in 1957. This position has been reaffirmed in the speeches and votes of the Australian delegations to successive sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and most recently at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

But Australia recognizes the right of the nuclear Powers to conclude agreements for the stationing of their nuclear weapons wherever military necessity requires. Furthermore, as was also stated publicly by the Prime Minister in September 1957, Australia cannot undertake that under no circumstances will Australian forces in the future be armed with nuclear weapons.

In formulating this national defence policy, the Australian Government, by reason of Australia's geographical position and political beliefs, must take account of the emergence in the area of East Asia and the Western Pacific of a military Power of great dimension and some ambition. This Power is convinced of the inevitability of war and is consciously working for the elimination of the type of society of which Australia is a part. It already has massive conventional forces, which it has used against the forces of the United Nations, and has nuclear weapons potentialities which may be close to fulfilment. It has indicated that the production of nuclear weapons is indeed its aim. Furthermore, with the prodigious developments of military science and technology during recent years, no power which is concerned with its security can ignore developments in any part of the world, however distant. In determining its defence policy Australia must at all times take into account all relevant factors.

The Australian Government therefore seriously doubts the effectiveness of regional agreements for the limitation of nuclear weapons in any area of the world. It may be that there are groups of countries whose past and present associations, geographical position and general security situation enable them to envisage associating in regional "non-nuclear clubs". For its part, Australia does not see that this can be the case in the region of which it forms a part.

In addition to these considerations, it is Australia's conviction that specific undertakings of the kind envisaged in resolution 1664 could neither be formulated nor ratified, by countries not possessing nuclear weapons, in isolation from the wider issues of controlled disarmament since, in the strategic calculation of military deterrence, nuclear weapons and conventional forces are inextricably bound together. In any case, such specific undertakings could not

at present be contemplated by Australia without the participation of the nuclear Powers themselves, without the certainty that all militarily significant States would be covered, and without some assurance that adequate verification procedures could be initiated. For all these reasons, Australia, although a country neither possessing nor at present seeking nuclear weapons and convinced as it is of the dangers inherent in the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, sees many difficulties in attempting to take further at present as far as Australia is concerned the approach suggested in resolution 1664 (XVI).

In stating these views, I should stress the Australian Government's most earnest support for all genuine efforts to both general and complete disarmament and more immediately a ban on nuclear test explosions, under effective international inspection and control. Fortunately, the problem with which the resolution deals is raised in both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics disarmament plans shortly to be discussed by the eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee, the members of which include both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers.

Australia will follow the negotiations of this Committee closely. Meanwhile, however, the Australian Government does not see its way to giving any undertaking in the terms contemplated in resolution 1664 (XVI). It is prevented from doing so by its belief that nations must be free to look to their own security in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter; and by its belief that declaratory undertakings of the sort envisaged are of little practical value without an agreement for general and complete disarmament under adequate controls and covering all militarily significant States.

(Signed) Garfield BARWICK

4. AUSTRIA

[Original text: English]

12 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 2 January 1962, regarding an inquiry pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), and wish, upon instructions from my Government, to state the following:

Austria has always considered a constructive approach to disarmament as one of the foremost contributions to the United Nations task of reducing world tensions and preserving international peace.

As a Member of the United Nations, Austria has constantly expressed the view that, amongst the various efforts to reduce the threat of war, priority should be given to all endeavours designed to exclude the danger of nuclear war. Permit me to draw your attention to the Austrian initiative shown over a number of years, urging the nuclear Powers to reach agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests under effective international control. This initiative has led to the Austrian co-sponsorship of General Assembly resolutions 1252 B (XIII), 1402 (XIV), and 1577 (XV), all of which have been adopted with very large majorities.

Austria also feels that all countries not possessing nuclear weapons have a responsibility complementary to that of the nuclear Powers, to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. Consequently, Austria has gladly associated itself with Sweden and four other nations in co-sponsoring General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI).

In reply to your inquiry concerning Austria's willingness to refrain from "manufacturing or otherwise acquiring" nuclear weapons, I would like to state that Austria has voluntarily entered contractual obligations which include the renunciation to possess, construct or experiment with nuclear weapons. As was already affirmed by the head of the Austrian delegation to the twelfth session of the General Assembly, Austria has accepted limitations of its military potential, "which should also be regarded the final aim of disarmament for other States. We know that in the great game of the international balance of power, this may not be of final importance. We consider, however, that it is decisive to start with disarmament somewhere. We believe to have contributed, in this way, to the mutual understanding of peoples."

As to the question of refusing "to receive in the future nuclear weapons" on our territory "on behalf of any other country", may I draw your attention to the Austrian constitutional law of 26 October 1955 on Austria's permanent neutrality, which includes the undertaking of not allowing any foreign Power to establish military bases on Austrian territory. This obligation also covers the refusal of receiving nuclear weapons on behalf of any other country.

(Signed) F. MAISCH  
Ambassador

5. BULGARIA

/Original text: English/  
5 March 1962

In reply to your letter PO-134 of 2 January 1962 addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria asking for the views of the Bulgarian Government on the conditions under which it would agree to explicitly take upon itself the obligations mentioned in the fourth paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 1 of the operative part of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted at the 1070th meeting of the General Assembly on 4 December 1961, I have the honour, on instructions of my Government, to state the following:

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria approves of the recommendations formulated in the aforesaid resolution and would like, as far as the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its neighbours are concerned, to see these recommendations put into effect by proclaiming the Balkans and the region of the Adriatic a zone free from nuclear and rocket weapons.

(Signed) Yordan TCHOBANOV  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria  
to the United Nations

6. BURMA

[Original text: English]  
14 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter F0134, dated 2 January 1962, transmitting the text of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at the 1070th meeting on 4 December 1961, and drawing attention to the fourth preambular paragraph and the first operative paragraph which request the Secretary-General to make an inquiry:

"... as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country."

In your letter you have requested the views of my Government regarding the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into the specific undertakings referred to.

In response to your request I now have the honour to state that the Government of the Union of Burma would be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive either now or in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country, on condition that all countries which are not now nuclear Powers give the same undertakings.

(Signed) SOE TIN  
For the Minister for Foreign Affairs

7. CAMBODIA

[Original text: French]

31 January 1962

In reply to your letter No. PO/134 of 2 January 1962, concerning the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring them and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country, I have the honour to inform you that the Royal Government of Cambodia is most desirous of entering into such an undertaking.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

8. CANADA

Original text: English

21 March 1962

I have the honour to transmit below the views of my Government in regard to your letter of 2 January 1962, concerning resolution 1664 (XVI) of the General Assembly.

"The Canadian position with respect to the questions referred to in this resolution is clear. Canada has continually asserted its strong support for a comprehensive system of disarmament, particularly for measures to deal effectively with nuclear weapons. Despite the advanced technology which Canada possesses in this field, the Canadian Government has taken the firm stand that it does not intend to manufacture such weapons. Canada has also refrained from otherwise acquiring them although preparatory steps have been taken to procure modern delivery systems and to train Canadian forces in their uses. My Government must, of course, continue to reserve its right to adopt such measures for the preservation of Canadian security as might be considered necessary in the light of international developments.

"In addition, my Government has more than once asserted that no effort should be spared to achieve a lasting international accord which would prohibit altogether the wider spread of nuclear weapons. This remains a matter of great urgency, since the fear that these weapons may be acquired by an ever widening circle of Powers can only increase international tension and magnify already existing fears about the dangers of nuclear war. My Government firmly believes that it is only through such a safeguarded international agreement, binding on the Powers which possess nuclear weapons as well as those which do not, that all countries and peoples can be assured that the further dissemination of nuclear weapons will be effectively prevented.

"Up to the present time both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers have made various suggestions for measures to prevent the wider spread of nuclear weapons. Most important of all, the disarmament proposals put forward by the USSR in 1960, and the new programme of disarmament submitted to the United Nations by the President of the United States on 25 September 1961, both contain substantive provisions to deal with this problem in the earliest stage of disarmament. Moreover, there will be a new opportunity to take positive action on these and similar proposals in the newly constituted disarmament committee which is meeting in Geneva. In the opinion of my Government a determined effort can and should be made early in these negotiations to achieve agreement which could be translated without delay into a permanent and fully effective prohibition of the wider spread of nuclear weapons."

(Signed) W.H. BARTON  
Acting Permanent Representative of Canada  
to the United Nations

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9. CHILE\*

[Original text: Spanish]  
13 March 1962

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Chile presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with reference to the Chilean delegation's note verbale No. 321/22 of 28 February 1962 has the honour to reproduce the relevant part of a new communication from the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations, which concerns resolution 1664 (XVI) on nuclear weapons and supplements the information given previously:

"Chile would be willing to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive such weapons in its territory on behalf of another country provided that an equivalent undertaking was given by the other Latin American countries."

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Chile requests the Secretary-General to arrange for the statement quoted above to be circulated to delegations to the United Nations as an official document.

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\* Also issued as document A/5105.

9A. CHILE

[Original text: Spanish]  
28 February 1962

The Acting Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and, with reference to his letter No. PO 134 of 2 January 1962, has the honour to reproduce below the reply of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Chile to the inquiry made of the Government of Chile under General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI):

"Although Chile is explicitly opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons, the Chilean Government considers that, as resolution 1664 has a close bearing on the general problem of disarmament and as the date of its adoption preceded that of the resolution establishing the eighteen-Power Disarmament Committee (20 December 1961), it would be desirable for resolution 1664 (XVI) to be considered by this new Committee together with other measures relating to disarmament."

Permanent Mission of Chile  
to the United Nations

10. REPUBLIC OF CHINA

/Original text: English/

19 March 1962

With reference to your note (PO 134) of 2 January 1962, requesting the views of my Government on the conditions under which they might be willing to enter into the specific undertakings referred to in the fourth preambular paragraph and the first operative paragraph of the General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961, I have the honour, upon instructions, to transmit herewith the following reply of my Government:

"Besides resolution 1664 (XVI), the General Assembly at its sixteenth regular session also adopted unanimously resolution 1665 (XVI), entitled 'Prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons'. The Chinese Government has always stood for the principle of complete elimination of all nuclear weapons, and considers that to achieve this objective, the powers concerned must reach an agreement which includes a system of genuine inspection and control. In this regard, it feels that resolution 1664 (XVI) is less effective and desirable than resolution 1665 (XVI); the practical value of 'a non-nuclear club' is indeed very doubtful. For this reason, the Chinese delegation abstained in the voting of the resolution in the General Assembly.

"Resolution 1665 (XVI) calls for the conclusion of an international agreement with inspection and control by all States for the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government, while strongly supporting the establishment of adequate international inspection and control, considers it desirable that the question of the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons be dealt with as a part of the question of disarmament."

(Signed) Tingfu F. TSIANG  
Permanent Representative of China  
to the United Nations

11. REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)

Original text: English  
2 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. PO 134 of 2 January 1962, addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Leopoldville, and, on the instructions of my Government, to make the following statement concerning resolution 1664 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly at its 1070th meeting, on 4 December 1961.

The Congolese Government's position on the question of disarmament was stated in the General Assembly, during the general debate at the sixteenth session, by Mr. Justin Bomboko, Minister for Foreign Affairs. On the general aspect of the question, the Minister said, on 13 October 1961:<sup>1/</sup>

"We believe that disarmament is a means to an end, namely, to avoid war. What we want is not merely disarmament in the sense of a limitation of armaments or of a certain category of weapons, but a world without war, a world from which war would be outlawed once and for all as the only means of settling disputes."

More specifically, the Congolese Government advocated "the conclusion of an international convention on the matter", adding that "the participation of all States in the world in this convention, whether or not they be manufacturers or possessors of nuclear weapons, or producers or transporters of raw materials for nuclear production, would be the only guarantee that it would be effective".

Being conscious of the complexity of the problems involved in the drafting and signing of such an instrument, the Congo proposed that, pending the successful conclusion of a convention, a decision should be taken to suspend nuclear tests and that the further spread of nuclear weapons should be prevented.

My Government considers that the transfer of nuclear weapons by States which possess them to States which do not would complicate the international situation and increase the probability of a nuclear war. It considers, also, that since nuclear weapons and the information concerning their manufacture

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are at present in the possession of the great Powers, it is their responsibility, in the present serious international crisis, to prevent their dissemination and thus end the constantly growing danger of nuclear war.

Although it opposes the spread of nuclear weapons and is willing to collaborate in preventing it, my Government does not accept the principle that the States belonging to the so-called "nuclear club" may manufacture and stockpile these weapons. Its attitude in this respect has not changed and it still considers that there can be no effective disarmament unless nuclear weapons are abolished.

The prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons is still not sufficient to guarantee the achievement of the final objectives. This will obviously depend on the progress made in the matter of disarmament.

Countries not possessing nuclear weapons would not be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country except as a result of progress in disarmament.

If countries not possessing nuclear weapons were to enter into an undertaking for a specific period, which was tied to the achievement of a certain stage in disarmament, that might be both an effective way of preventing the further spread of these weapons and a means of encouraging and putting moral pressure on the great Powers to speed up the process of general and complete disarmament.

If a large number of Member States became parties to the convention, States which intended to acquire nuclear weapons or to receive them in their territories would lay themselves open to censure.

Arrangements for the other stages of disarmament, including international control, could be made in supplementary protocols or conventions.

A limited agreement could not fail to reduce the threat of nuclear destruction. At the same time, it would open the way which leads by progressive stages to the outlawing pure and simple of all nuclear weapons and ultimately to general and complete disarmament.

The Congo, not being threatened with a direct nuclear attack, would be ready to undertake, unconditionally, within the framework of a multilateral convention, to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive them in its territory.

Nevertheless, in view of the foregoing considerations and of the imbalance of forces prevailing in various parts of the world, and because of the threat which that imbalance creates for a certain number of countries, the Congolese Government would wish a convention to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons to be signed as part of the process of general disarmament.

(Signed) Paul MBOYO  
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

12. CYPRUS

Original text: English

2 March 1962

In response to your letter of 2 January 1962 under file No. PO 134, transmitting to us the text of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), on the above item, and requesting us to communicate to you the views of our Government as to the conditions under which we might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive in future nuclear weapons on our territory on behalf of any other country, I am to inform you that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus:

Convinced that all measures should be taken that could halt further nuclear weapons tests and prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons,

Recognizing that the countries not possessing nuclear weapons have a grave interest and an important part to fulfil in the preparation and implementation of such measures,

Believing that action taken by those countries will facilitate agreement by the nuclear Powers to discontinue all nuclear tests and to prevent any increase in the number of nuclear Powers,

Agrees to enter into a specific and unconditional undertaking to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons, and refuse to accept, in future, the installation or use of nuclear weapons in the Republic, on behalf of any other country.

(Signed) Spyros KYPRIANOU  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

13. CZECHOSLOVAKIA\*

[Original text: English]

13 March 1962

The Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the latter's note of 2 January 1962 requesting the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, pursuant to resolution 1664 (XVI), to express its position as to the conditions under which it, as a country not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on its territories on behalf of any other country. Upon instructions from the Czechoslovak Government the Permanent Representative wishes to make the following statement on the subject:

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is an active supporter of all effective measures that would be conducive to the solution of the most urgent problem of the present - the question of disarmament. If more than two years ago the fourteenth United Nations General Assembly was fully justified in characterizing of general and complete disarmament as the most urgent problem of the present it is ever more true today when as a consequence of the continued stockpiling of rocket, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons the danger of war has further increased. Feverish nuclear arms race must be prevented from resulting in a catastrophe that would have unprecedented consequences for the mankind as a whole. General and complete disarmament is the main guarantee of peaceful consolidation of the conditions prevailing in Europe and in the world.

Therefore, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regards it at present as the most urgent that all countries concentrate their efforts in particular on seeking progress in the solution of the question of general and complete disarmament and on eliminating all obstacles that might stand in the way of the solution.

\* Also issued as document A/5106.

The attention of the Czechoslovak public is hopefully concentrated on the forthcoming deliberations of the eighteen-nation Committee established by resolution passed by the sixteenth United Nations General Assembly which is to open its work on 14 March in Geneva.

Bilateral negotiations between the USSR and the United States of America resulted in an agreement reached at the sixteenth General Assembly on the composition of this organ so that it represents all the three groups of States existing in the world at the present time.

In its work the Committee should proceed from the principles contained in the joint Soviet-American statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations. Given good will and sincere endeavour of all participating countries to achieve progress these new facts create prerequisites for breaking the vicious circle in which the disarmament issue has been moving for years.

Being a member of the Committee, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on its part will do its utmost in order that the talks in the Committee should have positive results and that the noble idea of general and complete disarmament which in our view is the safest way towards relieving mankind from the danger of a nuclear war should be translated into reality.

As concerns the proposal contained in resolution 1664 (XVI), the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic always in the disarmament talks in the past lent its support to all proposals aimed at preventing further spread of nuclear armaments and weapons. It did so in its firm belief that measures of this type would facilitate the easing of international tensions, strengthening of mutual confidence in the relations between States and would thus create favourable conditions for the attainment of general and complete disarmament.

It is well known that some time ago the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully endorsed the proposal put forward by the Government of the Polish People's Republic on the formation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe that would include the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It likewise welcomed similar proposals for the creation of atom-free zones in other parts of the world, for example in the Balkans, in the Far East, in Africa.

The positive views on the realization of these measures were also expressed by the Czechoslovak delegation at the sixteenth United Nations General Assembly when it supported the draft resolution submitted by Sweden and adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1664 (XVI).

The affirmative position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on this question has remained unchanged. Under the assumption that the undertakings mentioned in resolution 1664 (XVI) would be made by all States that do not possess nuclear weapons and would be fully implemented by them, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic would be ready solemnly to undertake that it renounces the manufacturing of nuclear weapons and their possession within the meaning of paragraph 4 of the preamble of resolution 1664 (XVI). Realization of such measures would certainly contribute to the improvement of confidence between States and to the creation of conditions that would facilitate the negotiations on reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that the proposed measure could, inter alia, play a positive role in ensuring security of Europe if all European countries or countries of some parts of Europe were ready to make and fulfil such undertakings.

However, in order that such measure could be truly efficient, it would have to cover not only the Member States of the United Nations but all countries of the respective area. In Europe this concerns especially the Federal Republic of Germany. Its leaders do not hide their intentions to gain control over nuclear weapons warheads for their army within the NATO which would help them enforce their revenge-seeking designs. There is certainly no need to stress that such policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany constitutes an enormous danger for peace and security of nations throughout the world.

Expressing its positive attitude to the proposal contained in resolution 1664 (XVI), the Czechoslovak Government again deems it necessary to point out that under the prevailing circumstances the main objective is to strive for the attainment of general and complete disarmament which would ensure lasting peace for humanity and at the same time solve problems referred to in resolution 1664 (XVI).

The Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

14. DENMARK

/Original text: English/  
16 March 1962

Replying to your letter of 2 January 1962 in which, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961, you requested the views of the Government of Denmark as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country, I have the honour to inform you as follows:

1. The Government of Denmark attaches decisive importance to the question of disarmament and desires to contribute actively towards encouraging negotiations that may lead to general and complete disarmament under adequate control.

In casting the vote of Denmark in favour of the aforementioned resolution, the Representative of Denmark expressed the hope that answers to the enquiry would be forthcoming in substantial numbers to provide the Disarmament Commission with useful background material for further studies of the question of abolition of nuclear weapons within the framework of general and complete disarmament.

2. In Denmark nuclear ammunition is not being manufactured. The Government of Denmark has not acquired such ammunition, nor has it at any time received nuclear ammunition on behalf of another country. Your enquiry gives occasion for the Government of Denmark to confirm that a change of this attitude is not intended.

3. Denmark is opposed to a further spread of nuclear weapons as a result of the development of national atomic forces by countries other than those already possessing such forces.

Prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons is a key problem today. By voting in favour of General Assembly resolution 1665 (XVI) on the Prevention of the Wider Dissemination of Nuclear Weapons, Denmark wholeheartedly supported the appeal of the General Assembly to all States, and in particular to the States at present possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which the nuclear States would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear

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weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons, and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons.

4. It is a generally recognized principle that for the sake of preserving peace, disarmament measures should be implemented in such a manner that no shift of international balance occurs. This view has been repeatedly expressed during the international disarmament talks and formed an essential part of the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations which was issued on 20 September 1961 by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. The question of the abolition of nuclear weapons, wherever located, should be taken up during the discussions of an agreement on general and complete disarmament simultaneously with the implementation of an effective international security system. The Government of Denmark expects that the eighteen-Power Committee, the setting up of which was approved by resolution 1722 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, and which commenced its negotiations on 14 March 1962, will prove to be the proper forum for achieving solutions both to the general questions of disarmament and to the specific problems which the modern weapons present to mankind. The Government of Denmark calls upon the Committee to devote special attention to these problems so that it may be possible to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation facing humanity.

6. If the continued international disarmament talks lead to agreement on arrangements concerning general disarmament, my Government would take a positive stand on such arrangements, including atom-free zones. The same would apply if agreement is reached on the desirability of the implementation without delay of initial measures of disarmament to improve international security and the prospects for further disarmament progress.

(Signed) A. HESSELLUND-JENSEN  
Permanent Representative of Denmark  
to the United Nations

15. FINLAND\*

[Original text: English]  
2 March 1962

By a letter of 2 January 1962, you have requested the Government of Finland to submit its views on the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive in the future such weapons on its territory on behalf of any other country.

The Government of Finland point out that in the peace treaty of 1947 between Finland and the Allied and Associated Powers Finland has undertaken "not to possess, construct or experiment with any atomic weapon". It further follows from the policy of neutrality pursued by Finland that Finland does not agree to receive on its territory nuclear weapons or any other military equipment on behalf of any other country.

With reference to the idea of creating nuclear-free zones based on mutual undertakings between several States, the Government of Finland consider that while general and complete disarmament under effective international control, in accordance with the resolution unanimously adopted at the fourteenth session by the General Assembly of the United Nations, must be regarded as the ultimate aim, efforts toward this end undoubtedly would be advanced by such partial measures as would limit the further development and spread of nuclear weapons. Accordingly the Government of Finland have repeatedly emphasized, both in the United Nations and in other connexions, the importance of achieving an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests. A similar purpose would be served in the event that States not possessing nuclear weapons were to enter into undertakings, subject to appropriate control, not to manufacture, acquire or receive nuclear weapons by concluding agreements on the creation of nuclear-free zones which the nuclear Powers would commit themselves to respect. In the opinion of the Government of Finland, the creation of such nuclear-free zones covering wide areas would be significant contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

(Signed) Ralph ENCKELL  
Permanent Representative of Finland

\* Also issued as document A/5108.

16. FRANCE

[Original text: French]  
22 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 2 January 1962 regarding resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted on 4 December 1961 by the United Nations General Assembly.

You are kind enough to draw my attention to the fourth preambular paragraph and to operative paragraph 1 of this resolution, which request that an inquiry be made among countries not possessing nuclear weapons.

You furthermore request, in connexion with operative paragraph 3, my Government's views regarding the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into the specific undertakings referred to in the resolution.

You will, I am sure, agree with me that it is the responsibility of each country which considers that these provisions apply to it and which wishes to act upon them to take its own decisions and, no doubt, to inform you thereof.

As to the nuclear Powers, it appears to me that they can fulfil their role only in the context of a disarmament agreement which covers atomic weapons. The resolution adopted on 4 December 1961, in which certain desires are expressed, in no way represents an international agreement committing the signatory countries. It lacks, in particular, that essential element of genuine disarmament which is the establishment of effective control whereby the scrupulous observance of commitments can be ensured.

The French Government has for its part always been convinced, and it remains convinced today, that nuclear disarmament is an essential part of general disarmament. It advocates the conclusion of an international agreement on this subject. On various occasions, and again quite recently, it has made specific proposals in this matter to the other nuclear Powers.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Minister of Foreign Affairs

17. GREECE

Original text: English  
7 March 1962

With reference to your letter sub. No. PO 134 of 2 January 1962, in which you enquired about the views of the Royal Hellenic Government on resolution 1664 as regards the conditions under which they might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territory on behalf of any other country. I have the honour to inform you of the following:

In the Sixteenth General Assembly, the Greek Delegation voted against Resolution 1664 because it considered it not proper that the possession of nuclear weapons be the privilege of certain countries. This would be contrary to the principle of equality amongst member nations consecrated by the Charter, as well as to the principle of equal responsibility of all nations for the preservation of peace.

Besides these general considerations which determined our vote, my Government have consistently maintained that peace, especially for smaller countries, rests upon collective nuclear defence, since conditions for a general and complete disarmament under effective international control have not yet been established.

Such a position on this aspect of disarmament is for us a matter of principle, which we have consistently advocated in all debates on disarmament in the United Nations. We have also stressed that we consider the creation of denuclearized zones, which resolution 1664 (XVI) would appear to favour, as impracticable for technical reasons.

As regards the manufacturing of nuclear weapons, the problem does not arise for us, since the necessary facilities do not exist in Greece. As for acquiring such weapons or receiving them on behalf of other countries, we wish to make it clear that such an eventuality should be examined in the exclusive context of self-defence and collective security of the free and democratic countries, with due consideration to the fact that guaranties of a general and complete disarmament have not yet been obtained.

The Greek Government are therefore placing their hopes in the possibility of an agreement on a general and complete disarmament.

As a constructive suggestion it could be added that the problems raised by resolution 1664 (XVI) could be examined in the forum best suited for all matters pertaining to or affecting disarmament. Such, in the opinion of my Government, is the Geneva Committee of Eighteen, since it has unrestricted competence on the question of general and complete disarmament, which encompasses the problem of restrictions on manufacturing nuclear weapons, acquiring them and receiving them on behalf of other countries.

(Signed) Dimitri S. BITSIOS  
Permanent Representative of Greece  
to the United Nations

18. ICELAND

[Original text: English]

14 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962, addressed to the Foreign Minister of Iceland, wherein reference is made to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI). In your letter you request the views of the Icelandic Government regarding "the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country".

The Icelandic Government wishes to express the following views on this question:

Iceland has no arms or military forces of her own. However, owing to the insecurity prevailing in international affairs, the Icelandic people consider that the presence of a NATO defence force in Iceland is essential for the security of the nation. The defence force is not equipped with atomic weapons, nor is it contemplated to equip the force with such weapons.

The Icelandic nation must evaluate on the basis of the world situation at any given time, what defence measures are called for to safeguard the security of the country, and must act accordingly.

The Icelandic Government strongly advocates that the big Powers take immediate steps to reach an agreement on the banning of nuclear weapons, under effective international control.

(Signed) Thor THCRS  
Permanent Representative of Iceland  
to the United Nations

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19. INDIA

[Original text: English]

26 March 1962

Pursuant to your inquiry in connexion with resolution 1664 (XVI) regarding undertakings to refrain from manufacturing, acquiring or receiving nuclear weapons, I have the honour to communicate the following reply:

The Government of India holds steadfastly to the view that nuclear weapons of mass destruction pose the gravest dangers to mankind and threaten civilization with annihilation. These dangers can be fully removed only by the achievement of complete and general disarmament, which was the goal established by the General Assembly's resolution 1378 (XIV) and which must be the aim of all efforts by States.

The elimination of nuclear weapons is imperative and urgent as an initial step towards the achievement of the goal of general and complete disarmament. The greatest responsibility rests on those who already possess and manufacture these weapons. Many more States are, however, believed capable of their manufacture, and the achievements of technology on the one hand and the participation of States in military pacts on the other are capable of greatly increasing the number of States having or being able to manufacture nuclear weapons.

To eliminate the dangers, it is essential that

- (i) all those States not yet manufacturing these weapons or permitting them on their territory, should undertake not to do so;
- (ii) the weapons already in existence should be confined to the territory of the States which manufactured them; and
- (iii) the latter, as required by General Assembly resolution 1648 (XVI), should bind themselves by a treaty banning nuclear tests under appropriate controls; and pending such a treaty, they should refrain from such tests.

As these measures by themselves would still leave sufficient nuclear military capacity to destroy vast sections of the world, it is also necessary to undertake immediately a programme for the dismantlement or conversion to peaceful use of all nuclear weapons that are in existence.

It is the considered view of the Government of India that States should immediately undertake to further the elimination of nuclear weapons and accept obligations thereunder. So far as the Government of India are concerned, they have repeatedly declared that they have no intention of manufacturing themselves or accepting nuclear weapons on their territory. The conviction and policy of the Government of India stand unchanged in this matter. The Government of India are, therefore, willing to enter into any general agreement or specific undertaking in this regard in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations.

I shall be grateful if you will include the views of the Government of India in your report to the Disarmament Commission which you have been asked to furnish by 1 April 1962.

(Signed) C.S. JHA  
Permanent Representative of India  
to the United Nations

20. IRELAND

Original text: English

7 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your Note (PO 134) of 2 January 1962, requesting the views of my Government on the conditions under which they might be willing to enter into the specific undertakings referred to in the fourth preambular paragraph and the first operative paragraph of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961, concerning nuclear weapons.

As is well known to Your Excellency and to the Member Governments of the United Nations, my Government, being of the opinion that the further spread of nuclear weapons would constitute a danger to the maintenance of peace, have made constant efforts since 1958 to secure acceptance by the United Nations of resolutions designed to limit the dissemination of such weapons.

I would recall in this connexion the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session of resolution 1665 (4 December 1961) on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. The operative clauses of this resolution are as follows:

"1. Calls upon all States, and in particular upon the States at present possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which the nuclear States would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons, and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons;

"2. Urges all States to co-operate to those ends."

My Government would of course be happy to subscribe to an international agreement on the lines of this resolution and we believe there is at the moment a reasonable prospect of securing its acceptance by all members of the United Nations. They are encouraged in this belief not only by the acceptance of resolution 1665 but by the fact that before this resolution was passed, the principles it contains were adopted as part of the policies of the Governments of the USA and USSR.

In the USA document A/4891, page 5, circulated to the Assembly on 25 September 1961, it is proposed:

"States owning nuclear weapons shall not relinquish control of such weapons to any nation not owning them and shall not transmit to any such nation the information or material necessary for their manufacture. States not owning nuclear weapons shall not manufacture such weapons, attempt to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other States, or seek or receive information or materials necessary for their manufacture."

In document A/4892, page 7, circulated to the Assembly on 26 September 1961, the USSR declared:

"The Soviet Government considers that there is at present a possibility of concluding an agreement by which the nuclear Powers would undertake not to give nuclear weapons to other countries and those States which do not possess nuclear weapons would undertake not to make them or to obtain them from the nuclear Powers.

"It does not seem necessary to dwell on the acute danger to peace which would be created by an increase in the number of Powers possessing nuclear weapons or the secret of their production, regardless of whether they possessed them individually or received them within the framework of some military bloc."

My Government would strongly urge the members of the United Nations to make the most of this favourable conjuncture lest the opportunity to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons slip, perhaps irrevocably, from our grasp. We feel that all of us should at present concentrate our energies on promoting negotiations to translate the existing identity of position of the USA and USSR on this problem into a formal international agreement. My Government fear that such negotiations would be jeopardized by linking them with another proposal upon which there is irreconcilable difference of view.

As is well known there are at present no nuclear weapons on the territories of most of the non-nuclear countries. Some of these countries, however, although they have no present intention of seeking to alter this state of affairs, would nevertheless, we feel certain, refuse to pledge themselves never to admit their nuclear armed allies no matter how the international situation deteriorated or how gravely they were menaced. The Irish Government, therefore, would not be prepared to ask all the non-nuclear States to give such a pledge in the existing precariously balanced world situation and in the absence of a world order which would give effective security to all nations against aggression. Neither would

they ask any particular group of non-nuclear nations to give such a pledge unless they formed part of an area of law established with the agreement and support of the Great Powers and the United Nations.

By an "area of law" we mean, as the Irish delegation has frequently explained in the United Nations, an area from which not only nuclear arms are excluded but also all weapons of mass destruction and foreign forces and in which States Members agree to settle their disputes peacefully, limit their forces and armaments to police level and accept international inspection to ensure that the agreement is being kept.

(Signed) Frank AIKEN  
Minister for External Affairs

21. ISRAEL\*

[Original text: English]  
25 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962 transmitting the text of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1070th meeting on 4 December 1961, and to submit the views of my Government thereon.

It is the established policy of the Government of Israel to support all effective measures designed to reduce the dangers facing mankind as a result of nuclear armaments.

My Government is fully aware that the nuclear armaments race constitutes a grave threat to world peace. Hence, Israel is in favour of all practical steps likely to reduce existing nuclear armaments and to prevent their further dissemination.

My Government would welcome the establishment of a system which would effectively advance this aim. Such a system must be based on universal reciprocity between all the Powers.

Furthermore, it is the view of my Government that any arrangement to be concluded between States, especially in areas of international tension, must take account of strategic realities, so as to ensure complete reciprocity in order not to prejudice the security of any of them. These arrangements must therefore include, as part of a general control system, binding mutual commitments between all States concerned, providing for inspection and verification by each other.

It is suggested that the proposals contained in resolution 1664 (XVI) be given further consideration within the framework of the discussions on general disarmament based on the principles agreed upon by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which were endorsed unanimously by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.

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\* Also issued as document A/5112.

22. ITALY

[Original text: Italian]

20 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962, in which, at the request of the General Assembly, pursuant to its resolution 1664 (XVI), you sought the views of my Government as to "the conditions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country".

The Italian Government has repeatedly exercised its keen interest in every initiative which is really intended to eliminate the use of nuclear energy for purposes of war. The votes cast by the Italian delegation in favour of resolution 1665 (XVI) on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and of the resolution concerning the resumption of the work of the tripartite conference for a controlled ban on nuclear tests (1649 (XVI)) are among the most recent expressions of our thoughts on this matter.

With specific reference to your request for information on the conditions under which the Italian Government might be willing to undertake to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive them on its territory on behalf of any other country, I can only refer to what was stated by the Italian representative during the debate on resolution 1664 (XVI) which took place in the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

Having first stated that Italy does not manufacture or possess nuclear weapons and has no intention of doing so in the future, we expressed the opinion that the general question of the specific undertakings mentioned in resolution 1664 appeared to be inadequately stated in that resolution. For undertakings such as those mentioned in resolution 1664 to be entered into, all countries would have to feel that their freedom and security were guaranteed. Otherwise, to ask them to make these specific recommendations would be tantamount to trying to deprive them of what might prove to be essential means of exercising the right of individual and collective self-defence, a right which is recognized in the United Nations Charter.

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Furthermore, undertakings not accompanied by adequate international controls would be liable to cause a further imbalance in the security relations between the various countries, inasmuch as the effectiveness of the control exercised by public opinion over the keeping of commitments is not the same in every country.

The Italian Government therefore considers that it could agree to enter into the undertaking set forth in resolution 1664 (XVI) if the latter formed part of an agreement, accepted by all nuclear Powers, which would give effect to a specific programme of general disarmament, adequately balanced and guaranteed and under international control. The Italian Government intends actively to work towards such an agreement at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva of the Disarmament Committee, in the hope that this may lead to the possibility of attaining the lofty objectives of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI).

(Signed) V. ZOPPI  
Permanent Representative  
to the United Nations

23. JAPAN

/Original text: English/  
15 March 1962

With reference to your letter dated 2 January 1962, I have the honour to communicate to you the views of my Government as to the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into the specific undertakings referred to by resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1961.

The fearful menace of nuclear weapons, posing as they do a standing threat to all mankind with their incalculable power of destruction, must be removed from our world at the earliest possible moment.

Conscious of this impelling need, the Government of Japan has consistently opposed all forms of nuclear weapons testing and has vigorously advocated the early conclusion among the Powers concerned of an agreement for the discontinuance of such testing under effective international inspection and control.

The present world situation, as it relates to this all-important question, belies our hopes. Last year, a nuclear Power unilaterally resumed nuclear weapons testing and ostentatiously displayed the might of super nuclear weapons.

It is obvious that the primary responsibility for carrying out nuclear disarmament rests with the countries which possess them and that without their positive efforts no nuclear disarmament measures can be effectively implemented. Accordingly any nuclear disarmament effort on the part of non-nuclear countries should not relieve the nuclear Powers of responsibility or zeal to work for this common purpose. Nuclear disarmament measures, in the opinion of my Government, should be advanced while taking fully into account the security of all countries.

From the standpoint indicated above, the Government of Japan considers the following conditions to be essential for countries not possessing nuclear weapons to enter into specific understandings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons into their territories on behalf of any other countries:

- (a) that this matter should be taken up within the framework of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and in balance with other measures of disarmament;

- (b) that substantial progress should be made toward an agreement among the nuclear Powers to discontinue nuclear weapons tests under effective international control and also toward an agreement among them to prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons; and
- (c) that these specific undertakings should be carried out simultaneously on a global basis and in carrying out the undertakings adequate guarantees be provided to ensure effective international control.

(Signed) Zentaro KOSAKA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

24. LUXEMBOURG

Original text: French  
12 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 134 of 2 January 1962, communicating to me the text of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961 and requesting the views of the Government of Luxembourg regarding "... the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country".

It would appear from the foregoing quotation that your inquiry relates to two matters:

Firstly, the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons;

Secondly, the storing of nuclear weapons belonging to another country.

The Government of Luxembourg wishes to point out that, for reasons of an economic and military nature, these two matters have no relevance at present in so far as Luxembourg territory is concerned. The question of entering into an undertaking with regard to the future must, however, be viewed in the light of the general tenor of the resolution whose text you have been good enough to communicate to me.

In that connexion, the Government of Luxembourg, which is anxious to see total disarmament achieved in a form that will truly remove the danger of war, finds it regrettable that the measures proposed by the General Assembly are of so fragmentary a nature.

Luxembourg is keenly aware of the fact that any scheme for nuclear disarmament must necessarily prove ineffective unless it is accompanied by a general disarmament scheme covering conventional weapons as well and carried out under a system of international control which guarantees that the agreed measures are actually put into effect.

I take this opportunity to reiterate once again the sincere good wishes of the Government of Luxembourg for the success of the efforts being made to achieve general and complete disarmament.

(Signed) E. SCHAUB  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

25. MADAGASCAR

Original text: French

1 March 1962

In your letter of 2 January 1962, you kindly drew my attention to the fourth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 1 of resolution 1664 (XVI), adopted on 4 December 1961 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, in which you are requested to make an inquiry:

"... into the conditions in which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country".

Since it became independent, the Malagasy Republic has at all times indicated its strong desire for peace and its willingness to join in any action which may help to remove the danger of a conflict arising and spreading, whether it be nuclear or not.

Accordingly, I can state that any specific measure designed to reduce the possibility of aggression, from whatever source, will meet with the full agreement of the Malagasy Government.

It does not seem, however, that the text of resolution 1664 (XVI) is of a suitable nature to achieve that end, since its only effect would be to freeze the present distribution of nuclear weapons and to fix geographically the particular positions of advantage which the opposing blocs have been able to take up.

The Malagasy Republic, despite its resolutely peaceful attitude, which is the result of its form of government, of the spirit of its people and of its limited resources, is, nevertheless, like all the nations of the free world, threatened by the aggressive attitude of the Soviet bloc, which, by its measures of intimidation and disregard of its commitments, represents a permanent danger to small States.

There is a close connexion between nuclear arms and armaments in general, since nuclear arms are an integral part of modern armaments as a whole. Any limitation on their possession is inconceivable outside the context of general

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and complete disarmament. Any other approach would mean that the non-atomic nations would be delivered defenceless to the greed of powerful imperialists, of one kind or another.

It is thus incumbent upon the new eighteen-Power Disarmament Committee - from which the twelve countries belonging to the Union of African and Malagasy States have been arbitrarily excluded - to decide upon and to ensure the application of practical measures leading to general and complete disarmament, which, as it was put into effect, would bring about a balanced reduction in all military forces and would thus diminish the possibility of military threats.

The Malagasy Government, therefore, does not consider it possible to enter into an undertaking of the kind specified in resolution 1664 (XVI) until an agreement has been reached on general disarmament, to which the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons is inseparably linked.

Any other attitude would leave the way wide open for atomic aggression against Madagascar by those Powers which possess atomic arms.

I have the honour to be, etc.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs

26. NETHERLANDS

[Original text: English]

12 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 134 of 2 January 1962, in which, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), you request the views of my Government as to the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on its territory on behalf of any other country. In response to your request I would like to transmit to you the following reply to my Government:

(a) The Netherlands Government is very much concerned about the prospect of a future increase in the number of countries with an independent nuclear capability. The views of the Netherlands Government in this respect have been set forth in detail during the XIVth, XVth and XVIth General Assemblies of the United Nations. It remains the urgent desire of the Netherlands Government that in the future the number of countries, having nuclear weapons under their own political control should not be increased, either in Europe or anywhere else in the world.

(b) The Netherlands Government is therefore prepared to lend its full support to any realistic proposal or arrangement that could effectively prevent such an increase. In this spirit it has welcomed the measures to this effect contained in the programme for general and complete disarmament, introduced by the United States during the XVIth General Assembly. This programme already during its first stage provides inter alia that states owning nuclear weapons shall not relinquish control of such weapons to any nation not owning them and shall not transmit to any such nations the information or material necessary for their manufacture; the programme further provides that States not owning nuclear weapons shall not manufacture such weapons, attempt to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other States or seek or receive information of material necessary for their manufacture. In the same spirit the Netherlands Government has given full support to resolution 1665 (XVI) which was

introduced by Ireland and adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1961. That resolution requested all States to secure the conclusion of an international agreement, containing certain well defined provisions which could effectively halt a further increase in the number of countries possessing their own nuclear weapons.

(c) The inquiry envisaged in resolution 1664 (XVI), has a purpose which goes much further than what is being called for both under the proposals in this respect of the United States of 25 September 1961 and under resolution 1665 of the XVith General Assembly. The inquiry is not only concerned with prohibiting the production of nuclear weapons in or the acquisition of ownership of such weapons by non-nuclear States, but also with prohibiting the location and deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States which do not own them. It thereby introduces elements which could only be taken into consideration in the framework of a general arrangement of disarmament under effective international control.

(d) A separate and isolated agreement with regard to the stationing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons in non-nuclear countries would indeed seriously impair the existing balance of power in Europe, as it would give a one-sided military advantage to the countries, members of the Warsaw Pact. Western Europe at present is confronted with the armed strength of the Soviet Union and its allies, composed of numerically superior conventional forces and strong nuclear armaments, with which the Soviet Union can reach Western Europe directly from its own territory. In view of this situation nuclear weapons had to be integrated into the defensive system of the North Atlantic Alliance as a necessary deterrent to potential aggression and as a means to check, in a situation of war, an armed attack by the Warsaw Pact countries. These defensive measures have been taken in conformity with the right of individual and collective self-defence recognized by the Charter of the United Nations. It will be clear that isolated measures, directed against the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe, would indeed run counter to the generally accepted principle that no party should be allowed to obtain any strategic or military advantage from progress in disarmament. In this connexion it should be noted that Western European

non-nuclear countries did not agree to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in their countries on behalf of other countries, as is assumed in the resolution, but that they decided upon this stationing for reasons of their own national defence interests.

(e) It should be stressed furthermore that under present day circumstances any kind of armed conflict, however limited its geographical scope and its duration, and however restricted the nature and amount of forces and weapons involved, inherently bears the danger of ultimately developing into a general nuclear conflict. This inherent danger, in the opinion of the Netherlands Government, might be camouflaged but could not be diminished by placing geographical limitations on the deployment of nuclear weapons. The only effective means to protect the world against the occurrence of nuclear war is to prevent armed conflicts as such. The Netherlands Government is convinced that this can be achieved only by the rapid implementation of balanced and farreaching measures of conventional and nuclear disarmament in the framemork of an international agreement under effective control. The Netherlands Government accordingly believes that the appropriate place for discussion of such matters as raised by resolution 1664 will be the Disarmament Committee which meets in Geneva on 14 March 1962.

(Signed) C.W.A. SCHURMANN

27. NEW ZEALAND

Original text: English  
9 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January inquiring, within the context of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1961,

"as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country."

For its part, New Zealand has no nuclear weapons nor any intention of acquiring them. Nor are there nuclear weapons on New Zealand territory. The New Zealand Government, moreover, has long regarded disarmament, by international agreement binding on all States, as a fundamental and increasingly urgent assignment for the United Nations. This applies not only to complete disarmament, covering all arms but also any separable, partial measure, such as an effective ban on nuclear testing, which might serve as a first step towards the wider objective.

The New Zealand Government is therefore very interested in the proposal formulated in resolution 1664 (XVI) as a possible means of promoting some measure of progress on disarmament.

For its part, the New Zealand Government would readily enter into the specific undertakings mentioned in resolution 1664 (XVI) if such undertakings formed part of broader international arrangements for disarmament, adequately supervised and effectively binding on all States, whether Members of the United Nations or not, or if all nuclear Powers were bound not to use nuclear weapons.

At present, New Zealand, a small country without nuclear weapons, depends on alliance with nuclear Powers for its defence against other nuclear Powers. In the existing conditions of international tension, it seems to the New Zealand Government that the self-denying undertakings mentioned in resolution 1664 (XVI) would, in isolation, amount to a limited measure of unilateral disarmament which,

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by binding some States but not others, and by excluding the nuclear Powers themselves - with whom rests the chief responsibility for the control of nuclear weapons - could increase rather than diminish international tension and in particular the danger of aggression. States undertaking to deny themselves the assistance of nuclear weapons, even in self-defence, could be placed at a disadvantage in relation to those who did not. A further problem is posed by the need to verify and enforce such undertakings.

The New Zealand Government accordingly concludes that these various problems can only be resolved in the context of broader international arrangements for disarmament. Clearly, however, the need for disarmament is increasingly urgent and the Government considers that any reasonable prospect of making headway deserves the most careful study. It is therefore suggested that the subject of your inquiry should be further examined in the eighteen-member disarmament conference convening in Geneva on 14 March.

(Signed) Keith HOLYOAKE  
Minister of External Affairs

28. NIGERIA\*

[Original text: English]  
28 March 1962

In response to your letter inquiring from the Nigerian Government its views regarding the implementation of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session on 4 December 1961, I have the honour to inform you, on the instructions of the Government of Nigeria, that the Nigerian Government will be willing to enter into specified undertakings designed to prohibit the manufacture or the acquisition otherwise of nuclear weapons or the reception or storage of such weapons on its territory subject to the following four conditions. The third and fourth conditions below are related to the substance of resolution 1665 (XVI) of 5 December 1961:

1. That the undertakings must apply universally to all independent countries, whether they are States Members of the United Nations or not

The undertakings being sought would seem to be directed to only those States Members of the United Nations which do not possess nuclear weapons. This would appear to be rather restrictive and can only be effective if countries outside the United Nations with the capabilities of manufacturing nuclear war-heads are brought within the terms of the resolution. Any talks of disarmament or ban on nuclear tests will almost be useless if, for example, the People's Republic of China has not been directly brought in.

2. That the undertakings are intended to induce the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to agree to partial or total disarmament

The question of undertakings by small nations without partial or total disarmament by the two major Powers (United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) would appear to be futile. Any undertaking therefore is with the hope that this will help to bring about general disarmament, particularly among the major Powers.

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\* Also issued as document A/5111.

3. That the undertakings are given in order to prohibit the sale of nuclear war-heads to nations not possessing nuclear arms

It is considered that the resolution itself should have included an appropriate reference to the prohibition of the sale of nuclear war-heads to those nations which, at present, do not possess the capacity for manufacturing nuclear weapons. Recent events show that the future problems relating to the question of disarmament in the field of nuclear weapons is not that of the manufacture of these weapons but of their purchase by nations not possessing nuclear weapons for defensive or offensive reasons. The results of recent nuclear experiments by reducing the "bang" of nuclear weapons to the extent that they can be used by infantry and other small units has also reduced the costs of each weapon, thus bringing it within the purchasing power of many nations. This means that the problem has shifted from that of manufacture to that of marketing of nuclear weapons.

4. That the undertakings are given in order to restrict the technical skill for the manufacture of nuclear weapons

It is necessary to have provisions in the undertakings preventing countries already in possession of the technical knowledge for the production of nuclear weapons from passing information and data relating to the manufacture of these weapons to countries not yet in possession of this skill.

I should be grateful if you would circulate the text of this letter as an official United Nations document.

(Signed) Alhaji Muhammad NGILERUMA  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

29. NORWAY

/Original text: English/

13 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2nd January 1962, in which you refer to the General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), and request the views of my Government regarding "the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country."

The Norwegian Government endorses the purpose expressed in the resolution. All measures should be taken to reach agreement on the cessation of nuclear test explosions. (Norway fully supports the endeavours which are being done to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.)

The strong desire for disarmament and relaxation of international tension which has motivated the initiative of the Swedish Government and the other co-sponsors of this resolution, is fully shared by the Norwegian Government. The Norwegian people is strongly attached to the work for peace and disarmament, and my Government will always do its utmost to contribute to the solution of the problems facing the world in this field. In my Government's opinion the solution of these tasks is more urgently required than the solution of any other problem engaging the world today.

Regarding the specific questions raised in your letter, the Norwegian Government would like to make the following observations:

Norway does not intend to produce or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons. My Government is prepared to sign a treaty to this effect which will be valid for such a period of time as may be agreed upon by Norway and the other signatories to the treaty. My Government deems it unnecessary to subject this undertaking to special conditions.

With regard to the question concerning the conditions under which Norway might be willing to refrain from receiving in the future nuclear weapons on behalf of any other country, I would like to inform you that the Storting in the spring of 1961 endorsed the Government's policy not to station such weapons on Norwegian territory.

At the same time it was emphasized that the Norwegian constitutional authorities must be in a position to decide, at any given time, which steps are necessary to safeguard the security and independence of the country.

My Government is also, however, prepared to consider signing internationally binding agreements or otherwise to undertake special obligations not to receive nuclear weapons on Norwegian territory on behalf of any other country on the condition that such agreements or obligations do not alter the present balance of power. My Government has noted that the Swedish Government and the other co-sponsors based their resolution on this assumption. Such a condition would be met if the forthcoming disarmament negotiations lead to results within the framework of the principles agreed upon and presented by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America at the United Nations sixteenth General Assembly and which were unanimously endorsed by the General Assembly. The Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people entertain a strong hope that the disarmament negotiations will lead to results which will make such an agreement possible.

(Signed) HALVARD LANGE

30. PANAMA

[Original text: Spanish]

20 March 1962

Further to the note of this Ministry, No. POI-108 of 15 January 1962, I have the honour to inform you, with reference to your inquiry concerning the views of countries not possessing nuclear weapons, that it is the opinion of the Panamanian Government that there is no reason why the countries not possessing nuclear weapons should of their own will and initiative enter into such an undertaking, which limits their sovereignty for the benefit of the countries possessing nuclear weapons - in other words, that the prohibition of the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons must be total, since that is what is demanded by the highest interests of humanity.

(Signed) Juvenal A. CASTRELLON  
Head of the International Organizations,  
Conferences and Treaties Section

31. PARAGUAY

[Original text: Spanish]

14 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter FO 134 of 2 January 1962, in which you requested my Government to communicate to you its views concerning the inquiry carried out in pursuance of resolution 1664 (XVI), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 1070th plenary meeting on 4 December 1961.

I have been expressly instructed by my Government to reply to your inquiry as follows:

1. The Government of Paraguay feels that it is still possible to reach a world-wide agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and that it is the task of the Disarmament Commission to seek ways and means of achieving such an agreement.

2. The Government of Paraguay deems it appropriate for the Disarmament Commission to consider at its coming session, as a preliminary measure, the actual text of resolution 1664 (XVI), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 4 December 1961.

3. In view of the expectations and hopes now centring on the outcome of the coming session of the Disarmament Commission and on the possibility of reaching an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the Government of Paraguay considers that it is not yet opportune for it to indicate the precise conditions under which it could enter into the specific undertaking mentioned in the fourth preambular paragraph of resolution 1664 (XVI).

(Signed) Pacífico MONTERO DE VARGAS  
Permanent Representative of Paraguay

## 32. PERU

Original text: Spanish

15 March 1962

I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter No. FO 130 of 2 January 1962, in which, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, you ask for the views of Peru on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons for war purposes.

In reply, I have the honour to state the following.

First of all, it should be pointed out that Peru abstained in the vote on resolution 1653 (XVI). There is no doubt that Peru shares the universal aversion to the threat of nuclear war and cannot but condemn any aggressive use of nuclear or thermo-nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, the Government of Peru considers that the declaration contained in the resolution in question does not adequately reflect the implications of the right of self-defence as established in the San Francisco Charter. In the Peruvian Government's view, the existence of that right is the principal factor in the maintenance of peace, given the present international situation.

For the same reason, the Peruvian Government considers that the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, if it is to be effective and give a reasonable guarantee of security to all States, can only be achieved by a general disarmament treaty subject to strict international control. The Government does not think, therefore, that the convening of a conference for the specific purpose of prohibiting the use of such weapons by means of an international treaty would help to diminish the threat hanging over mankind. Only if such a treaty resolved the problem of disarmament as a whole, including the question of methods of international control, would it provide a guarantee against the danger of atomic war. But since the general question of disarmament is at present the subject of negotiations through channels approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, it is to be feared that the convening of a conference to deal with one

aspect of the matter, which can hardly be separated from the whole, would interfere with the negotiations in an undesirable way.

In short, the Peruvian Government does not take a favourable view of the possibility referred to in operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI).

Turning to a related matter, I should like to reply, also, to your letter No. FO 134 of 2 January 1962, in which, in pursuance of operative paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), you ask for the views of the Peruvian Government on the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, such weapons in its territory on behalf of any other country.

In this connexion, I must state that the Peruvian Government has not manufactured and does not manufacture nuclear weapons and has not acquired any such weapons. So far, the possibility of its receiving such weapons in its territory on behalf of other countries has not arisen. Should that possibility arise, the Government would consider it in the light of the treaties governing the inter-American regional system.

(Signed) Luis ALVARADO G  
Ministry of Foreign Relations

33. PHILIPPINES

Original text: English

5 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's Note (Ref: PO 134) dated 2 January 1962, requesting the views of the Philippine Government on "the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country", as specified in resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1961.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the Philippines appreciates the high purpose which prompted this resolution; but while it is seriously concerned with the problems caused by nuclear undertakings, the Philippines does not find itself able, in the light of present day realities, to view such problems separately from the question of general disarmament. The Philippines expresses the hope that in the forthcoming meeting of the Disarmament Committee at Geneva on 14 March 1962, this Committee may find it possible to deal satisfactorily with problems arising from nuclear undertakings as it proceeds to consider the problem of disarmament.

(Signed) EMMANUEL PELAEZ

Secretary of Foreign Affairs

34. POLAND

(Original text: English)  
6 March 1962

1. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has always lent its countenance to the initiatives launched in the United Nations General Assembly with a view to maintaining and strengthening the world peace, and especially to the efforts which, through general and complete disarmament, seek to eliminate wars as a means to solve disputes among nations.

The position of the Polish People's Republic on the question of disarmament is generally known.

The Polish People's Republic has consistently given its support to every proposal striving for real disarmament, for the destruction of mass extermination weapons and for a reduction of armaments and armed forces.

In 1959, the Polish Delegation fully endorsed the initiative of the USSR Government relating to general and complete disarmament. It is on general and complete disarmament, as the most consistent and now realistic means of eliminating wars, that the Polish nation sets its hopes for lasting peace in the world and for speedy economic and cultural progress of mankind which will thus be able to apply all its energy for the sole purpose of peaceful construction. Disarmament will also release additional resources to help overcoming economic retardness in the less developed countries.

Poland has actively participated, and is ready to participate, in common endeavours of other countries and nations aiming at the implementation of general and complete disarmament.

2. Seeing the main goal in general and complete disarmament, the Government of the Polish People's Republic is at the same time willing to exert every effort in order to bring to pass such measures as would be conducive to speedy progress in the talks on general and complete disarmament.

For these reasons, Poland is in favour of putting soon into practice the proposals contained in the Memorandum of the USSR Government dated 26 September 1961, submitted to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly "on measures to ease international tension, strengthen confidence among States and contribute to general and complete disarmament".

Having had so much tragic experience in the past, the Polish people, just as other nations, views with horror the continuing threat of the use of nuclear weapons in case of a war outbreak in the future. It is indubitable that should we fail to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons to more and more countries, the danger would grow incomparably greater.

This is why the Polish Government welcomed and supported the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, sponsored by a group of African and Asian States and adopted by the General Assembly, which states that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the rules of international law and to the spirit, letter and aims of the Charter of the United Nations. The adoption of the "Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons" by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations was an impressive demonstration by the nations of the world against the threat of a nuclear war.

The Polish delegation to the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly also supported the initiative of the Government of Ireland seeking "to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which nuclear States would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons".

3. As it is known, the Polish delegation to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly voted in favour of resolution 1664 (XVI), sponsored by the Governments of Sweden, Austria, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Libya, Sudan, Cambodia and Tunisia, whereby the General Assembly requests the Secretary-General to make an inquiry "as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertaking to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country".

It is worth noting that as early as in 1960, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, a number of proposals with the same aims in view were submitted on behalf of Poland in the statement made by Wladyslaw Gomulka, Head of the Polish delegation.

We proposed that the States possessing nuclear weapons refrain from making accessible or delivering them to other States and from participating in the preparation for the production of such weapons by other States, and that the States not possessing nuclear weapons refrain from accepting them from other States and do not initiate their manufacture or prepare for it, be it in their own territory or in the territory of other States.

We also proposed that the States on whose territory there are no installations for missile and nuclear weapons refrain from their establishment and do not permit the introduction or establishment of foreign missile installations on their territory.

4. Thus, the Polish proposals were in many points concurrent with the present Swedish proposal.

The difference between them seems to lie mainly in the attitude towards the measures to be adopted to attain the desired goal.

While the Polish draft resolution submitted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly proposed the adoption of a decision involving certain prohibitions and unconditional obligations, resolution 1664 (XVI) implies that the entering into specific undertakings by the States in question might be made dependent upon a number of conditions, the essence and contents of which are to be revealed through the inquiry made by Secretariat General.

In the opinion of the Polish Government, one of the aims to be now pursued by the United Nations is to prevent any increase in the number of nuclear Powers, to halt the arms race and to create the most favourable conditions for negotiating a treaty on general and complete disarmament; the Polish Government believes that the sponsors of resolution 1664 (XVI) were prompted by the same motives.

The proposal submitted by the Swedish Government seeks to bring together the greatest possible number of States linked by a common obligation to relinquish nuclear weapons and to refrain from participating in the nuclear weapons race, as a result of which all the said States would acquire the status of "atom-free zones".

The Government of the Polish People's Republic would be willing to enter into such an undertaking without any preliminary conditions. The only important condition is that of reciprocity, particularly between the States whose mutual

attitude is essential for their security. The proposal in question, however, fails to take into sufficient consideration the urgent need to establish zones free of missile and nuclear weapons in those regions which, from the point of view of maintaining the world peace and security, are the most vulnerable points on the globe.

5. The concepts of world-wide and regional solutions of the problem must in no event be opposed to each other. We are convinced that the actual requirements, arising from the existing situation, ought to be the determining factor in this case. We think that this is also the position of the sponsors of resolution 1664 (XVI).

Nor must the implementation of the provisions of this resolution delay in any way the carrying into effect of various regional settlements.

It was the concern for the consolidation of peace in Central Europe that prompted Poland to propose that this zone be denuclearized. The proposal was submitted on behalf of the Polish Government by Adam Rapacki, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the twelfth session of the General Assembly a few years ago. The relevant paragraph of the Polish statement of 2 October 1957 reads:

" ... In the interest of Poland's security and of a defense in Europe, having agreed on this initiative with the other members of the Warsaw Pact, the Government of the Polish People's Republic declares that should the two German States express their consent to impose a ban on the production and stockpiling of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in their territories, the Polish People's Republic is prepared simultaneously to impose a similar ban on her territory".

The proposal was subsequently transmitted to the interested Powers through official diplomatic channels in the Polish Memorandum dated 14 February 1958.

In November 1958, having taken into account the views voiced by certain statesmen in the West who suggested that the Polish plan be carried out gradually, stage by stage, having also considered the reduction in conventional armed forces, the Polish Government presented a modified version of its proposal.

According to the Polish plan, in the first stage a ban would be introduced on the manufacture of nuclear weapons in the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic; States would enter into an obligation to refrain from supplying nuclear weapons and corresponding

installations to those armies within the proposed zone which do not possess such weapons or installations.

The implementation of the second stage would be preceded by talks on the appropriate reduction of conventional forces. Such a reduction would be effected simultaneously with the complete denuclearization of the zone.

Measures for thorough control and inspection of the implementation of their obligations by the parties concerned would be introduced in both stages.

The effectuation of these measures and the entering into specific undertakings which would contain such obligations, are not made by the Polish Government contingent on any preliminary conditions apart from the condition of reciprocity on the part of States parties to such undertakings.

Let it be noted that the Governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of the German Democratic Republic have repeatedly declared their readiness to accept the obligations connected with the implementation of the concept of an "atom-free zone" in Central Europe. Thus, the only prerequisite of its realization is that the obligations referred to be accepted by the Government of the German Federal Republic.

The Polish Government confirms all its previous proposals on the matter and reiterates its declaration of 2 October 1957. The said declaration is also a reply to the essential questions contained in the inquiry made by the Acting Secretary-General in his letter dated 2 January 1962, in accordance with resolution 1664 (XVI).

While reiterating its previous proposals, the Polish Government is all in favour of carrying into practice the plans of setting up atom-free zones in other parts of Europe. We endorse in full the proposals of the Government of the Romanian People's Republic to create such a zone in the Balkans.

If analogous undertakings were also entered into in Northern Europe, the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe and the denuclearization of the Balkans would result in turning the border line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO into a nuclear-free belt which might help to decrease the danger of a war outbreak in Europe, ease the tension and accelerate the realization of general and complete disarmament.

In the view of the Polish Government, the proposals to create atom-free zones in other parts of the world are also noteworthy.

The Polish delegation to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly lent its full support to the proposal of the African States to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a denuclearized zone and to refrain from using the territory of Africa for testing, producing, storing or transporting nuclear weapons.

Poland also supports the proposal of the Chinese People's Republic to create a denuclearized zone in Asia and in the Pacific area.

There is no doubt that the carrying into effect of the concepts of atom-free zones in Europe and in the other parts of the world which are of particular political and military importance would soon spread out the idea of forming a "non-nuclear club" and, hence, would fulfil the goals pursued in the proposal of the Swedish Government.

(Signed) BOHDAN LEWANDOWSKI  
Permanent Representative of Poland  
to the United Nations

35. ROMANIA\*

[Original text: French]  
15 March 1962

In reply to your letter PO 134 of 2 January 1962, I have the honour to inform you of the following:

The Government of the Romanian People's Republic is firmly convinced that general and complete disarmament - the paramount problem of the international situation - is the surest means of realizing the peoples' deepest aspirations and of eliminating the danger of war, and tension and suspicion between States.

The achievement of general and complete disarmament would fulfil the peoples' aspirations for the start of a new era in international life, marked by the final elimination of wars and by the development of peaceful relations and fruitful co-operation among States.

In the Romanian Government's frequently expressed opinion, the most important task incumbent upon States is to conclude a treaty of general and complete disarmament as soon as possible. The solution found to this problem will decide, in the last analysis, whether mankind is to experience the infinite suffering of atomic war or is to be preserved from it.

The Romanian People's Republic, for its part, has always championed general and complete disarmament, has always advocated the conclusion of the treaty of general and complete disarmament proposed by the USSR, and has always made every effort, both in the United Nations and in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee in 1960, towards the attainment of that goal.

At the current proceedings of the eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee, the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic, acting in accordance with the Romanian Government's instructions, is determined to make its full contribution to the joint efforts for the conclusion of the treaty of general and complete disarmament.

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\* Also issued as document A/5107.

Campaigning actively for the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the conclusion of an appropriate treaty, the Government of the Romanian People's Republic further considers that no effort should be spared for the implementation of all other measures designed to help reduce international tension and strengthen confidence among States. The continuance of the armaments race, and especially of the atomic weapons race, and an increase in the number of States possessing such weapons would create new obstacles to general and complete disarmament and would poison international relations, contrary to the hopes of the peoples who wish to ensure lasting peace throughout the world. The adoption of specific measures against the spread of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly restrict the armaments race, facilitate the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament as a whole, and reduce the danger of plunging mankind into the abyss of a new war.

In this respect agreements at the regional level, including the establishment of atom-free zones, would contribute greatly to the settlement of the disarmament question and the elimination of the danger of a new war.

Believing that the Governments of all States, regardless of their political system, have a duty to contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual trust, the Romanian Government, taking as a basis its 1957 proposal regarding the conclusion of an agreement between the States of the Balkan region, put forward in its statement of 7 June 1959 its views concerning the need to transform the South-Eastern region of Europe into an atomic-weapon-free zone.

In view of the world-wide importance of such agreements, the Romanian Government proposed that the General Assembly should consider at its fifteenth session an agenda item entitled "Action on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations between European States having different social and political systems".

As Gheorge Gheorghiu-Dej, Chairman of the Romanian delegation to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, stated:

"We put forward our proposals with the conviction that the Balkan region could be turned into a zone of peace, free of atomic weapons, of rocket launching pads and of foreign military bases. This would correspond in the highest degree to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Balkan countries. Its importance would extend far beyond the limits of that geographical area."

The Governments of certain countries of that region having repeatedly declared their willingness to contribute to the establishment of such a zone in South-East Europe, the translation of this idea into fact depends on the accord of the other States of the region which would have to participate in such an agreement.

The Romanian People's Republic supported and continues to support the proposals of the Polish Government to establish an atom-free zone in the centre of Europe and considers that the adoption of similar measures in other regions of the world would contribute appreciably to the strengthening of international security and the maintenance of peace.

The adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of its resolution 1664 (XVI) and of the resolution concerning the transformation of the continent of Africa into a zone free of atomic weapons constitutes implicit recognition of the importance of such measures.

With regard to resolution 1664 (XVI), it is well known that the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic voted with most of the delegations of States Members of the United Nations in favour of the proposal of the Governments of Sweden, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Libya and Sudan - co-sponsors of the resolution of 4 December 1961 regarding the conditions under which States might enter into appropriate undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring atomic weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, in their own territory such weapons belonging to other States.

Obviously, the provisions of the said resolution cannot be implemented unless all States Members of the United Nations - including the principal NATO Powers and the other States which voted against the resolution - solemnly undertake to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons and take appropriate measures to that end.

(Signed) Corneliu MANESCU  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
Romanian People's Republic

36. SIERRA LEONE

[Original text: English]  
6 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter PO 134 of 2 January transmitting the Text of resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly.

2. I am directed by the Right Honourable The Prime Minister and Minister of Defence to inform you that the Government of Sierra Leone is prepared, at any time, to join with other peace-loving countries in undertaking to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and in refusing to receive nuclear weapons in its territory.

(Signed) JOHN KAREFA-SMART  
Minister of External Affairs

37. SWEDEN

/Original text: English/

16 February 1962

In your letter of 2 January 1962, you have expressed your wish to receive, in accordance with resolution 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1961, the views of the Swedish Government as to the conditions under which it might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive in the future such weapons on its territory on behalf of any other country. With reference to this communication, I wish to state as follows the position of the Swedish Government in this matter:

The Swedish Government is of the opinion that it would be an important contribution to the relaxation of tension if international agreements could be reached on balanced and gradual disarmament in respect of nuclear weapons as part of the efforts to achieve general disarmament under necessary control. It seems as if the Powers participating in the Geneva negotiations for the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests have shared this opinion. While the result so far attained in the negotiations on general disarmament, i.e. the joint American-Soviet declaration of 20 September 1961, is of a preliminary and strictly limited nature, there has been, at a certain stage of the negotiations, a considerable measure of agreement on the text of a convention on the discontinuance of tests. One of the reasons for this is obviously that the nuclear Powers regard such a convention as an obstacle to the spreading of nuclear weapons to countries which do not now produce them. The general support for the idea of a ban on tests shows that the States Members of the United Nations so far possessing no nuclear weapons seem in principle to have accepted not to undertake any tests of their own.

The ultimate goal should obviously be to free the whole world from nuclear weapons. The Swedish Government would with the greatest satisfaction welcome a universal agreement which would effectively ban nuclear weapons and prevent their manufacture, stockpiling and use.

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Even though the goal is a distant one, we should already now be able to take certain steps on the road leading to that goal. Such a step would be to create zones free from nuclear weapons by means of undertakings on the part of the countries concerned and by means of agreements between them. Such zones could be of great importance as a contribution to a political détente, particularly if they were to cover wide contiguous areas and comprise Powers who dispose of strong military forces but who do not possess nuclear weapons of their own. Naturally, agreements on zones free from nuclear weapons must, like other measures in the field of disarmament, be constructed so that they do not give any State or group of States a unilateral military advantage and that the military balance is thus preserved.

The resolution adopted by the General Assembly is based on the assumption that for the time being only certain States will be prepared to make declarations or enter into agreements of the kind here envisaged. At the same time, however, the number of votes by which the resolution was adopted, seems to indicate that the majority of all United Nations Member States take in principle a positive attitude towards the resolution, even if several of the delegations made reservations for the contents of the answers which their Governments in due course would give to the inquiry of the Secretary-General.

The answers by these States on the conditions of various kinds which they wish to lay down for their willingness to undertake commitments in respect of the production, importation and stockpiling of nuclear weapons on behalf of some other State are now awaited with great interest.

As to the Swedish attitude to the resolution, the Swedish Government wishes to express its willingness to make Sweden - provided satisfactory agreements can be reached between the Governments concerned - part of a nuclear-free zone in Europe of the greatest possible extension, comprising States in Central and Northern Europe which do not possess atomic weapons of their own.

In case no agreement on the creation of such a zone free of nuclear weapons has been reached before the end of 1963, the Swedish Government wishes to reserve its right to consider the matter anew in the light of the circumstances then prevailing.

As to the conditions which the States concerned may want to lay down for their participation in an agreement of this kind, the Swedish Government wants first of all to state that it sees no reason to lay down special conditions in respect of any particular one of the commitments envisaged in the resolution, thus in respect of production, importation or stockpiling of nuclear weapons respectively. The Swedish Government wishes, however, to declare that, inasmuch as the idea of zones free of nuclear weapons has not so far been tested in practice it would be reasonable that a first agreement to this end be concluded for a certain period of time, say five years from the signature of the agreement.

The Swedish Government has carefully considered the question whether the agreement which may be reached between a group of States on the creation of a non-nuclear zone should be supplemented by, or made dependent on, commitments on the part of the nuclear Powers.

It seems obvious that those States which in the interest of peace are willing to assume obligations for the establishment of a non-nuclear zone should have the right to expect co-operation on the part of the nuclear Powers. Thus the nuclear Powers would be expected, either separately or by agreement, to declare themselves willing to respect the agreements which may be concluded, and to refrain from all measures which would be contrary to these agreements. They might, for instance, undertake not to export nuclear weapons to the countries concerned, not to supply technical information or equipment for the production of nuclear weapons and, possibly after an appropriate transitional period, not to stockpile nuclear weapons on the territories of such countries and not to equip their armed forces stationed in these countries with nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, it may be questioned whether the States which intend to form a zone free from nuclear weapons should demand that the nuclear Powers on their part give at the same time a contribution to the status quo in respect of nuclear armaments - and in so doing also a contribution to a relaxation of tension - by refraining from further testing of nuclear weapons and by entering into agreements to that effect. In the opinion of the Swedish Government, such a demand is well justified. At the same time it should be borne in mind that this condition must not be set forth in such a form as to make it possible for one single nuclear Power, by refusing to enter into an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, to prevent all efforts to reach agreement on the establishment of nuclear-free zones.

In this situation, the Swedish Government considers, on balance, that the agreements that may be negotiated on the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons should be made conditional upon an agreement between the nuclear Powers on the discontinuance of the tests. It is obvious that the agreements on nuclear-free zones can not be expected to last, nor, even less, to be renewed if the nuclear weapons tests should be resumed while the agreements are still in force.

Finally, the nuclear Powers might possibly be required to undertake - if war should come - not to subject the States members of a nuclear-free zone to nuclear attack. This type of agreement would obviously be desirable and important. The Swedish Government does not, however, for its part wish to lay down any requirements of this kind as a condition of its participation in the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Europe. One of the reasons for this attitude is that the establishment of such a zone even without any guarantees of the kind mentioned can be expected to be a contribution to the relaxation of tension.

In accordance with the opinion expressed above, the Swedish Government considers that agreements on zones free of nuclear weapons, which are not supplemented by guarantees on the part of the nuclear Powers against the use of nuclear weapons, should be terminable with immediate effect in case of a war in which a nuclear Power is involved or in case of the threat of such a war.

The Swedish Government finally wants to express the opinion that some form of mutual control should be established to ensure that the provision of any agreements on nuclear-free zones are observed. This matter, which becomes particularly important should a zone free from nuclear weapons comprise Powers members of different military alliances, ought to be the object of special investigations.

(Signed) Osten UNDEN  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

38. TANGANYIKA

Original text: English  
10 February 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter PO 134 of 2 January 1962, forwarding the text of resolution No. 1664 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at the 1070th meeting on 4 December 1961.

I am to inform you that the Government of Tanganyika has noted the fourth preambular paragraph and the first operative paragraph of this resolution, and to say that the views of the Government are as follows:

- (i) The Government of Tanganyika would be prepared to give an undertaking to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons.
- (ii) While in present circumstances there is no likelihood in the foreseeable future of Tanganyika receiving atomic weapons on behalf of any other country, the Government could not give an unconditional undertaking that this situation would always exist and that any condition now stipulated could vary in the light of constantly changing world conditions.

(Signed) for PERMANENT SECRETARY  
External Affairs and Defence

39. TURKEY

[Original text: English]  
21 March 1962

With reference to your letter of 2 January 1962, in which you asked me to give the Turkish Government's views concerning the General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), I have the following to state.

Turkey is in favour of a general, balanced and complete disarmament under effective international control, to be implemented in successive stages. The Turkish Government believes that a general and complete disarmament programme should cover both conventional and nuclear weapons and that such a programme should be designed to eliminate the possibility of an advantage to be obtained by one party at the detriment of another during any phase of its implementation.

As far as the inquiry contained in the General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) is concerned, in the opinion of the Turkish Government unilateral commitments by countries not possessing nuclear weapons to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country, are not by themselves of a nature to contribute to the establishment of security and confidence in the international atmosphere. Furthermore, such unilateral commitments will not be in line with the principle of a balanced, general and complete disarmament under effective international control. On the contrary, undertakings of this nature may create a false sense of security and therefore indirectly hamper new progress in the general disarmament negotiations to which we attach great importance.

On the other hand, as the unilateral system of partial measures envisaged in the General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) is devoid of any objective criterion ensuring balance and security in the defensive set-up of nations, such a system is considered by my Government as being incompatible with the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence which has been recognized to all nations by the Charter of the United Nations.

In stating the views of the Turkish Government on the inquiry contained in your letter of 2 January 1962, I wish to reiterate that Turkey ardently desires the achievement of a balanced, general and complete disarmament under effective international control and that my Government will continue to co-operate in good faith for the attainment of this vital objective.

(Signed) TURGUT MENEMENCICGLU  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## 40. UKRAINIAN SSR\*

[Original text: Russian]

In reply to your letter No. PO 134 of 2 January 1962, asking for the views of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic concerning the possibility of putting into effect General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), which requests an inquiry into the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive them in their territories, I have the honour to state the following.

The Ukrainian Government considers that the main task, which must be undertaken without delay, is the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. At the same time, there might be a certain advantage in carrying out measures which would help to achieve that end by contributing to a reduction in international tension and to the establishment of trust between States. The Ukraine has always consistently opposed the use of any kind of weapon of mass destruction and urged that atomic and hydrogen weapons be unconditionally prohibited, that production of them should cease and that all stockpiles should be destroyed. Accordingly, the Ukrainian delegation at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, acting on the instructions of its Government, adopted a favourable attitude towards the proposal, put forward by the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, that countries not possessing nuclear weapons should refrain from manufacturing or acquiring them and should refuse to receive such weapons in their territory on behalf of any other country. The Ukraine voted for General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) approving the Swedish Government's proposal. The attitude of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the proposal that countries not possessing nuclear weapons should enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive them in their territories remains unchanged, and the Government

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\* Cable dated 15 March 1962 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR addressed to the Acting Secretary-General, United Nations.

considers that this would be an important step towards preventing the further spread of weapons of mass destruction. If more and more States manufacture nuclear weapons or acquire them from other countries, this will create further difficulties for the reaching of an agreement on the prohibition and destruction of atomic and hydrogen weapons and an agreement on general and complete disarmament. Hence the measures envisaged in General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) of 4 December 1961, by helping to limit the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons, might constitute a positive contribution towards eliminating the threat of a nuclear and rocket war and towards solving the problem of general and complete disarmament. The Government of Ukraine also considers it necessary to state that, for its part, it welcomes and supports the Soviet Government's proposal - contained in a letter dated 10 March 1962 sent to you by Mr. A.A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR - that the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France should enter into an undertaking not to deliver nuclear weapons or information concerning their manufacture to other countries. It would also help to prevent an increase in the number of nuclear Powers - which is the aim of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) - if certain geographical areas were recognized internationally as zones in which atomic and hydrogen weapons were not to be manufactured or kept. The General Assembly made a good start in that direction with its adoption of resolution 1652 (XVI) declaring the whole of Africa a denuclearized zone. The Ukraine gave full and unconditional support to that resolution. The establishment of nuclear-free zones in certain parts of the world, and particularly where international tension is greatest, would help to reduce such tension, would lessen the danger of armed conflict and would open the way to improved relations between States, both within those regions and outside them. In this connexion, particular importance and value attaches to the proposal by the Polish People's Republic, supported by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic, for a zone, free of nuclear weapons, in Central Europe - a region where the still smouldering embers of the last war threaten to become the cause of a new military conflict. The Ukrainian State, which made enormous sacrifices in both world wars in the struggle against aggression by German militarism, has an exceptional interest in the establishment

of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and fully supports the proposal put forward by the Polish People's Republic. There can be no doubt, either, that it would help to eliminate the dangerous development of international tension if the proposal made by the People's Republic of China for a nuclear-free zone in the Far East and in the basin of the Pacific Ocean were put into effect. The plans for establishing nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, in the Near and Middle East and in certain other parts of the world are also calculated to improve the international situation. It is common knowledge that at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly a group of countries belonging to the NATO military bloc, including the United States, the United Kingdom and France, voted against resolution 1664 (XVI), and abstained on resolution 1652 (XVI), which declared Africa a nuclear-free zone. The fact that the leading countries in NATO adopted such a position cannot but arouse misgivings. If General Assembly resolutions designed to reduce the danger of atomic war are to be put into effect successfully, all States Members of the Organization must make their contribution to the execution of these decisions. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, profoundly convinced of the need for the earliest possible reaching of an agreement on general and complete disarmament, will do all in its power to help settle this most important question of modern times.

(Signed) L. PALAMARCHUK  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the Ukrainian SSR

41. UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS\*

Original text: Russian  
10 March 1962

With reference to your letter of 2 January 1962, in which you asked me to give the Soviet Government's views concerning the possibility of giving effect to the United Nations General Assembly's resolution relating to an inquiry into the conditions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons might enter into undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons and from siting them in their territory, I have the following to state.

The Soviet Union, which regards the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament as the principal task confronting States at the present time, is at the same time in favour of the implementation of measures which would help to lessen international tension, bring about increased confidence among States and thereby contribute to the speedy solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. On 26 September 1961 the Soviet Government submitted for consideration at the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly a special memorandum in which it proposed a series of measures designed to cleanse international relations from the accumulated effects of the "cold war" and to increase confidence among States. The Soviet Government is, at the same time, ready to consider any constructive proposals of other States, too, directed towards the same goal.

The Soviet Union is firmly opposed to the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and ever since they first appeared has called resolutely for the prohibition and the cessation of the manufacture of these weapons of mass destruction of peoples, and the elimination of all stockpiles of such weapons. It was precisely this attitude which determined the Soviet Government's approach to the proposal made at the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly by Mr. Unden, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, that States which did not possess nuclear weapons should declare that they would not participate in nuclear armament, that they did not themselves intend to manufacture nuclear weapons and that they

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\* Also issued as document A/5103.

would not permit nuclear weapons to be kept in their territory either for themselves or for any other State. In a letter to Mr. Erlander, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, noted the positive significance of this proposal by the Government of Sweden. The Soviet Union supported the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly approving the Swedish proposal.

The Soviet Government wishes to reaffirm that it considers it important, in order to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons, that an agreement should be concluded between States whereby countries not possessing nuclear weapons should enter into an undertaking not to manufacture such weapons, not to acquire them from Powers who do possess them, and not to permit them to be sited in their territory. The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to enter into an undertaking not to deliver nuclear weapons or information concerning their manufacture to other countries, if the United States, the United Kingdom and France will enter into identical undertakings. The Soviet Government considers that there is no justification for postponing the conclusion of such an agreement.

The cause of peace and of removing the threat of nuclear warfare can only benefit if measures are taken against the further spread of nuclear weapons - the objective proposed in the resolution of 4 December 1961. The greater the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons - whether these weapons are acquired by new States or whether they are made available to one or another military bloc as a whole - the more difficult it will be to carry out the measures needed for the complete prohibition and destruction of these weapons of mass destruction, and to find a solution to the entire problem of general and complete disarmament. Any widening of the circle of such countries will set up new obstacles on the road to disarmament and will greatly increase the danger of mankind's slipping into the abyss of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Government feels it necessary to point out to States Members of the United Nations that the further spread of nuclear weapons could be prevented by agreeing that such weapons of mass destruction should not be produced or sited in specified geographical areas. Such an agreement would be fully in accordance with the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of 4 December 1961.

It is well known that the idea of establishing atom-free zones in various parts of the world has wide support. This support found expression in the well-known resolution, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its sixteenth session and warmly supported by the Soviet Union, providing that the entire African continent should be made a denuclearized zone.

The Soviet Government associates itself with the United Nations appeal to all States to refrain from using the territory, territorial waters or air space of Africa for testing, storing or transporting nuclear weapons. The Soviet Government fully supports the decision that Africa should be made a denuclearized zone, and calls upon all other States, and particularly upon the Powers possessing nuclear weapons, to comply with that decision.

To declare the African continent a denuclearized zone would be a good start towards the establishment of such zones in various parts of the world. There exists, for example, a proposal by the Government of the Polish People's Republic, supported by the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, that an atom-free zone should be created in Central Europe, the part of the world where the greatest tension prevails. It need hardly be stressed that the implementation of such a measure would be a valuable contribution to the normalization of the general situation not only in Europe but in other areas of the world, and would do much to remove the threat of war.

Another well-known proposal is that of the People's Republic of China for the establishment of an atom-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. Similar plans have been put forward for the Near and Middle East, the Balkans and the Adriatic, and for other parts of the world.

The emergence of zones free from nuclear weapons would reduce the likelihood of the outbreak of military conflicts and would facilitate the establishment of an atmosphere of trust in relations between States. The Soviet Union accordingly feels it a duty to give every possible support to the practical realization of these proposals.

Now that the United Nations General Assembly has adopted decisions aimed at setting up the first barriers against the danger of the outbreak of atomic war, it is the duty of all States sincerely desirous of eliminating for ever the threat

of such a war to do everything in their power to ensure that those decisions are carried out. In that connexion, the position taken by the States members of the NATO military bloc, i.e., the United States, the United Kingdom and France, gives rise to some concern. It is known that in the General Assembly they opposed the resolution concerning the obligation of States not possessing nuclear weapons to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons or siting them in their territory. They likewise withheld their support from the resolution providing for Africa to be declared a denuclearized zone.

The Soviet Union, for its own part, will continue to do everything, as it has in the past, to promote the implementation of measures aimed at the establishment of favourable conditions for the practical solution of the major problem of our times - general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

(Signed) A. GROMYKO  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the USSR

42. UNITED KINGDOM

/Original text: English/

9 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 134 of 2 January transmitting the text of resolution 1664 (XVI) dated 4 December 1961, by the General Assembly and to transmit to you the views of Her Majesty's Government.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that it is for those Governments not possessing nuclear weapons to decide on the conditions under which they might give the undertakings suggested in the fourth preambular paragraph of resolution 1664. Her Majesty's Government do possess such weapons and no question therefore arises under this resolution of their giving such undertakings.

As for operative paragraph 3 of the resolution, the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, when the matter is discussed in the Disarmament Commission, or should it be raised in the Eighteen-Nation Conference on Disarmament, will be governed by the following:

- (a) their view that Restrictions on the freedom of governments to deploy, or to accept the deployment on their territories of, nuclear weapons could only be accepted if they formed part of measures for general and complete disarmament which would adequately safeguard the security of the States concerned.
- (b) their support of General Assembly resolution 1665 of 4 December 1961, about means to prevent an increase in the number of Governments possessing their own nuclear weapons.
- (c) their conviction that further nuclear tests can be prevented if all those concerned will enter into fruitful negotiations to end such tests under effective international control.

(Signed) C.T. CRCWE  
United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations

43. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

/Original text: English/  
12 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of 2 January in which, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), you request the views of my Government "as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive in the future nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country".

The United States attaches great importance to this matter and desires that an early solution be achieved to this as well as other important aspects of disarmament. Its views on the manner in which the problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons must be solved have been set forth by the representative of the United States to the United Nations during the General Assembly debates on this problem. Nevertheless, I welcome this additional opportunity to reiterate these views.

With regard to the position of the United States, the question of dissemination of nuclear weapons appears to fall logically into two categories: (1) the manufacture or acquisition of ownership of nuclear weapons, and (2) the deployment of nuclear weapons. With respect to the manufacture or ownership of nuclear weapons, the concern of my Government to prevent the proliferation of such weapons has been made clear by its actions. Both United States legislation and policy severely limit United States transfer of weapons information to other countries; United States policy opposes the development of national nuclear weapons capability by any additional nation. United States legislation precludes transfer of ownership or control of such weapons to other States. This legislation has been a keystone in the nuclear weapons policy of the United States.

The concern of my Government with the problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons is also reflected in the far-reaching disarmament proposal which it put forward on 25 September 1961, in the sixteenth General Assembly. That proposal in its Stage I provides, inter alia, that "States owning nuclear weapons shall not relinquish control of such weapons to any nation not owning them and shall not

transmit to any nation information or material necessary for their manufacture". It further provides that "States not owning nuclear weapons shall not manufacture such weapons, attempt to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other States, or seek or receive information or materials necessary for their manufacture". In the sixteenth General Assembly, the Government of Ireland proposed a resolution (1665 (XVI)), the substance of which was in consonance with the similar proposals contained in the United States proposal of 25 September. Consequently, the United States gave its full support to that constructive effort to deal with the problem and joined other delegations in passing this resolution by a unanimous vote.

On the second aspect of General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI), i.e., location of nuclear weapons, for reasons that are well understood the defence system of the United States and of its allies includes both conventional and nuclear weapons, which exist to support the right of individual and collective self-defence, a right recognized by the Charter of the United Nations. Both the United States and its allies have chosen these arrangements recognizing that nuclear weapons are a necessary deterrent to a potential aggressor who is armed with such weapons and openly threatens the free world.

It is the firm belief of the United States that the only sure way to remove nuclear weapons, wherever located, from national defence establishments is through realization of a programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Although this country cannot speak for other States, it is the opinion of the United States that, in the present world situation, nations would be willing to accept those specific undertakings which would involve giving up vital elements of their security arrangements only after they can be sure their security is adequately guaranteed by effective disarmament and peace-keeping measures.

This problem was carefully considered by my Government in drafting the broad disarmament proposals it advanced on 25 September. My Government considers it appropriate that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1722 (XVI), take under consideration the questions raised by General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI). The resolution put forward by the Government of Sweden was adopted by the General Assembly prior to the formation of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. Consonant with its views that all

of the problems specified in General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI) can only be finally resolved in the context of general and complete disarmament with adequate control, the United States Government believes that these matters are appropriate for the Disarmament Committee to consider. That Committee is charged with negotiating a balanced disarmament agreement in keeping with the unanimous recommendation of the General Assembly that such negotiations be based on the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations of 20 September 1961 (document A/4879).

May I assure you of the continued co-operation of the United States Government in those areas of endeavour which will lessen the threat to mankind of nuclear destruction. It is fervently hoped that real progress can soon be made toward the attainment of peace in a disarmed world.

(Signed) George W. BALL  
Acting Secretary of State

## 44. YUGOSLAVIA

[Original text: English]

26 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962 relating to General Assembly resolution 1664 (XVI).

As Your Excellency is no doubt aware, the Yugoslav Government, while resolutely pursuing the goal of general and complete disarmament, has consistently favoured the adoption of such initial and partial measures in the field of disarmament as would ease international tensions and both create more propitious conditions for, and actually usher in, a process leading to general and complete disarmament. It may be recalled that Yugoslavia has, for her part, made certain suggestions in this regard to the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations in 1956, as well as to successive sessions of the General Assembly.

The Yugoslav Government has, in accordance with this general attitude, lent its support to the various proposals to establish atom-free zones in various areas of the world. More especially in those areas where, as in Central Europe, the two major military alignments are in direct contact or also in areas which it is essential, above all in the interests of the nations concerned, to keep free from involvement in any aspect of the arms race or of great power rivalries. We have also viewed with favour proposals tending to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons, as we felt that such measures would help obviate the danger of what would in fact amount to an expansion and aggravation of the existing nuclear armament's race. We consider that these and other similar proposals should be given close attention by the Disarmament Committee now meeting in Geneva.

It is for the same basic reasons that the Yugoslav Delegation at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly supported resolution 1664 (XVI), initiated by the Delegation of Sweden the purpose of which was "to halt further nuclear weapons tests and prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons". With regard to this resolution, I am now in a position to state, on behalf of the Government of the F.P.R. of Yugoslavia, that it is prepared to give favourable consideration to the possibility of entering into a specific undertaking to.

"refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and to refuse to receive such weapons in its territory on behalf of any other country", provided, naturally, that such an undertaking forms part of a general agreement. It should be emphasized, at the same time, that such an undertaking to have any lasting and substantial meaning should apply not merely to the countries envisaged in the resolution but should be extended also to those countries on whose territories nuclear weapons and launching facilities are already located. It is, of course, our understanding that corresponding commitments will be entered into by the nuclear Powers.

I need hardly add that, in supporting the idea of establishing what is now commonly known as a "non-nuclear" club, our purpose is in no way to countenance the present nuclear club or to condone the perpetuation of the existing monopoly of nuclear weapons, but on the contrary to help launch a process the early effect of which should be to denuclearize the nuclear Powers themselves through general and complete disarmament.

(Signed) Koca POPOVIC  
State Secretary of Foreign Affairs

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