



LETTER DATED 28 MARCH 1962 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NIGERIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

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 specific 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.

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
