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## QUESTION OF CONVENING A CONFERENCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF SIGNING A CONVENTION ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS

### Report of the Secretary-General

1. By resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted on 24 November 1961,<sup>1/</sup> the General Assembly requested "the Secretary-General to consult the Governments of Member States to ascertain their views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and to report on the results of such consultation to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session".
2. Accordingly, in a circular note dated 2 January 1962, the Acting Secretary-General requested Member Governments to state their views. As at 15 August 1962, fifty-eight (58) replies were received.
3. In studying these replies it was noted that twenty-nine (29) Governments had expressed favourable views concerning the possibility of convening a special conference for signing the proposed convention. These communications have been reproduced as group 1 in annex II of the present report.
4. Twenty-six (26) Governments expressed negative views or had some doubts concerning the proposed course of action at the present. These communications have been reproduced as group 2 in annex II.
5. In the three (3) other replies the Governments indicated a preference to await the results of the Conference of the eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee before submitting their definitive views. These communications are reproduced as group 3 in annex II.

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<sup>1/</sup> Resolution 1653 (XVI) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 55 to 20, with 26 abstentions. The text of the resolution is reproduced in annex I to the present report.

6. Although varying, and even conflicting, views have been expressed concerning the specific procedure and immediate objective proposed in resolution 1653 (XVI), the replies reflect the concern of the Members of the United Nations to continue the search for acceptable means of eliminating the possible use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The Acting Secretary-General shares this concern and hopes that this important problem will be given further consideration in the course of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

ANNEX I

Resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its  
1063rd plenary meeting on 24 November 1961

DECLARATION ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR  
AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The General Assembly,

Mindful of its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as in the consideration of principles governing disarmament,

Gravely concerned that, while negotiations on disarmament have not so far achieved satisfactory results, the armaments race, particularly in the nuclear and thermo-nuclear fields, has reached a dangerous stage requiring all possible precautionary measures to protect humanity and civilization from the hazard of nuclear and thermo-nuclear catastrophe,

Recalling that the use of weapons of mass destruction, causing unnecessary human suffering, was in the past prohibited, as being contrary to the laws of humanity and to the principles of international law, by international declarations and binding agreements, such as the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868, the Declaration of the Brussels Conference of 1874, the Conventions of The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, and the Geneva Protocol of 1925, to which the majority of nations are still parties,

Considering that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would bring about indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization to an even greater extent than the use of those weapons declared by the aforementioned international declarations and agreements to be contrary to the laws of humanity and a crime under international law,

Believing that the use of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, is a direct negation of the high ideals and objectives which the United Nations has been established to achieve through the protection of succeeding generations from the scourge of war and through the preservation and promotion of their cultures,

1. Declares that

(a) The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations;

(b) The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would exceed even the scope of war and cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity;

(c) The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is a war directed not against an enemy or enemies alone but also against mankind in general, since the peoples of the world not involved in such a war will be subjected to all the evils generated by the use of such weapons;

(d) Any State using nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to consult the Governments of Member States to ascertain their views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and to report on the results of such consultation to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session.

# ANNEX II

## Replies by Governments of Member States

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AFGHANISTAN

[Original text: English]

4 June 1962

The Permanent Mission of Afghanistan to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to inform him of the views of the Government of Afghanistan on the question of the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes as requested by the Secretary-General in his note PO 130 of 2 January 1962 in accordance with resolution 1653 (XVI).

The Royal Afghan Government emphasizes the importance of the role and responsibility of the United Nations in this field.

It is the considered opinion of the Royal Afghan Government that no international effort should be spared for the purpose of achieving the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and the limitation of nuclear weapons with the hope that the existing weapons will be destroyed.

The Government of Afghanistan considers that the signing of a convention on this matter, as an internationally binding document, would be useful and effective. Therefore, His Majesty's Government will give its support in principle to the idea of signing such a convention through convening a special conference for this purpose or any other ways and means which might be considered appropriate by the majority of the Members of the United Nations.

The Royal Afghan Government reserves its right to make its point of view known on this matter when it comes before the General Assembly for its full consideration.

ALBANIA

[Original text: French]

29 June 1962

In your letter No. PO 130 you requested the views of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, to which reference is made in resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which follows a consistent policy of peace and international co-operation, believes that the great discovery of our age, nuclear energy, should be placed at the service of man solely for peaceful purposes. The peoples are rightly alarmed at the course taken by the armaments race, particularly so far as nuclear weapons are concerned. It has become even more important to prohibit these weapons at the present time when, as is known, the United States of America has undertaken a new series of tests of these weapons of mass destruction at the same time that the Eighteen Nations Committee is working at Geneva for general and complete disarmament. As the General Assembly has rightly stated in resolution 1653 (XVI), the use of these weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations, to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity.

The Albanian Government has stated its position on several occasions; it stands for the discontinuance of tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, for the prohibition of their use and production, for the liquidation of existing stocks of such weapons, and for general and complete disarmament. It will likewise in the future spare no effort to achieve those ends in co-operation with the other peace-loving States. It is time that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should be outlawed, just as the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was outlawed in 1925 by the Geneva Protocol. There can be no doubt that the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes would be an important step towards the complete prohibition of these weapons, as well

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as towards an agreement on general and complete disarmament; it would diminish the threat of a nuclear war, improve the international atmosphere and strengthen the cause of peace and co-operation among States.

In informing you that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania declares itself in favour of the convening of an international conference for the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of the weapons in question, I beg you to accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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

BRAZIL

[Original text: English]

8 June 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Note No. PO/130, dated January 2nd, by which, pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 1653 (XVI), you request the views of the Brazilian Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for military purposes.

2. In reply, I am pleased to inform you that my Government agrees to the convening of the aforesaid conference. In its opinion, the signing of a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for military purposes would be a fundamental contribution to the reduction of international tensions and to the strengthening of peace, which are both constant aims of Brazil's foreign policy.

(Signed) Geraldo de CARVALHO SILOS  
Deputy Permanent Representative  
of Brazil to the United Nations  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

BULGARIA

[Original text: English]

5 March 1962

In reply to your letter PO-130 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 possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes according to paragraph 2 of the operative part of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted at the 1063rd meeting of the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, I have the honour, on instructions of my Government, to state the following:

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria continues to be a resolute supporter of the idea of general and complete disarmament. It finds the measures recommended in resolution 1653 (XVI) of 24 November 1961 to be an important step towards the realization of this idea. My Government suggests that the conference asked for in paragraph 2 of the operative part of the aforementioned resolution should be convened in March 1963.

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

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC\*

[Original text: Russian]

10 April 1962

In answer to your letter of 2 January 1962, in which, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted on 24 November 1961, you asked for the views of the Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour to make the following statement.

The Government of the Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly drawn attention, in the United Nations and elsewhere, to the serious danger contained in the present world situation, namely, that States will use the vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons which they already have in their arsenals. The terrible consequences of such a catastrophe for mankind are obvious.

The Byelorussian SSR, which has consistently advocated general and complete disarmament under effective international control as soon as possible, also supports any other measures which would help to reduce international tension and thus tend to create better conditions for carrying out a programme of general and complete disarmament.

In the United Nations General Assembly, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly voiced concern over the United Nations failure to take effective steps at the international level to help to reduce the danger of a sudden outbreak of nuclear war. The Byelorussian SSR firmly supported the Soviet Union's urgent appeals to the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other States to enter into a solemn undertaking to renounce the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Byelorussian delegation appealed to all States to support the proposal for a declaration by which States would denounce the use of nuclear weapons.

The Government of the Byelorussian SSR notes with satisfaction that at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations were able to vote for such a declaration. The

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\* Also issued as document A/5119.

declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is a step in the right direction. In declaring that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and that it is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity, the General Assembly was expressing the view of all peoples of the earth, of all peace-loving forces which are striving to avert the threat of nuclear war.

The Government of the Byelorussian SSR supports the idea of convening a special conference to sign a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The conclusion of such a convention would be an important step towards the prohibition and complete destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, which the socialist and other peace-loving countries have consistently advocated. The importance of conventions of this kind is confirmed by past experience and in particular by the 1925 Protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons - the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction in existence - would help to improve the world situation, to strengthen States' trust in each other and to realize man's age-old dream of general and complete disarmament, and thus to ensure eternal peace on earth.

(Signed) K. KISELEV  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the Byelorussian SSR

CAMBODIA

[Original text: French]

9 February 1962

Further to your letter No. PO/130 of 2 January 1962 regarding the convening of a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour to inform you that the Royal Government of Cambodia is in favour of convening such a conference.

(Signed) NHIEK-TIOULONG  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

CEYLON

[Original text: English]

3 April 1962

I am in receipt of your letter PO 130 of 2 January 1962, transmitting the text of the resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly regarding the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes. You had wished me to indicate the view of my Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes. In this connexion I wish to inform you that the Government of Ceylon has been steadfastly of the view that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes must be banned and, accordingly, Ceylon co-sponsored resolution 1653 (XVI) under reference. My Government will spare no effort in its endeavours to achieve this objective and, therefore, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposal to convene a special conference to sign a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

(Signed) Sirima R.D. BANDARANAIKE  
Prime Minister

and  
Minister of Defence and External Affairs

CHILE

[Original text: Spanish]

26 February 1962

The Acting Chargé d'Affaires of Chile to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to the Secretary-General's note No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, has the honour to inform him that the Government of Chile has no objection to the action contemplated in resolution 1653 (XVI), since it is in keeping with the peace-loving policy proclaimed by our country in public statements of both its Head of State, His Excellency Jorge Alessandri, and its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Carlos Martínez-Sotomayor, particularly in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly at its sixteenth session.

(Signed) Humberto DIAZ-CASANUEVA  
Acting Chargé d'Affaires

COLOMBIA

[Original text: Spanish]

2 February 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962 which you sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia pursuant to resolution 1653 adopted by the General Assembly at its meeting on 24 November 1961.

On instructions received today from the Colombian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Colombia considers it possible to convene the Special Conference envisaged in resolution 1633 with the object of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

(Signed) Germán ZEA  
Ambassador of Colombia

CYPRUS

[Original text: English]

1 March 1962

In response to your letter of 2 January 1962, under file No. PO 130, transmitting to us the text of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), on the above item, and requesting us to communicate to you the views of our Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, I am to inform you -

(a) That the Government of the Republic of Cyprus agrees with the above resolution of the General Assembly that a special conference should be convened for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes; and

(b) That the Government of the Republic further goes on to suggest that consideration should be given to the possibility of including in the said convention or any other additional ones, provision for the banning of tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, and for effective control measures to be agreed in connexion with the said prohibition and banning mentioned in (a) and (b) above.

(Signed) Spyros KYPRIANOU  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

CZECHOSLOVAKIA\*

[Original text: English]

27 March 1962

The Deputy 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 refer to the letter No. PO 130 dated 2 January 1962 in which the latter requests, pursuant to resolution 1653 (XVI), that Governments of Member States be asked for their opinions regarding the possibility of convening a separate conference at which a convention on the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for military purposes would be signed. On instruction of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic the Deputy Permanent Representative has the honour to advise the following:

At the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation actively supported the draft Declaration on the Prohibition of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear Weapons and voted for its adoption.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which suffered the bitter experience of two world wars, is vitally interested in the speediest possible realization of all measures that might diminish or remove the danger of war. The most reliable road to the definite elimination of the danger of a nuclear war and to the consistent prevention of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for all time is the achievement of general and complete disarmament under reliable international control which would lead to the liquidation of all material means for waging wars which individual States have at their disposal. Measures which would contribute to the lessening of tension in international relations and to the strengthening of confidence among States can be of considerable importance for the creation of suitable conditions for the achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The proposal contained in resolution 1653 (XVI) for the convocation of an international conference at which an international convention on the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would be signed, belongs no doubt among

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\* Also issued as document A/5110.

such measures. Such a convention would contribute to the aversion of the danger of a nuclear and thermo-nuclear war and would constitute an important step on the road towards the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers the proposal to convene an international conference and to sign a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons as an important measure on the road to the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war, to the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament and the safeguarding of peace in the world.

ECUADOR

[Original text: Spanish]

3 April 1962

In reply to your letters Nos. FO-130 and FO-134 of 2 January 1962, I beg to state the following:

Ecuador is one of those countries which take no part in the testing of nuclear weapons, does not believe such tests are of any benefit, and is more likely to sustain the harmful effects of atomic radiation in its territory. It is in no position to acquire, much less manufacture atomic weapons. Nevertheless, it 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 its territory on behalf of any other country, provided that all other nations in the same position give the same undertakings and provided that an international control organ is established with power to carry out continuous inspections but without the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of the countries concerned.

I am also to inform you that my country would look with favour on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes in accordance with resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its meeting of 24 November 1961.

(Signed) Benjamin PERALTA  
Under-Secretary  
for the Minister for Foreign Affairs

EL SALVADOR

[Original text: Spanish]

13 February 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. FO 130 of 2 January 1962, in which you kindly forwarded to this Ministry the text of resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 1063rd meeting, on 24 November 1961.

With reference to operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, to which you draw the Ministry's attention, I have the honour to inform you that my Government is in favour of convening the conference in question.

(Signed) Ramon GONZALEZ MONTALVO  
Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs

HUNGARY\*

[Original text: English]

30 March 1962

With reference to your letter PO 130 of 2 January 1962 requesting, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), the views of the Hungarian Government on the convocation of a conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, I wish to communicate the following:

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, being a consistent advocate of general and complete disarmament, will lend, as it did in the past, its support to any measures and initiatives conducive to the realization of this objective. The prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would contribute towards the conclusion of an agreement on the complete prohibition of such weapons, consequently towards easing international tension and establishing an atmosphere of mutual confidence, so as to create favourable conditions for negotiations on general and complete disarmament. Reaching such an agreement is an obligation of the United Nations arising out of the principles laid down in the Charter, and is in accordance with the requirements of international law.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, guided by the elementary interests of the Hungarian people and of the whole of mankind, demands the banning of nuclear weapons and regards as a step towards this objective the resolution adopted at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly requesting the Secretary-General to ascertain the views of the Governments of Member States on the possibility of convening a special conference for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. In line with the foregoing, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to attach great importance to such a conference particularly in view of the desirability of moving also the other nuclear Powers to renounce, like the Soviet Union, the use of these powerful weapons of mass destruction. The results of international negotiations prior to World War Two also render proof of the possibility of reaching and even observing international agreements on the prohibition of weapons of mass annihilation.

(Signed) János PÉTER  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
Hungarian People's Republic

\* Also issued as document A/5115.

INDIA

[Original text: English]

12 February 1962

I am desirous to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter No. FO 130 of 2 January 1962, addressed to the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of India, regarding the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

The Government of India have always been, and continue to be, totally opposed to the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and are convinced that the total prohibition of such use is essential to the welfare and, indeed, the survival of humanity. India also voted in favour of resolution 1653 (XVI) which provides the basis for the present correspondence.

To be effective, a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes would require the active support of all States, particularly of States possessing these weapons. The Government of India hope that the proposed conference on which the General Assembly has made a decision by resolution 1653 (XVI) will have the participation of all countries with a view to reaching agreement on a convention as suggested in resolution 1653 (XVI).

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

INDONESIA

[Original text: English]

21 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962, file number FO 130, and on instruction of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, to inform Your Excellency that my Government is in favour to the "convening of a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes".

(Signed) Sukardjo WIRJOPRANOTO  
Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

LEBANON

[Original text: French]

17 February 1962

With reference to your letter No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, in which you drew my attention to paragraph 2 of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961 at its 1063rd meeting, I have the honour to inform you that the Lebanese Government is willing to support any move to convene a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

(Signed) Philippe TAKLA  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

MONGOLIA

[Original text: Mongolian]

25 April 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter dated 2 January 1962 and state the following:

The Declaration of the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes is acquiring more and more urgent significance when some western Powers, disregarding the public opinion, are preparing for renewal of nuclear tests and putting various obstacles on the way to an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The United Nations have declared that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law and the laws of humanity, and any State, using nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization.

It is quite natural that these noble ideas of the Declaration have met with warm support of the Mongolian people, as well as other peace-loving nations the world over.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that these ideas could be put into life only when the nuclear Powers would bind themselves with obligation to refrain from manufacturing, handing over and using the nuclear weapons and States, not possessing such weapons - to refrain from acquiring them in the future.

Hence, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is giving its full support to the proposal, contained in the Declaration, of convening a special international conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and considers that such a

conference would undoubtedly promote positive solution of the problem of the general and complete disarmament and make valuable contribution to the cause of preserving and consolidating peace and security among nations.

(Signed) P. SHAGDARSUREN  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Mongolian People's Republic  
Ulan Bator

NEPAL

[Original text: English]

29 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962, number FO 130, referring to resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, concerning the convening of a conference for the preparation and signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal firmly endorses the principles embodied in resolution 1653 (XVI) and believes that the use of nuclear weapons would be a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity. His Majesty's Government of Nepal does not possess any nuclear weapons and does not intend to acquire them in the future in behalf of any other country. In the view of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the preparation and signing of a convention which would prohibit the use of such weapons for purposes of war should be wholeheartedly welcomed by all peace loving nations.

(Signed) Matrika Prasad KOIRALA  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

POLAND

[Original text: English]

19 January 1962

I have the honour to refer to your communication of 2 January 1962 (No. PO 130) addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland. I am instructed by my Government to convey to you, Sir, the following reply to that communication:

The Government of the Polish People's Republic maintains that a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes should be convened without undue delay.

The Polish Government has been drawing attention to the necessity of such a prohibition for a number of years. It believes moreover that the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament would be most effective in this respect. It is prepared, however, to sign a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons even before that agreement is reached, for it is convinced that a partial solution of this nature would contribute to an improvement of international atmosphere so essential for achieving general and complete disarmament.

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

ROMANIA\*

/Original language: French/

29 March 1962

I acknowledge receipt of your letter PO 130 dated 2 January 1962 concerning the convening, in conformity with resolution 1653 (XVI), of an international conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and on behalf of the Romanian Government I have the honour to state the following.

The adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1653 (XVI), in favour of which the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic voted, represents a positive step towards the settlement of a question that is vital to mankind and it responds to the desire of the peoples to remove for all times the danger of a devastating nuclear war. The use of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, would clearly constitute a violation of the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations Charter and of the rules of international law, and would amount to a war against mankind.

The prohibition of the use of atomic weapons by all States would correspond to the highest degree to the basic interests of peoples and would help to resolve the question of general and complete disarmament.

In accordance with these principles, the Romanian Government particularly welcomed resolution 1653 (XVI), which spoke out against the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

The Romanian Government considers it possible and necessary to convene a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, as referred to in resolution 1653 (XVI).

(Signed) Corneliu MANESCU  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

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\* Also issued as document A/5113.

SAUDI ARABIA

[Original text: English]

26 March 1962

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency the cable reply sent by my Government with reference to your letter dated 2 January 1962, reference PO 130, addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Jeddah, in which you stated that you would appreciate receiving a statement of the views of my Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

The cable reply of my Government is to the effect that it has no objection to the convening of such a conference, hoping that the other Member States agree to holding it.

(Signed) Jamil M. BAROODY  
Deputy Permanent Representative

SIERRA LEONE

[Original text: English]

6 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter PO 130 of 2 January and to inform you that the Government of Sierra Leone supports the proposal to convene a special conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear war devices.

(Signed) John KAREFA-SMART  
Minister of External Affairs

TANGANYIKA

[Original text: English]

10 February 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. ~~PO~~ 130 of 2 January 1962, forwarding the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1063rd meeting on 24 November 1961.

The attention of the Tanganyika Government has been drawn to paragraph 2 of the operative part of this resolution as quoted in your letter, and I am to inform you that the Government of Tanganyika welcomes the proposal for a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

(Signed) N.A.I. FRENCH  
For Permanent Secretary  
External Affairs and Defence

TUNISIA

[Original text: French]

3 February 1962

The Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and, in reply to his letter No. FO 130 of 2 January 1962, has the honour to inform him that the Tunisian Government has no objection to the possible convening of a special conference for the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original text: Russian]

Cable

To: U Thant, Acting Secretary-General, United Nations  
From: Mr. L. Palamarchuk, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR  
Date: 15 March 1962

SIR,

IN REPLY TO YOUR LETTER OF 2 JANUARY 1962, IN WHICH, IN PURSUANCE OF RESOLUTION 1653 (XVI), YOU ASKED FOR THE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR ON THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING A SPECIAL CONFERENCE FOR SIGNING A CONVENTION ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR WAR PURPOSES, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO STATE THE FOLLOWING.

THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC HAS CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE USSR GOVERNMENT'S MANY PROPOSALS CALLING UPON THE LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WEST AND OTHER STATES TO RENOUNCE UNCONDITIONALLY THE USE OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINE ACCORDINGLY WELCOMED THE ADOPTION, AT THE SIXTEENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OF THE DECLARATION ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR WAR PURPOSES, WHICH GAINED THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS; DESPITE THE NEGATIVE POSITION ADOPTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES BELONGING TO WESTERN MILITARY BLOCS. BY TAKING THIS ACTION, THE UNITED NATIONS MADE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE NOBLE CAUSE OF ELIMINATING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WAR, FOR WHICH ALL PEACE-LOVING STATES, INCLUDING THE UKRAINIAN SSR, PERSISTENTLY STRIVE. THE DECLARATION STRESSES THAT THE USE OF SUCH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IS A NEGATION OF THE HIGH IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, AND PROCLAIMS THAT THE USE OF THESE WEAPONS IN WAR IS CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND IS A CRIME AGAINST MANKIND. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS SOLEMN DECLARATION MEETS THE WISHES AND HOPES OF ALL PEOPLES. SINCE IT BELIEVES THAT THE REACHING OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON

THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD HELP TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF THE COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND DESTRUCTION OF SUCH WEAPONS, AND ALSO THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION OF OUR TIME, NAMELY GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR APPROVES THE PROPOSAL, IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE DECLARATION, ON THE CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE SIGNING OF A CONVENTION ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR WAR PURPOSES.

(Signed) L. PALAMARCHUK  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS\*

[Original text: Russian]

10 March 1962

In reply to your letter requesting the Soviet Government's views concerning the convening of an international conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) of 24 November 1961, I would communicate the following.

The United Nations General Assembly laid a sound and encouraging foundation at its sixteenth session by adopting a declaration to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons for war purposes. The peoples, for whom the removal of the threat of a devastating war is a cherished dream, cannot but endorse the words of the declaration to the effect that the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons would be contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and to the rules of international law and would be a war directed against mankind in general.

The Soviet Union has for several years called insistently upon the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other States to assume a solemn and unconditional undertaking to renounce the use of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore particularly gratifying to the Soviet Government that the United Nations has now expressed itself in favour of the assumption by States of such an undertaking.

The Soviet Government attaches great importance to the proposal made in the declaration for the convening of a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of such a convention should prove an important step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, their elimination from the armaments of States and the liquidation of all accumulated stocks of such weapons. The significance of agreements of this nature is confirmed by historical experience and has stood the test of time. It is known, for example, that the 1925 Protocol for the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons had a great restraining effect and prevented the use of these types of weapons during the

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\* Also issued as document A/5102.

Second World War. If States succeeded then in barring the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons, it is all the more necessary to prevent the use of nuclear weapons, which would doom hundreds of millions of people to destruction.

The conclusion of a convention would help to relieve international tension, to strengthen confidence among States and, what is particularly important, to solve the problem of general and complete disarmament. It would thus constitute an important contribution to the cause of realizing the most cherished aspirations of all peoples - the elimination of the threat of nuclear-rocket war.

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

UPPER VOLTA

[Original text: French]

17 January 1962

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Upper Volta presents his compliments to Your Excellency and, in reply to your note No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, has the honour to inform you that the Government of the Upper Volta would take a very favourable view of the convening of a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Upper Volta deems it necessary to make known to Your Excellency the desire of the Government of the Upper Volta that all the States Members of the United Nations should be invited to such a conference, which might be held in the capital of a neutral State in order that the discussion should take place in the calmest possible atmosphere.

(Signed) Lompolo KONE

YUGOSLAVIA

[Original text: English]

18 June 1962

With reference to your letter FO 130 of 2 January 1962, I have the honour to transmit the reply of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia relating to resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 24 November 1961, concerning the convening of a conference for the preparation and signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

"Nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests and various other forms of the arms race, and more particularly in the field of nuclear armaments, were quite naturally the object of special and serious attention at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. In expressing the sentiments of the peoples of the world and their firm demand that an end be put to present developments in this field of international relations, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions relating to nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, denuclearized zones and the prevention of the dissemination of nuclear weapons. Among these, resolution 1653 (XVI) of 24 November 1961, entitled 'Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons', is of particular significance.

"In accordance with the general attitude of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in regard to the necessity to undertake initial and partial measures primarily in the field of nuclear armaments, whose adoption would contribute to the elimination of the immediate threat to peace and to the initiation of a process of general and complete disarmament, the Yugoslav delegation gave its support, at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, to resolution 1653 (XVI) of 24 November 1961 concerning the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. On that occasion, the Yugoslav delegation pointed out that the special attention given to the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes did not, naturally, mean an acceptance of other forms of war, which is prohibited as a means of

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national policy by the Charter, but that, on the contrary, it was an expression of the desire of mankind to rid itself, as soon as possible, of the fear of the use of weapons whose deadly power would jeopardize life on earth, and to contribute, in this way also, towards the creation of conditions propitious for an easier and more rapid realization of general and complete disarmament.

"It is in this light and in the belief that the adoption of such a measure would contribute to the elimination of the danger of war and would constitute an important step towards the realization of general and complete disarmament under strict international control that the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its readiness to take part in a conference for the preparation and signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons which, it is hoped, will be convened as soon as possible."

(Signed) Koca POPOVIC  
Secretary of State for  
Foreign Affairs

AUSTRALIA

[Original text: English]

30 March 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 2 January 1962, with its enclosure, concerning the second operative paragraph of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1063rd meeting on 24 November 1961.

The Australian delegation to the sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations voted against the adoption of resolution 1653 (XVI) in its draft form both in the First Committee and in plenary. The Australian Government's view was given by the leader of the Australian delegation in his statement to the First Committee on 10 November 1961 (A/C.1/PV.1191). As he then explained, Australia sees three principal drawbacks to the proposal.

First, the condemnation of nuclear weapons, which are only one of the instruments of war, will not eliminate war itself, and it is to this end that our efforts should be directed. The use of all arms for aggressive purposes is contrary to the Charter and the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons to further aggression is particularly abhorrent. But the right of self-defence is expressly recognized and safeguarded in Article 51. Any proposal therefore which would have the effect of impairing the exercise of the right of self-defence and thereby of encouraging aggression would itself be contrary to the spirit of the Charter and the intentions of those who framed it.

Secondly, recent events have shown the worthlessness of declaratory undertakings and the danger of placing reliance on them. Indeed, the signing of a declaratory convention such as that contained in resolution 1653 (XVI) might well work against the achievement of agreements on a nuclear weapon test ban and on general and complete disarmament.

Finally, it cannot be expected that, upon the signing of a convention, such as that proposed in resolution 1653 (XVI) those Powers which have a nuclear capability would cease to base their defense policies on it. This point emerged

clearly in the interview which Mr. Khrushchev had with the American journalist Sulzberger on 5 September 1961. Mr. Khrushchev then said:

"It would be untimely at present to say that in the event of war atomic weapons would not be employed. Anyone who made such a statement could turn out to be untruthful even though when making such a pledge he was sincere and not meaning to tell a lie. Let us assume both sides were to promise not to employ nuclear weapons while retaining stockpiles of them. What would happen if the imperialists unleashed war? If either side in such a war, should feel it was losing, would it not use nuclear weapons to avoid defeat? It would undoubtedly use its nuclear bombs."

In this statement therefore Mr. Khrushchev shows how little reliance can be placed on undertakings of the sort envisaged in resolution 1653 (XVI).

It should not, however, be assumed from this that Australia does not sympathize with the basic purpose underlying resolution 1653 (XVI). The Australian Government's policy is and has always been to work whole-heartedly for the reduction of international tension and for the achievement of general and complete disarmament under adequate control arrangements and in conditions of mutual sincerity. To this end, it has given its full support to the United States of America's Declaration on Disarmament as being the most comprehensive plan yet advanced for the achievement of this objective.

Finally, I should add that the Australian Government welcomes the progress marked by the publication of the United States-Soviet Joint Declaration of Agreed Principles on Disarmament, and that it looks forward with hope to the achievement of progress at the meeting in Geneva of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee. The Australian Government considers that nothing should be done to detract from or cut across efforts towards an international agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The Australian Government therefore, taking into account all these factors, finds itself unable to support the proposal to convene a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

(Signed) Garfield BARWICK  
Minister for External Affairs

BELGIUM

[Original text: French]

5 July 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. PO.130, of 2 January 1962, in which you requested a statement of the views of the Belgian Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, since General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) had requested you to consult the States Members of the United Nations on this subject.

The Belgian Government perfectly understands the concern of the Powers which brought the draft resolution in question before the General Assembly. It has itself always shown a lively interest in the problems of disarmament and, as I have had the honour to inform you on previous occasions, it hopes for the implementation of a plan of general and complete disarmament (nuclear and non-nuclear) which shall be gradual, balanced and accompanied by adequate international control.

The Belgian Government wonders whether the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee meeting at Geneva is not the most appropriate body for the discussion of the various - and very complex - aspects of the problems affecting disarmament and the regulation of armaments. It would therefore, in its opinion, be advisable to postpone for the time being the convening of a special conference on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

(Signed) P.H. SPAAK  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

CANADA

[Original text: English]

26 June 1962

I have the honour to transmit below the views of my Government with respect to Resolution No. 1653 (XVI) of the General Assembly concerning "the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes."

The Canadian Government has consistently sought to bring about far-reaching measures of nuclear disarmament, and to have all aspects of this important problem carefully studied in international disarmament negotiations. Canada considers, however, that the convening of a special conference on the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons could have an adverse effect on international disarmament negotiations already in progress. In the opinion of the Canadian Government, the only effective way to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used is through agreement on a comprehensive and carefully verified system of disarmament which would deal with all aspects of the problem of nuclear weapons. The Eighteen-Nation Committee is continuing to give full consideration to the question of nuclear disarmament, as well as related measures dealing with armed forces and conventional armaments, and it is to be hoped that agreement will be reached on a comprehensive programme.

On the basis of the above considerations, the Canadian Government has concluded that it would not be desirable to convene a special conference to consider the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

(Signed) W. H. BARTON,  
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

CHINA

[Original text: English]

28 June 1962

With reference to your Note PO 130 of 2 January 1962 transmitting the text of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) and requesting my Government to give its views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour, upon instructions, to transmit to you the following reply:-

"The Chinese Government is gravely concerned over the threats presented by weapons of mass destruction to the civilization and existence of mankind, and is most anxious to see such threats removed in toto and forever. In the opinion of the Chinese Government, the only effective way to achieve such removal lies, not in mere prohibition of the use of such weapons, but in their absolute elimination from the world, to be effected in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, under orderly and effective international supervision, inspection and verification, and in the context and as a part of general disarmament. To prohibit the use of such weapons without at the same time eliminating all possibilities of their manufacture and stockpiling, will not prevent the possessors of such weapons from using them, just as the most solemn international instrument outlawing war has failed to prevent the aggressors from launching war.

"This is especially true when the Soviet Union possesses nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has no respect for, and has not observed, the rule of pacta sunt servanda. It has violated practically all political treaties it has concluded with the non-communist nations. History abounds with such Soviet violations. The Republic of China, therefore, has no faith in the Soviet Union observing an international convention designed to outlaw the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons."

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

DENMARK

[Original text: English]

30 June 1962

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of 2 January 1962 in which, acting in compliance with resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, you asked for the views of the Danish Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour to communicate the following details about the Danish Government's views on this matter:

It is a well-known fact that the Danish Government are strongly in favour of all endeavours to minimize the risks which nuclear weapons present to mankind. The Danish Government are conscious of the responsibility which every Member State of the United Nations must bear in this respect. The views expressed in resolution 1653 (XVI) are therefore in many respects in conformity with those of the Danish Government who highly appreciate the motives underlying this resolution.

The Danish Government consider that the risks involved by the use of nuclear weapons for purposes of warfare are best discussed in the framework of discussions on general and complete disarmament under international control.

In these circumstances the best forum for discussion of measures that may contribute towards a lasting and safe solution to the problems attending nuclear weapons would seem to be the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

The Danish Government would find it less expedient to convene a special conference to prepare and sign a convention on the lines indicated in resolution 1653 (XVI), because the discussions at such a conference - isolated from the set of general problems attending disarmament - could hardly contribute anything to the solution of the problems involved; on the contrary, it is feared that such discussions might impair the efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) J.O. KRAG

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FRANCE

[Original text: French]

12 June 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 2 January 1962 regarding resolution 1653 (XVI) which the General Assembly adopted on 24 November 1961 concerning the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

You drew my attention to operative paragraph 2 of that resolution, whereby the Secretary-General is requested to "consult the Governments of Member States to ascertain their views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and to report on the results of such consultation to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session".

The French Government has repeatedly had occasion in the past to make known its position with regard to the problems in question. It is in sympathy with those who are rightly concerned at the seriousness of these problems and the urgent need to solve them. It does not reject the principle underlying provisions of the kind reflected in resolution 1653; they may well have merit at a certain point in a nuclear disarmament process and in a more general context. It does not, however, appear to us either realistic or desirable, when embarking upon the path of disarmament, to begin with provisions which, though of fundamental importance for the security and self-defence of States, cannot by their very nature be made subject to effective controls or guarantees. In the troubled world in which we live moral prohibitions, solemnly proclaimed but not subject to control, would not dissipate mistrust and might even increase it. In accordance with the view frequently stated by my Government, it is on the basis of genuine disarmament measures the application of which would be effectively controlled and guaranteed that disarmament, i.e. nuclear disarmament first and foremost, should be undertaken as a matter of extreme urgency.

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As I indicated in the letter which I had the honour to address to you on 15 March 1962, the French Government is in favour of the conclusion of an international agreement on this subject. On various occasions, and again quite recently, it has made specific proposals to the other nuclear Powers to that effect.

(Signed) COUVE DE MURVILLE  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

GABON

/Original text: French/

16 February 1962

I have the honour, in reply to your letter PO 130 of 2 January enclosing the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, to inform you of the views of the Gabon Government.

It does not seem necessary, for the time being, to convene a special conference for the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. In the view of the Gabon Government, the Swedish resolution cannot be separated from the other disarmament measures considered by the Committee of eighteen nations, on which both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers are represented.

(Signed) J. AUBAME  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

GREECE

[Original text: English]

26 March 1962

With reference to your letter sub. No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, by which you kindly requested the views of the Royal Hellenic Government on resolution 1653 of the XVth General Assembly, I have the honour to acquaint you with the following.

As you will remember, my delegation voted against this resolution, being convinced that the ban on the use of nuclear weapons, i.e. the abolishment of atomic armaments, can be achieved only within the framework of a general and complete disarmament, implemented through effective international controls.

Indeed, without general and complete disarmament, international peace and security could be endangered, because the liberal countries which would renounce atomic armaments, without international controls, would find themselves at a disadvantage with regard to other countries having no intention to comply with the international undertakings into which the former have entered in good faith.

In the absence of an agreement on general disarmament, maintaining the right to nuclear defence could not be considered as contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter or international law in general, especially in the case of small countries whose security rests on the system of collective security and responsibility.

In accordance with these views, the Greek Government holds the opinion that it would be superfluous to convene a special conference on the prohibition of nuclear weapons. This matter falls within the competence of the Committee meeting now in Geneva in order to deal with general and complete disarmament, which includes the question of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear devices for war purposes.

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

IRELAND

[Original text: English]

29 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 130 of 2 January 1962, requesting the views of the Government of Ireland, pursuant to Resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

The Government of Ireland are strongly in favour of taking all effective steps to eliminate the danger of nuclear war with all its disastrous consequences for mankind. As is well known the Irish Delegation in the General Assembly has often expressed its anxieties that the build-up and further spread of nuclear weapons could lead to a nuclear cataclysm. We are not convinced however that the signing of a simple declaration would be an effective method of preventing the use of nuclear weapons or that such a declaration would add anything to the clear terms of the Charter by which all members are obliged to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any State and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression.

In the absence of an effective system of world law and law enforcement, the danger of war remains and with it the prospect that the most powerful and destructive weapons at the disposal of the combatants will be used in the event of war. If the survival of a nuclear Power were at stake, the Irish Government cannot believe it would hesitate to use the nuclear weapons at its disposal, irrespective of any declarations against their use it may have made or subscribed to. Indeed, there have already been threats to use nuclear weapons where no question of the survival of a nuclear power was involved.

My Government, therefore, consider that the Kellogg pact type of convention proposed would serve no useful purpose. In our view it might even be positively dangerous in so far as it would tend to encourage a false sense of security

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and lead States to reduce their endeavours to prevent the further spread of these terrible weapons and to establish a world security system which would be effective in preventing war and would ensure the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons in the hands of individual Powers. They also feel that a special conference to draft such a convention would distract attention from more fruitful approaches to the elimination of nuclear war.

(Signed) Frank AIKEN  
Minister for External Affairs

ISRAEL

[Original text: English]

29 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January 1962, transmitting the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1063rd meeting on 24 November 1961, and inviting the views of my Government on paragraph 2 of the operative part thereof.

In my reply of 25 March 1962 to your letter of 2 January 1962, transmitting the text of resolution 1664 (XVI), I pointed out that it was 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.

I also drew attention to some of the essential elements which must be present in any procedures and arrangements adopted, in order to ensure that they will in fact contribute to the attainment of that aim.

My Government, while being in full agreement with the ultimate objective, embodied in resolution 1653 (XVI), of freeing the world from the threat of nuclear and thermo-nuclear war, considers that at the present time careful attention must be given to the possible implications which the adoption of any new procedures in this area might have on the chances for the successful conclusion of the deliberations now being held in Geneva within the framework of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

(Signed) Golda MEIR  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

ITALY

[Original text: Italian]

I have the honour to refer to your letter, dated 2 January 1962, with which, in conformity with the task conferred upon you by the General Assembly under resolution 1653 (XVI) you requested a statement of the views of the Italian Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

The Italian Government is fully aware of the importance of the problem to which resolution 1653 (XVI) refers, and has not failed to express on several occasions its keen interest in any initiative aimed at freeing mankind from the nuclear threat. The Italian Government, by its action in the course of the past sessions of the General Assembly and in the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, has shown and continues to show the tenacity and the earnestness with which it pursues these aims. Therefore, the Italian Government, consistent with its action to date, favours in principle an initiative such as the one proposed, even though it realizes that the danger of a nuclear war cannot be eliminated simply by the prohibition of the use of weapons of mass destruction.

A convention, such as the one advocated by the sponsors of resolution 1653 (XVI), would establish the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, but would leave intact in the hands of the nuclear Powers the entire destructive potential which they possess today. And the Italian Government wonders whether in this way the aims that are allegedly being pursued would be achieved. With this doubt in mind, it is our opinion that a convention that forbids the use of nuclear weapons should form part of a wider agreement of the kind which is so laboriously being sought at Geneva.

The purpose which inspired the sponsors and the supporters of resolution 1653 (XVI) must therefore be pursued in the context of an agreement for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and

such an agreement must eliminate all instruments for waging war and establish a system for the maintenance of peace in a disarmed world. For these reasons the Italian Government continues to be of the opinion that the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament, now in progress in Geneva, is the most appropriate body to tackle these problems, and suggests that every effort must be made to make the Conference constructive and conclusive. Initiatives such as those advocated in resolution 1653 (XVI) will be useful if they will strengthen and stimulate the efforts now being made at Geneva, thus avoiding the danger of diverting and dissipating energy from the said Conference.

(Signed) Vittorio ZOPPI  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Italy  
to the United Nations

JAPAN

[Original text: English]

1 July 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 130 dated 2 January 1962 transmitting the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) and to communicate to you the views of my Government as follows:

The Japanese Government keenly wishes to see the earliest possible realization of concrete measures of nuclear disarmament. However, the question of banning the use of nuclear weapons is closely related to other disarmament measures, the effectiveness of which cannot be assured unless it is fully backed up by such concrete measures of general and complete disarmament as prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of stockpiles of such weapons under effective international control.

It is, therefore, the views of my Government that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee is the most appropriate place to tackle the question of banning the use of nuclear weapons within the framework of general and complete disarmament and that the convening of a special conference for signing a convention on prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would not, in our judgement, be productive so far as the question is taken up separately from general and complete disarmament, particularly under a situation where the Powers concerned have been unable yet to reach an accord on any concrete measures of disarmament, let alone the problem of suspending nuclear weapons testing.

(Signed) Zentaro KOSAKA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

LUXEMBOURG

/Original text: French/

28 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, in which you informed me of your desire to ascertain, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), the views of the Luxembourg Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes.

The Luxembourg Government, fully conscious of the disastrous consequences a nuclear war would have for mankind, has always been prepared to study with the greatest interest any measure designed to remove this terrible threat. For this reason it has attentively followed the disarmament discussions now taking place at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee. Since it is convinced that the risk of atomic war cannot be eliminated simply by prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, as proposed in resolution 1653 (XVI), the Luxembourg Government continues to favour a broader convention providing for total disarmament under effective international control.

The Luxembourg Government accordingly believes that the convening of a special conference for a convention on the prohibition of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would not be desirable in the present circumstances. It hopes, on the other hand, that no effort will be spared to facilitate the successful outcome of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament now being held at Geneva.

(Signed) SCHAUS  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

MADAGASCAR

[Original text: French]

18 May 1962

In your letter No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, you transmitted to me the text of General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted on 24 November 1961, which envisaged the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

In this connexion, the position of the Malagasy Government remains firm, namely that the question of nuclear armaments cannot be taken out of the wider context of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This was made unmistakably clear in the Declaration of the Twelve Heads of State of the African and Malagasy Union, who met at Tananarive from 6-12 September 1961 and who stated in that Declaration that they will support in the United Nations "any proposal for the elimination of war through general, progressive, simultaneous and controlled disarmament". In particular, they will insist on effective inspection and control".

In view of this, and considering further that the eighteen-nation Committee in session at Geneva - from which the African and Malagasy Union was arbitrarily excluded - has the responsibility of examining the problem of general and complete disarmament, including that of the reduction and ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons, the Government of the Malagasy Republic feels justified in thinking that there would be no object in convening another special conference which would only introduce a highly regrettable confusion into the negotiations in progress on this subject.

(Signed) A. SYLLA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

NETHERLANDS

[Original text: English]

12 May 1962

With reference to your letter of 2 January 1962, PO 130, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the views of my Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes.

1. Like other Governments, the Netherlands Government is also gravely concerned about the possible consequences of a nuclear war, and it is just as desirous as they are to help in reaching a speedy and realistic solution of the problems arising from the very existence of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. For those reasons the Netherlands Government fully understands the motives of the sponsors of resolution 1653 adopted by the XVith General Assembly on 24 November 1961, which (as a separate measure) seeks to outlaw the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes.

2. In this connexion the Netherlands Government wishes to point out that under the United Nations Charter states have assumed the obligation to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force which is not in conformity with the principles and aims of the United Nations; moreover it is important to remember that all Members of the United Nations are committed to the concept of general and complete disarmament, the implementation of which is the most effective means to prevent armed conflicts being fought with arms of a conventional or nuclear nature.

3. The Netherlands Government believes that a mere declaration prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons as embodied in resolution 1653 will not diminish or eliminate the danger of nuclear war and will not enhance the security of States and peoples. On the contrary, such a declaration might even create a false sense of security and induce Governments to slacken their efforts to arrive at practical and meaningful agreements on actual disarmament.

4. The Netherlands Government is furthermore of the opinion that the proposed declaration completely disregards the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defence embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

/...

In fact, the question of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons cannot be isolated from the problems of the manufacturing and stockpiling of such weapons and their means of delivery. These problems are closely interrelated and their combined and radical solution, on the basis of the principle that the military and strategic balance between the great powers must be maintained, can only be achieved by the elimination of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery within the framework of general and complete disarmament.

5. It will be clear from the foregoing that the Netherlands Government is not in favour of a separate convention containing the declaration called for under resolution 1653, and that it does not see that under the present circumstances any constructive purpose would be served by convening a special conference for the drafting and signing of such a convention. The Netherlands Government feels that the problem of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons should be tackled within the framework of general and complete disarmament and that the Disarmament Committee of Eighteen, which is now meeting at Geneva, is the appropriate forum in which to discuss this problem.

(Signed) C.W.A. SCHURMANN  
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

NEW ZEALAND

[Original text: English]

23 July 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2 January in which, pursuant to resolution 1653, adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961, you sought the views of the New Zealand Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of nuclear weapons for war purposes.

I should like to put my reply in the context of the Government's general views on disarmament. I recently summed up these views in the following terms:

"There is increasing urgency, as Mr. Macmillan says, in moving away from 'this sterile contest' of the nuclear arms race. It can only end in two ways. One is catastrophe. The other is binding international agreement on disarmament, whether complete, banning all arms, or, as a first step, banning further nuclear tests. This is the only real solution and the quest for it must be pressed ahead with the utmost urgency. No Government would welcome such agreement more than we would; no Government concedes more readily than we do that this is the most serious problem facing mankind."

The New Zealand Government accordingly welcomes the opportunity to examine any possible means of making some measure of progress on this fundamental but extremely complex and seemingly intractable problem of disarmament.

In considering the possibility of a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, various questions arise. One question is whether such a convention would restrict the right of self-defence. Amendments designed to protect this right were rejected at the time the resolution was adopted. On the other hand, the Charter recognizes the right of self-defence, and, as the representative of Pakistan said at the time the resolution was adopted: "If the amendments are seeking to make clear that which the Charter provides, the resolution cannot take those (Charter) rights away." Whatever the intention of the resolution, the effect of the proposed convention is accordingly open to question.

The effect of the proposed convention becomes even more doubtful when there is no proposal for measures of enforcement, or for measures to relate the convention to other aspects of disarmament. The worth of simple declaratory

undertakings was unfortunately revealed by the manner in which the moratorium on nuclear testing, as agreed by the major nuclear powers, was abruptly broken last September.

It appears to my Government, therefore, that a convention of the kind mentioned in your letter would provide the semblance but not the substance of progress on disarmament. Moreover an illusion of progress could lead to the relaxation of the greater effort required to conclude effectively binding and controlled international agreement on disarmament.

In short, the New Zealand Government is not at present convinced of the value of convening a special conference to sign a convention prohibiting nuclear weapons because the Government believes that more radical measures are necessary to solve this complex, fundamental and increasingly urgent problem. In the Disarmament Committee which has been meeting in Geneva, there exists an appropriate forum in which these wider issues may be considered and the New Zealand Government attaches the utmost importance to the need for these negotiations to be pressed ahead urgently and notwithstanding all the difficulties which arise.

(Signed) Keith HOLYCAKE  
Minister of External Affairs

NICARAGUA

/Original text: Spanish/

9 April 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter PO 130 of 2 January 1962, in which you forwarded to this Ministry the text of resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly at its 1063rd meeting of 24 November 1961, requesting the Secretary-General to obtain the views of Governments on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, and to this Ministry's reply No. 019 of 12 January 1962.

Being aware of the humanitarian purposes and intentions underlying the Declaration in question, my Government believes **that this subject** should be dealt with in the context of a general and complete debate under effective international supervision, and we therefore deem it unnecessary to hold a special conference.

(Signed) ALFONSO ORTEGA URBINA  
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs

NORWAY

[Original text: English]

27 June 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 2nd January, 1962, in which, with reference to General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), you request the views of the Norwegian Government regarding "the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes".

The Norwegian Government fully understands the motives behind the resolution and shares the concern expressed that "the armaments race, particularly in the nuclear and thermo-nuclear fields, has reached a dangerous stage requiring all possible precautionary measures to protect humanity and its civilization from the hazards of nuclear and thermo-nuclear catastrophe". It is particularly with this view in mind that my Government takes a deep interest in all proposals which may lead to real progress in the disarmament question and eliminate the fear of war. Thus the Norwegian Government has noted with satisfaction the agreement contained in the joint statement by the United States and the Soviet Union to the United Nations 16th General Assembly on the principles for general and complete disarmament. This statement which was unanimously endorsed by the United Nations' General Assembly, reflects the view that there should be a balanced disarmament of nuclear and conventional weapons. In the opinion of the Norwegian Government great importance should be attached to this joint statement by the World's two leading military powers who exercise decisive influence on the solution of the question of disarmament.

It is the view of the Norwegian Government that the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should not be separated from the general disarmament negotiations now under way, if real progress in this matter is to be hoped for.

In the light of the views expressed above, the Norwegian Government does not consider it expedient to convene a special conference to negotiate a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
(Signed) Halvard LANGE

/...

PAKISTAN

[Original text: English]

8 March 1962

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. PO 130 dated 2 February 1962, transmitting the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961.

The Government of Pakistan consider that the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes forms part of the over-all question of disarmament and can best be dealt with in the disarmament negotiations due to begin in Geneva on 14 March. The Government of Pakistan, therefore, do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by calling a special conference at this stage.

(Signed) Zafrulla KHAN  
Permanent Representative of Pakistan  
to the United Nations

PERU\*

[Original text: Spanish]

15 March 1962

I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter No. PO 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

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\* Also issued as document DC/201/Add.2.

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. PO 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

PHILIPPINES

[Original text: English]

12 April 1962

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's Note (Ref: PO 130) dated 2 January 1962, requesting the views of the Philippine Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, pursuant to paragraph 2 of the operative part of resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that while the Philippines shares the concern which lies behind the desire to conclude a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, the Philippines is of the view that the search for an effective means to curb the destructive use of nuclear power may be better served at the present time by allowing the current negotiations of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva the fullest chance to move forward to an eventual solution of the over-all problem of disarmament. We believe that a mere paper agreement to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons for war would be, not only ineffective, but actually dangerous unless it is verified under a foolproof system of inspection and controls, and unless it is accompanied by a decision to destroy all existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, together with systems of delivery.

(Signed) Emmanuel PELAEZ  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs

. SWEDEN

/Original text: English/

14 June 1962

With your letter of 2 January 1962 you have kindly transmitted to me the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 24 November 1961. You have in that context requested a statement of the views of the Swedish Government "on the possibilities of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes".

The Disarmament Committee referred to in resolution 1722 (XVI) and now in session in Geneva, was set up to consider the problem of disarmament in its totality. One important aspect of the disarmament problem, as reflected i.a. in the plans for general and complete disarmament submitted to the Committee, is the problem of the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. This problem thus falls clearly under the terms of reference of the Committee. My Government is strongly of the opinion that the work of the Disarmament Committee as the chosen forum for discussion of the whole disarmament problem should be pursued with all vigour. Under these circumstances the Swedish Government for its part does not consider it appropriate at the present time to convene a special conference for the purpose envisaged in resolution 1653 (XVI).

(Signed) Östen UNDÉN  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

THAILAND

[Original text: English]

30 May 1962

I have the honour to refer to your Note No. PO 130 dated January 2, 1962 requesting the views of His Majesty's Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes in pursuance of the General Assembly's Resolution 1653 (XVI).

His Majesty's Government has given serious consideration to the matter and has deeply reflected upon the implication of such move.

Indeed humanity, as a whole, is aware of and hence seriously concerned with the frightful effects of the recourse to nuclear and thermo-nuclear warfare. Thailand, being a small non-nuclear country, is first and foremost against the use of such and any other weapons for mass destruction. The fact remains, however, that in the prevailing world conditions where mutual suspicion rather than goodwill seems to be the rule and the design for aggrandizement and domination is yet to be restrained, self-defense constitutes the paramount duty of all nations, great and small alike, for the preservation of their independence, sovereignty as well as for the maintenance of international peace and security. Given the present balance of forces among the powers, nuclear weapons serve, whether we like it or not, as a necessary deterrent to the risk of war.

While it is easy to call an international conference for a certain purpose, it is quite a different thing to see to it that such purpose is achieved. The prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is desirable but it depends upon a number of conditions which, unfortunately, do not exist at the present time. An international conference will be fruitful only if the participants therein share the same determination to arrive at a workable agreement satisfactory to all concerned. The failure in the effort towards a cessation of nuclear weapons tests clearly indicates that a conference for the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would not be crowned with a better success in the circumstances.

It is, therefore, the considered opinion of His Majesty's Government that such arrangement can be reached only as an inseparable part of the settlement of the long pending problem of general and complete disarmament. It is our fervent hope that the seventeen nation Committee, now meeting in Geneva, will be able to produce a concrete plan with adequate safeguards and control which will be accepted by all, thereby relieving the world from the heavy burden of armament together with the spectre of war.

(Signed) Thanat KHOMAN  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand

TURKEY

[Original text: English]

12 July 1962

With reference to your letter No. PO 130 of 2 January 1962, requesting me to transmit the views of the Turkish Government on the desirability of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour to state the following:

Turkey, who is a founding member of the United Nations, has always been in favour of the establishment of peace and security in the world. She is convinced that world peace can only be established and maintained if a general and complete disarmament is implemented under effective and efficient international control. In the same context, the Turkish Government, while favouring all proposals aiming at achieving general and complete disarmament, has never supported limited and, consequently ineffective measures in the field of disarmament. Therefore, in the opinion of the Turkish Government, the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes will fall short of an adequate measure capable of resolving the whole of the disarmament problem. Furthermore, such limited measures, by creating a false sense of security and failing to provide effective safeguards through international control, may have the undesired effect of tending to increase the possibility of surprise attacks. The convening of a conference of this nature may also slow down progress and decrease the chances of success of the efforts that have been made for years to sign a disarmament treaty containing all the safeguards for effective control which, in the opinion of the Turkish Government, is the only way to establish genuine security in the world. The Turkish Government believes that, in view of the fact that these questions are being discussed by the Disarmament Commission in Geneva, it would not be appropriate to convene a special conference on this matter.

In the view of the Turkish Government, the objective contained in the General Assembly Resolution No. 1653 (XVI) can only be achieved if adequate disarmament measures covering both nuclear and thermonuclear and conventional weapons are agreed upon and an international control system, capable of putting these measures in application in a most satisfactory manner, is established.

The Turkish Government, therefore, thinks that the convening of a special conference on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, cannot constitute a practical step towards the goal of preventing a nuclear war.

(Signed) Vahap ASIROGLU  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original text: English]

9 April 1962

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's letter PO 130 of 2 January 1962 enclosing the text of resolution 1653 (XVI) and asking for the views of Her Majesty's Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

Her Majesty's Government strongly sympathize with all efforts to remove the danger of nuclear war and understand the motives of those who sponsored resolution 1653 and their natural and justified wish to free the world of this danger.

Unfortunately, however, Her Majesty's Government do not consider that this danger can be eliminated by a simple prohibition of the use of the weapons concerned. As long as such weapons exist, and indeed as long as the danger of war exists, the danger of nuclear war will exist also. In the event of war between nuclear powers, it is very probable that nuclear weapons would be used, notwithstanding any prohibitions existing. Meanwhile, the existence of an unenforceable prohibition on the use of these weapons would not contribute to security but might even impair it by breeding a false impression that aggressive action could be undertaken without risking nuclear war.

For these reasons Her Majesty's Government feel that the only way to remove the danger of nuclear war is by general and complete disarmament under effective international control which would eliminate all means of waging war both nuclear and conventional and establish international machinery to keep the peace in a disarmed world.

They would point out that, like all other Members of the United Nations, they have undertaken in the Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force and they take this opportunity of repeating once more solemnly their assurance that they will not use any weapons at their disposal, either nuclear or otherwise, for purposes of aggression.

In these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government consider that a Convention dealing with nuclear weapons such as that proposed in resolution 1653 could not be effective while these weapons still exist; and that it is in any case unnecessary to call a special Conference to discuss the proposals in this resolution, because an international committee whose establishment was endorsed by General Assembly resolution 1722 of 20 December 1961 is already meeting in Geneva to deal with the whole field of disarmament, and the problems posed by this resolution can most suitably be examined there.

In reaching these conclusions Her Majesty's Government have naturally taken account of the views of other Governments whose replies to your letter have already been published. In particular, they have noted the statement in the letter of 12 March from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR that "the conclusion of the aforesaid convention should be an important step towards a complete prohibition of nuclear weapons". They have, however, found themselves more in agreement with the statements made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on 8 September 1961, when he stated at a press interview that "if atomic weapons are preserved and if war is unleashed, it will be a thermo-nuclear war. Therefore world peace must be assured not by undertaking to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons but by a radical solution of the cardinal issues".

(Signed) Patrick DEAN  
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Original text: English]

30 June 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of 2 January in which, pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 1653 (XVI), you request the views of my Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

My Government is fully aware of the importance of the problem to which this resolution is directed. Certainly no state can regard with equanimity the danger posed by the possible use of nuclear weapons. The objective of every law-abiding power must be to seek conditions in which such weapons will no longer form part of the arsenal of any nation. This objective underlies the views expressed by the Representative of the United States during the last session of the General Assembly on the problem of halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It will continue to be the goal of the United States.

While my Government deplores the necessity to arm with weapons of mass destruction, it believes that a prohibition on their use, unaccompanied by measures leading to the attainment of general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world, cannot provide any real or lasting protection to potential victims of nuclear attack. Indeed, a convention which would be merely an expression of the desire to eliminate nuclear weapons or prevent their spread would not in itself establish the conditions of confidence necessary for universal renunciation of such weapons. My Government believes that the cause of disarmament cannot be advanced by the propagation of illusions about the ease with which it can be solved. There is no quick and easy road to disarmament. Its achievement will require the most devoted, constructive, patient, and realistic efforts. These efforts cannot be mobilized if the world becomes a victim of the illusion that disarmament can be accomplished by declaration without regard to the security concerns of states. Accordingly, in the judgement of my Government, as long as conditions for a successful conference do not exist, there is no point to holding such a conference.

The defense system of the United States and its allies, freely arrived at in accord with the United Nations Charter, includes nuclear weapons. This must continue to be the case as long as it is impossible to be certain through measures of verification that other states, which could use such weapons for aggressive purposes, do not retain a similar array of weapons in their national arsenals. The United States Government can and does offer the fullest assurances that it will never use any weapon, large or small, with aggressive intent. But the United States, like other free nations, must be fully prepared to exercise effectively the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense as provided in the United Nations Charter.

The Charter of the United Nations makes a distinction, not between one weapon and another, but between the use of force for aggression and for defense. This distinction is critical. It is the firm belief of the United States that the only sure way to eliminate the threat to mankind posed by nuclear weapons is to remove them from the arsenals of the nations through a programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Elimination of these weapons has been the goal of the United States ever since it first proposed, in 1946, a plan for ensuring, under adequate international safeguards, that atomic energy would be used only for peaceful purposes.

In its Outline of Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World, the United States has presented to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference, meeting at Geneva, realistic measures for the elimination from all national arsenals of all weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. My Government hopes that as the process of disarmament progresses, the threat of the use of all weapons including nuclear weapons will disappear as the weapons themselves are destroyed. To this end the United States is earnestly seeking to attain its goal of a world in which the use of force is subjected to the rule of law; a world in which general and complete disarmament under effective international control has been achieved; a world in which adjustments to change occur peacefully under the principles guiding the United Nations. Specifically, the United States treaty outline provides for the progressive

elimination of armaments until states possess in their national arsenals only those forces and agreed types of non-nuclear armaments required for internal order.

The Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament is currently charged with negotiating a balanced disarmament agreement under effective international control in keeping with the unanimously approved General Assembly Resolution 1722 (XVI), which called for negotiations based on the Joint US-USSR Statement of Agreed Principles. It is to be noted that the disarmament resolution was adopted subsequent to adoption of the resolution regarding banning the use of nuclear weapons.

My Government believes it appropriate that the question of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons is being actively considered in the context of general and complete disarmament by the Eighteen Nation Committee in Geneva. It is the fervent hope of the United States Government and its people that the negotiations in Geneva will achieve an agreement which will lead to a free, secure, and peaceful world.

(Signed) Dean RUSK  
Secretary of State of the  
United States of America

MEXICO

[Original text: Spanish]

24 April 1962

I have the honour to refer to your note, No. PO 130, of 2 January 1962, addressed to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, in implementation of resolution 1653 (XVI), paragraph 2 of which requests the Secretary-General to "consult the Governments of Member States to ascertain their views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and to report on the results of such consultation to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session".

In this connexion, I wish to assure you that my Government's basic position is to favour any action which may lead to the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

As regards the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of such weapons, however, I should like to draw your attention to the following considerations:

When a separate vote was taken on paragraph 2 of the resolution in question at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the Mexican delegation abstained from voting, on the grounds that one of the chief tasks of the eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee - which was then being planned and was subsequently constituted - would be, inter alia, to work towards the same purpose of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, and that it was undesirable to impede its work.

The Government of Mexico, therefore, believed at the time and continues to believe that before stating any final views on the advisability of convening the conference in question, it should wait until the results of the work of the eighteen-nation Disarmament Committee are made known through the report which will in due course be issued by that body. At that time the Mexican Government will of course re-examine all the aspects of the question in the light of that report.

(Signed) Dr. Jorge CASTAÑEDA  
Alternate representative of Mexico  
to the United Nations  
Chargé de mission ad interim

TOGO

[Original text: French]

7 June 1962

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter FO 130 of 2 January 1962 transmitting the text of resolution 1653 (XVI), which the General Assembly adopted at its 1063rd meeting, on 24 November 1961.

In accordance with the recommendation in the above resolution, you asked the views of my Government on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes.

In view of the fact that the Foreign Ministers of the chief nuclear Powers and of neutral countries have been meeting at Geneva for the last few months for the purpose of finding a mutually acceptable basis for a disarmament agreement, my Government considers that it would be better to await the final result of this conference before deciding upon the advisability of convening another conference.

(Signed) Paulin FREITAS  
Minister of State and Minister  
for Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of Togo

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

[Original text: English]

26 March 1962

With reference to General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) regarding the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency, that the matter is receiving the attention of my Government, and will be dealt with, in the light of the forthcoming results of the work of the Eighteen Nation committee on Disarmament presently convening in Geneva.

(Signed) H. Z. SABRY  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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