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ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

by

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* This paper by Dr. Peter Gacii, University College Nairobi, Kenya, has been prepared at the request of the Secretary-General. The views and opinions expressed therein are those of the author and do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of the Secretary-General.
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I. INTRODUCTION

1. It is generally accepted that a comprehensive approach to disarmament should not exclude a step-by-step approach by which agreements are sought on limited measures of disarmament aimed at lessening international tension, consolidating confidence among States and facilitating the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament.

2. The establishment of nuclear-free zones is one among the several limited measures of disarmament that have been envisaged to control the spread of nuclear weapons. Undoubtedly, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which was recently completed and opened for signature, represents the most direct approach to the question of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, it is equally true that measures such as the establishment of nuclear-free zones (and the same is true, to a large extent, of a comprehensive test ban treaty) can help to achieve the same goal.

3. That there is a close link between the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear-free zones is evidenced, inter alia, by the text of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which in Article VII provides that, "Nothing in this Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territory".

4. The earliest proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones were advanced more than ten years ago. Since then the question has been discussed in and outside of the United Nations and with respect to many areas, including Central Europe, the Nordic countries, the Mediterranean, the Balkans, the Middle East, the Far East and the Pacific, Latin America, Africa, Antarctica, and even outer space, the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

5. Already in 1956, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed a zone of limitation and inspection of armaments in Central Europe and, in particular, a ban on the stationing of nuclear weapons and forces of any kind in that zone. The following year, the Polish People's Republic submitted a plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, known as the Rapacki Plan, which was substantially modified in subsequent years, until a new Polish plan was submitted, in 1964, on the freezing of nuclear armaments in Central Europe.

6. Since 1956, the idea of demilitarized zones has made much progress and numerous proposals, several of them of an informal and exploratory nature, have been put forth. Thus, for example, Romania proposed in 1957, and again in 1959, that the Balkans be


2/ See section IV below.
made a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons and missile bases. In 1963, the USSR submitted in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament a proposal for the denuclearization of the Mediterranean. That same year, Finland called for the denuclearization of the Scandinavian countries. An atom-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific was first advocated by Chairman Khruschev in February 1959. In August 1963, the People's Republic of China addressed itself to all Heads of States proposing, *inter alia*, the creation of a denuclearized zone in the Far East and the Pacific, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

7. Meanwhile, on 1 December 1959, the Treaty on the Antarctic was signed in Washington, with a view to ensuring the use of Antarctica for peaceful purposes only, and promoting international co-operation in scientific investigation in that Continent. Article I of the Treaty provided that "Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only. There shall be prohibited, *inter alia*, any measure of a military nature, such as the establishment of military bases and fortifications, the carrying out of military manoeuvres, as well as the testing of any type of weapons ...". In Article V of the Treaty it was further stated that nuclear explosions in Antarctica and the disposal thereof of radioactive waste material shall be prohibited.

8. The Treaty on the Antarctic was the outcome of a great number of initiatives which had been made since the end of the Second World War to keep that Continent free from the entanglements of the arms race, so that it would never become the object of international discord.

9. On 27 November 1961, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 1652 (XVI) asking Member States to consider and respect the Continent of Africa as a denuclearized zone, a call that was reaffirmed in resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December 1965.

10. The Joint Declaration of 29 April 1963 on the denuclearization of Latin America by the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico marked the beginning of

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2/ The Parties to the Treaty were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

4/ For an account of such initiatives, see: Philip C. Jessup and Howard J. Taubenfeld, *Controls for Outer Space and the Antarctic Analogy*, New York 1959, pp.171-175.

5/ See section III below.
an initiative that was to grow into the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. In the following pages attention is given to this timely and fruitful initiative.

11. The origin of the Latin American Treaty has been described as follows: "The Cuban crisis of October 1962 suddenly and dramatically confronted the States of Latin America with the fact that their area of the world had become involved in the strategic plans and rivalries of the nuclear powers. Men of vision in the area turned their thoughts to ways of avoiding any possibility of a recurrence of the Cuban experience in some other country of Latin America. They also wished to preclude even the relatively remote possibility of a nuclear arms race among the countries of their area." After over three years of intense negotiations, in which at some stages the United Nations were directly involved, the Treaty was finally signed at Mexico, Federal District, on February 14th, 1967.

12. Another resolution of the General Assembly, 1884 (XVIII) of 17 October 1963, calling upon all States to refrain from placing in orbit any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kind of weapons of mass destruction, installing such weapons on celestial bodies, or stationing such weapons in outer space in any other manner, was the first step that ultimately led to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. That Treaty, which was commended by the General Assembly in resolution 2222 (XXI) of 19 December 1966, is a landmark in the recondite field of outer space.

13. In very recent times, the sea-bed and the ocean floor have acquired increasing military potentialities. Experience would seem to indicate that agreements to keep these areas free from weapons of mass destruction and other military installations may be more readily achieved before rather than after vested interests have been created there.

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6/ See section II below.

14. To some extent, the sea-bed and ocean floor are comparable with outer space. Both are uninhabited regions that until recently had little or no military value, but all of a sudden, as a result of scientific and technological progress, they have become to be regarded as having tremendous potentialities, far greater, for instance, than Antarctica.

15. While some effective preventive measures have been agreed upon with regard to outer space (see paragraph 12) only initial steps, such as those embodied in General Assembly resolution 2340 (XXII) of 18 December 1967, have been taken with a view to reserving the sea-bed and the ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes. There can be no doubt that early and increasing attention will have to be given to those regions, and it is to be hoped that an effective international agreement can be reached in the not too distant future to bar their use for the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction.
II. THE TREATY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA

16. The pioneering efforts leading to the conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America need not be recalled here. It will be sufficient to review briefly the main provisions of the Treaty, a document that may establish significant precedents for future disarmament initiatives.

17. The Treaty is a rather complex document and is composed of a Preamble, 31 articles, one transitional article, and two Additional Protocols. The main obligations of the Parties to the Treaty are defined in Article 1. By this article the contracting parties undertake to use exclusively for peaceful purposes the nuclear material and facilities which are under their jurisdiction, and to prohibit and prevent in their respective territories: (1) the testing, use, manufacture, production or acquisition by any means whatsoever of any nuclear weapons, by the parties themselves, directly or indirectly, on behalf of anyone else or in any other way, and (2) the receipt, storage, installation, deployment and any form of possession of any nuclear weapons, directly or indirectly, by the Parties themselves, by anyone on their behalf or in any other way. Under this article, the contracting Parties also undertake to refrain from engaging in, encouraging or authorizing, directly or indirectly, or in any way participating in the testing, use, manufacture, production, possession or control of any nuclear weapon.

18. In addition to setting out the obligations of the contracting parties, the Treaty contains detailed provisions on all the other aspects of the question, including the following: the zone of application of the Treaty; the definition of nuclear weapons; the establishment of an "Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America" to ensure the implementation of the Treaty and compliance with the obligations arising from it; the control system; agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency for the applications of its safeguards to the nuclear activities

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8/ See, for that purpose, A. García Robles, op. cit. See also document A/6663 of the General Assembly of the United Nations containing the Final Act of the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America.

of the contracting parties; the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes; explosions for peaceful purposes; measures in the event of violation of the Treaty; settlement of disputes; entry into force; amendments; duration and denunciation.

19. Of great interest is the definition of nuclear weapons in Article 5 of the Treaty which reads as follows: "For the purpose of this Treaty, a nuclear weapon is any device which is capable of releasing nuclear energy in an uncontrolled manner and which has a group of characteristics that are appropriate for use for warlike purposes ...".

20. For the purpose of verifying compliance, a control system is to be put into effect, in accordance with provisions contained in Articles 13-18. The control system is based on safeguards to be negotiated with the IAEA, periodic reports of the parties, special reports requested by the Secretary-General of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and special inspections.

21. The right of contracting parties to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in particular for their economic development and social progress, is established in Article 17 of the Treaty. In Article 18 conditions for explosions of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes are provided for as follows. The contracting parties may carry out explosions of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes — "including explosions which involve devices similar to those used in nuclear weapons" — or collaborate with third parties for the same purpose, provided that they do so in accordance with the provisions of this article, and the other articles of the Treaty, particularly Articles 1 and 5. Contracting parties intending to carry out or co-operate in carrying out an explosion for peaceful purposes shall notify the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the International Atomic Energy Agency, as far in advance as the circumstances require, of the date of the explosion, providing the following information: nature of the nuclear device and source from which it was obtained; place and purpose of planned explosion; procedures which will be followed in order to allow observations of preparations, and access to and inspection of any area in the vicinity of the site of the explosion; the expected force of the device; any possible radio-active fall-out that may result from the explosion or explosions, and measures which will be taken to avoid danger to the population, flora, fauna and territories of any other party or parties. Moreover,
the General Secretary of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the technical personnel designated by the Agency's Council and the IAEA may observe all the preparations, including the explosion of the device, and shall have unrestricted access to any area in the vicinity of the site of the explosion in order to ascertain whether the device and the procedures followed during the explosion are in conformity with the information supplied previously.

22. Additional Protocol I of the Treaty provides that the extra-territorial Powers (France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States) controlling certain territories situated within the limits of the Latin American geographical zone, as defined in the Treaty, will undertake to apply the statute of denuclearization in those territories for which, de jure or de facto, they are internationally responsible. Additional Protocol II provides that the nuclear-weapon Powers will undertake fully to respect the statute of denuclearization of Latin America and also not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the parties to the Treaty.

23. At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Treaty was welcomed as a major achievement. By resolution 2286 (XX), adopted on 5 December 1967, the General Assembly: (1) welcomed with special satisfaction the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America as having historical significance in the efforts to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security; (2) called upon all States to give their full co-operation to ensure that the principles and aims of the Treaty be universally observed; (3) recommended that States signatories of the Treaty and of Additional Protocol I should endeavour to use all measures in their power to ensure application of the Treaty among them; and (4) invited nuclear-weapons Powers to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II as soon as possible.

24. In the debate in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, the Treaty was thoroughly examined and, while some of its provisions were considered to be somewhat ambiguous, the Treaty as a whole was commended as a major step forward whose objective was to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It was stressed by various Members that this Treaty was the first to establish a nuclear-free zone in an inhabited area of the world, thus also setting an example for other areas.
It was noted with appreciation that the Treaty envisaged the establishment of a comprehensive control system to be negotiated with the International Atomic Energy Agency with regard to peaceful nuclear activities, and that the Treaty relied on a regime of special inspections with regard to suspected clandestine activities.

25. The Treaty has been signed by twenty-one Latin American Republics: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. Up to the present date the Treaty has been ratified by Mexico, Brazil and the Dominican Republic. Protocol I has so far been signed by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and Protocol II by the United Kingdom and the United States.

26. When the Treaty enters into force,\(^{10}\) a great step forward will have been made in controlling the nuclear arms race. As Secretary-General U Thant has stated, success in this endeavour "... will not only be an achievement of great benefit to the States of Latin America, militarily, politically, economically and socially; it can indeed be of great importance to the world at large. It may well have a catalytic effect on other initiatives for denuclearization, for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons and for other measures of disarmament."\(^{11}\)

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\(^{10}\) For the relevant provisions of the Treaty, see Articles 25 and 28.

\(^{11}\) Quoted in A. García Robles, \textit{op. cit.}, xv.
III. THE QUESTION OF AN AFRICAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

27. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960, the year in which France conducted its first nuclear test explosion in the Sahara, several African countries took initial steps to make the continent of Africa a nuclear-free zone. On 1 December 1960, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco submitted a draft resolution which, as revised on 5 December and co-sponsored also by Nigeria, Sudan and the United Arab Republic, would have the General Assembly (1) request all States (a) to refrain from carrying out or continuing to carry out nuclear or ballistic weapons tests in Africa; (b) to eliminate, and refrain from establishing, bases and launching sites in Africa intended for testing, storage or transporting such weapons; and (2) invite all States to regard and respect the African continent as a nuclear-free zone. The draft resolution was not put to the vote.

28. At the following session of the General Assembly a new draft resolution aimed at making Africa a denuclearized zone was proposed by the above-mentioned eight African States, joined by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia. By this draft resolution the Assembly would call upon the United Nations Member States: (a) to refrain from carrying out or continuing to carry out in Africa nuclear tests in any form; (b) to refrain from using the territory, territorial waters or air space of Africa in testing, storing or transporting nuclear weapons; (c) to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a demuclearized neutral zone. Libya later submitted an amendment, subsequently accepted by the sponsors, to delete the word "neutral" from the phrase "denuclearized neutral zone". On 24 November 1961, the draft resolution incorporating the Libyan amendment was approved by the General Assembly by a roll-call vote of 55 to 0, with 44 abstentions as resolution 1652 (XVI).

29. The question of a nuclear-free zone in Africa was subsequently debated between 1962 and 1964 at high-level meetings of African statesmen at Accra, Addis Ababa, Dakar, Lagos and Cairo.

30. The Accra Assembly, held from 21 to 28 June 1962, adopted a resolution entitled the "Accra Plan" which stated that all nations that do not now possess nuclear weapons should be asked to refuse to possess or accept, stockpile, manufacture, or take part in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. This would have the effect of creating a nuclear-free zone over a large area of the world including all of Africa.
31. At the Addis Ababa Summit Conference of Independent African States, held in May 1963, the African Heads of State and Government inter alia agreed unanimously: to affirm and respect the principle of declaring Africa a denuclearized zone; to oppose all nuclear and thermonuclear tests, as well as the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and to undertake to bring about, by means of negotiation, the end of military occupation of the African continent and the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests, which elimination constituted "a basic element of African Independence and Unity".

32. At a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held in Dakar in August 1963, it was resolved to invite the African countries at the United Nations to concert their efforts to achieve the denuclearization of Africa.

33. At a subsequent session, in February 1964, the Council met at Lagos and considered a draft convention for the denuclearization of Africa. It decided to refer it to the Member States for further study and the submission of observations and comments.

34. The Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African United adopted at its regular session in Cairo (17-21 July 1964) the following resolution:

"We, African Heads of State and Government,

Conscious of our responsibilities towards our peoples and of our international obligation, under the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, to use our best endeavours to strengthen peace and security,

Convinced that the conditions ensuring international peace and security must prevail in order to save humanity from the scourge of nuclear war,

Profoundly concerned at the effects of the dissemination of nuclear weapons,

Confirming United Nations resolution 1652 (XVI) calling upon all States to respect the denuclearization of the continent of Africa,

Reaffirming the resolution on general disarmament adopted by the Conference of Heads of State and Government at Addis Ababa in May 1963,

Conscious that the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its sixteenth session, called upon all States, and in particular upon the States at present possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under..."
which the nuclear States would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons, and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons,

"Convinced of the urgent necessity to redouble the efforts to reach an early solution to the problem of general disarmament,

1. Solemnly declare that we are ready to undertake, through an international agreement to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or control atomic weapons;

2. Appeal to all peace-loving nations to accept the same undertaking;

3. Appeal to all the nuclear Powers to respect this declaration and conform to it;

4. Request the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its nineteenth regular session, to approve this declaration and to take the necessary measures to convene an international conference for the purpose of concluding an agreement to that effect."

35. The "Declaration on the Demuclearization of Africa" was hailed by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of non-aligned countries held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964 as a "step in the right direction".

36. The item entitled "Declaration on the demuclearization of Africa" was included in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly in 1965 at the request of thirty-four African countries. On 26 November a draft resolution was submitted by twenty-eight African countries. By this resolution, as revised in the course of the debate, the General Assembly would among other things: (1) reaffirm its earlier call upon all States to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone; (2) endorse the Cairo declaration on the demuclearization of Africa and call upon all States to respect and abide by it; (3) call upon all States (a) to refrain from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons on the African continent, (b) to refrain from testing, manufacturing or deploying nuclear weapons there, and to refrain from acquiring such weapons or taking any action which would compel African States to take similar action;
(4) urge States possessing nuclear arms and capability not to transfer weapons, scientific data or technological assistance to the national control of any State, either directly or indirectly, in any form which might be used to aid them in the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons in Africa; (5) express the hope that the African States would initiate studies as they deemed appropriate with a view to implementing the denuclearization of Africa, and would take the necessary measures through the Organization of African Unity to achieve this end; (6) urge the African States to keep the United Nations informed of further developments; and (7) ask the Secretary-General to provide the Organization of African Unity with whatever assistance might be requested to achieve the aims of the draft resolution.

37. During the discussion in the First Committee, many African Members emphasized the non-aligned character of Africa, its comparative freedom from 'cold war' problems, and the determination of the African States that Africa should remain free from nuclear weapons. There was widespread recognition, however, that the African efforts would be 'meaningless', as Ethiopia put it, unless they had the essential support of the nuclear powers, and their commitment not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against Africa under any circumstances. Nigeria said the African States sought a 'firm undertaking' to this effect. Many Members stressed the connexion between the establishment of demilitarized zones and achievement of the goal of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a concept which was also noted in the preamble to the draft resolution. Many of the sponsors of the draft resolution, while stressing the primary responsibility of the Organization of African Unity in the matter, nevertheless drew attention to the role of the United Nations, as envisaged, in the Cairo declaration. Reference was also made to the assistance which it was hoped the Secretary-General would provide. 12/

38. On 3 December 1965, the draft resolution was adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 2033 (XX) by a roll-call vote of 105 to 0, with 2 abstentions.

39. It is well known that not all the goals of resolution 2033 (XX) have yet been achieved. Therefore, one might ask whether the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is likely to facilitate the practical implementation of those goals. Many feel that the Treaty will have a positive effect in helping to make the Continent of Africa a nuclear-free zone.

IV. PROPOSALS FOR THE DENUCLEARIZATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE

40. Addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 2 October 1957, the Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Rapacki, declared that after consultations with other members of the Warsaw Pact, Poland was willing to accept – in the interest of détente in Europe and its own security – a prohibition on the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons on its territory, if the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic accepted, simultaneously, the same restrictions on their territories.

41. Following the endorsement of the plan by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, the proposal was elaborated and published by the Polish Government on 14 February 1958 in the form of a memorandum which was conveyed to the countries concerned and other major Powers.

42. This Polish plan, usually referred to as the Rapacki Plan, provided for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe covering the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. It envisaged that in this zone there would be no manufacture or stockpiling of nuclear weapons; the use of nuclear weapons against this area would be prohibited; France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States would undertake to respect the nuclear-free status of the zone; a broad system of ground and air control would be set up to guarantee the observance of these commitments; the policing apparatus would include representatives of NATO, the Warsaw Pact and non-aligned countries. It was further envisaged that, in order to avoid the difficulties involved in the conclusion of a formal treaty, the plan would be put into force through unilateral declaration by the Governments concerned.

43. As this plan was found to be unacceptable by the main Western Powers, in an effort to meet some of their objections, a new version of the plan was submitted on 4 November 1958. The implementation of this new plan was to be carried out in two stages. Stage one envisaged a freeze of nuclear armaments in the proposed zone, and stage two a reduction of conventional forces to be carried out simultaneously with the complete denuclearization of the zone, under appropriate control.
44. A third version of the plan was submitted by Poland in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, in Geneva, on 28 March 1962. Its proclaimed objective was to eliminate nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them, and to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments within a limited area, thus contributing to limiting the danger of a conflict in Central Europe. Again a two-stage implementation was envisaged: under stage one there would be a freezing of nuclear weapons and rockets coupled with a prohibition of the establishment of new bases; in stage two the elimination of nuclear weapons and rockets and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments under strict international control would be carried out. In addition to the countries originally to be included in the nuclear-free zone, the zone would be open to any European State willing to accept the envisaged obligations.

45. The main Western Powers found this version of the plan no less unacceptable than the previous ones. Among other things they held that, by its failure to include nuclear weapons deployed in the territory of the USSR, the plan would seriously disturb the existing balance of force.

46. A plan for a freeze of nuclear and thermonuclear armaments in Central Europe, usually known as the Gomulka plan, was put forth by Poland on 29 February 1964. Its purpose was not to replace the Rapacki plan but, rather, to maintain the nuclear status quo in Central Europe, pending further exchanges and negotiations concerning the establishment of a nuclear-free zone.

47. The Gomulka plan proposed a freeze at existing levels of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons irrespective of the means of their delivery, accompanied by a system of control to be established in nuclear plants in the area and at points of access by road, rail, sea and air. The control system which, to some extent, could fit into a scheme of observation posts to prevent surprise attack, would operate through mixed control commissions composed of representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Pact Organization on a parity basis. Such commissions could be enlarged to admit representatives of non-aligned countries.

48. The earlier objections of the Western Powers were not overcome by the new plan. While the plan was welcomed by some countries as an interesting initiative containing elements "worthy of further study", the principal objection remained, i.e. unless the proposed zone was extended "further east", it would have the effect of upsetting the existing military balance of Europe.
V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

49. The possibility that nuclear weapons may spread further is one of the main sources of international insecurity. Thanks to the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the expansion of the nuclear club has been checked but much remains to be done. The immediate task is the prompt and faithful implementation of the Treaty, but already now efforts must be made to advance further on the way towards disarmament in a way that is in accord with the principle of "an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers." (General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX).)

50. A solemn obligation has been embodied in Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. New agreements to achieve and respect the establishment of nuclear-free zones would assist in carrying out such a commitment. The establishment of nuclear-free zones is, in fact, a contribution to the cessation of the nuclear arms race, an effective measure of nuclear disarmament, and a step in the direction of general and complete disarmament. As rightly stated in the Preamble of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, the militarily denuclearized zones are not an end in themselves but rather a means for achieving general and complete disarmament at a later stage.

51. In the Preamble of that document we are also reminded that the military denuclearization of vast geographical zones will exercise a beneficial influence on other regions where similar conditions exist. Indeed, it is to be hoped that the existence of analogous situations between various parts of the world will help progressively to restrict the areas where weapons of mass destruction are deployed until they are completely eliminated.

52. As stated in the Report of the Secretary-General U Thant on the effects and implications of nuclear weapons: "The solution of the problem of ensuring security cannot be found in an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons,
or, indeed, in the retention of nuclear weapons by the Powers currently possessing them . . . . All countries have a clear interest in the evolution of a world which allows of peaceful and stable co-existence. Non-nuclear weapon countries, as well as those which possess nuclear weapons, need to work in concert, creating conditions in which there should be free access to materials, equipment and information for achieving all the peaceful benefits of atomic energy, and for promoting international security." (A/6858, paras, 91, 93.)