

indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

Article XI

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

HEADS OF STATES WELCOME NPT

In Moscow, London and Washington the Heads of State of USSR, UK and USA each made statements welcoming the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons when the first signing ceremonies took place on 1 July.

Mr. KOSYGIN'S SPEECH

In Moscow, Mr. A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said:

At the request of the Soviet Government I would like to express deep satisfaction with the fact that today the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is beginning. This is an important international document; and it has been commended by the vast majority of Member States of the United Nations. The conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is a major contribution to peace. Ever since nuclear weapons appeared the Soviet Union has firmly and consistently made efforts to remove the nuclear threat from mankind. The Treaty is an important step towards this objective since it constitutes a barrier to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and in doing so decreases the danger of nuclear war breaking out.

The participation by a large number of States today in signing the Treaty is convincing proof that mutually acceptable ways and means can be found by States for solving difficult international problems of vital importance for mankind as a whole. The drawing up of the Treaty has demanded great efforts and



The scene in Moscow when A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made his speech after the signing there of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The signatories were A.A. Gromyko, USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Harrison, UK Ambassador to USSR, and L.E. Thompson, USA Ambassador to USSR.

Photo: Fotochronika Tass

prolonged discussions in which States with differing social systems, nuclear and non-nuclear Powers, countries large and small, advanced and developing, have all taken part. The Treaty reflects the numerous suggestions and proposals put forward by different States and takes into account the differing points of view on solving the problem of non-proliferation, yet all the States which voted for it have agreed on the main point, namely the necessity of preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The resolution recently adopted by the Security Council on security guarantees for non-nuclear States Parties to the Treaty constitutes an important supplement to the Treaty itself. The Soviet Government, as was stated in the Security Council, intends to adhere to this decision with the utmost strictness.

Five years ago here in Moscow we signed a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Subsequently, the treaty forbidding the use of outer space for military purposes was concluded. Together with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons these constitute practical steps towards limiting the arms race and create more favourable conditions for progress in disarmament.

The Soviet Government, attaching great importance to those provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which impose on

parties to the Treaty the obligation to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures for cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, has decided to send a memorandum to all governments on certain urgent measures relating to cessation of the arms race and disarmament, for example a ban on the employment of nuclear weapons, a cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the reduction and liquidation of nuclear stock-piles and the limitation and subsequent reduction of means of delivery of strategic weapons. The Soviet Government attaches exceptional importance to this memorandum it has sent, since it is directed at strengthening peace. Simultaneous or gradual implementation of the disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Government would be a serious contribution to the struggle to end the arms race and to reach a general solution to the whole problem of disarmament.

I would like to express the hope that the memorandum will be examined by the governments of the world with all necessary attention, that it will be the object of thorough and constructive discussion in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which in the near future is to renew its work, and that as a result of this, it will prove possible to achieve concrete results in the sphere of disarmament, in accordance with the aspirations of all peoples throughout the world.

STATEMENTS IN LONDON

Mr. Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of the U.K., and Mr. Michael Stewart, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, both spoke at the London ceremony.

Mr. Wilson: This is an historic occasion. I have no hesitation in describing this Treaty, which is being signed today in Moscow and Washington as well as here in London, as the most important measure of arms control and disarmament on which agreement has yet been reached. If steps had not been taken to prevent nuclear weapons spreading first to one country, then to another, within a few years the whole world would have been darkened by a black cloud of fear. The purpose of this Treaty is to dispel that gathering cloud, and to ensure that the vast forces locked in the atom are devoted to the welfare of mankind, rather than to its destruction.

It is nearly seven years since the idea of a non-proliferation treaty was first conceived. During the long negotiations since then, cynics have said that the idea would never become a reality; that time was working against us. Certainly, if we had not now approved this Treaty, we might never have been given another chance to halt the spread of nuclear weapons; and the cynics would have been proved right. But, as it is, we have chosen the road of wisdom. It will lead, we confidently expect, to continuing advance towards further measures of arms control and disarmament.

For this success we are greatly indebted to that patient and expert body, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. The Treaty is also proof that in a matter of highest importance East and West can work together towards the common goal of world security. We all know how much the Treaty owes to



Michael Stewart, UK Foreign Secretary, signs the Non-Proliferation Treaty in London watched by David Bruce, US Ambassador, (extreme right) and Mikhail N. Smirnovsky, USSR Ambassador, (second from left). On the extreme left is Harold Wilson, UK Prime Minister, who opened the ceremony. Photo: Associated Press

the United States and the Soviet Union, whose distinguished representatives are here to sign this Treaty. And I pay tribute in particular to the tireless work and skilled diplomacy of Mr. Foster and Mr. Roschin, the Co-Chairmen of the E.N.D.C., who can be rightly proud of the success with which their labours have at last been crowned.

But I would not like this occasion to pass without mentioning also the persistence and the skill of our own negotiating team led so ably over the past few years, by my right honourable friends Mr. Mulley and Lord Chalfont whose presence at this ceremony we all welcome.

When the Government was formed nearly four years ago Lord Chalfont was appointed Britain's first ever Minister of Disarmament with full time responsibility for working with other Governments, first towards the achievement we are celebrating today and then further measures of arms control leading to the final goal of general and complete disarmament.

I believe that Britain was able to play a significant part in helping towards today's achievement as a result of the efforts, under the direction of the Foreign Secretary, of these two Ministers who have striven so tirelessly for the historic moment we are celebrating today.

Your Excellencies, this is not a Treaty for which just two or three countries are responsible. It exists because it reflects and enshrines mankind's universal and fundamental desire for peace and security. Every Government whose representatives supported the Treaty in the United Nations General Assembly and who voted for the resolution can feel that it has contributed to the Treaty we are signing today; and the many representatives present at this ceremony have the special distinction of demonstrating their and their countries' support for the Treaty by signing it on the day that it is opened for signature.

I am sure that I voice a sentiment that all of you will echo when I say that Her Majesty's Government will continue, with renewed confidence and renewed hope, to work for further advances in disarmament — confident and hopeful that we shall in the future be able to look back on this occasion as a major step towards a better and safer world.

Mr. Stewart: For more than twenty years, the threat of nuclear destruction has hovered over the fortunes of mankind. During that period the moments of fear and anxiety have been too many and the moments of rejoicing too few, but today we have an occasion of rejoicing because by this Treaty we not only avert the spread of nuclear weapons, over the world, but we increase trust between nations, and so make easier the task of taking those further steps and they are still many which can deliver the peoples of the world from the burden of the cost of armaments and offer to the new generation a world more sure and more full of hope. So it is a matter of great joy to me that I have been able to sign this Treaty today and it is now with equal delight that I ask the distinguished representatives of other States here to come and sign the Treaty.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADDRESS

At the ceremony in Washington President Lyndon B. Johnson gave the following address:

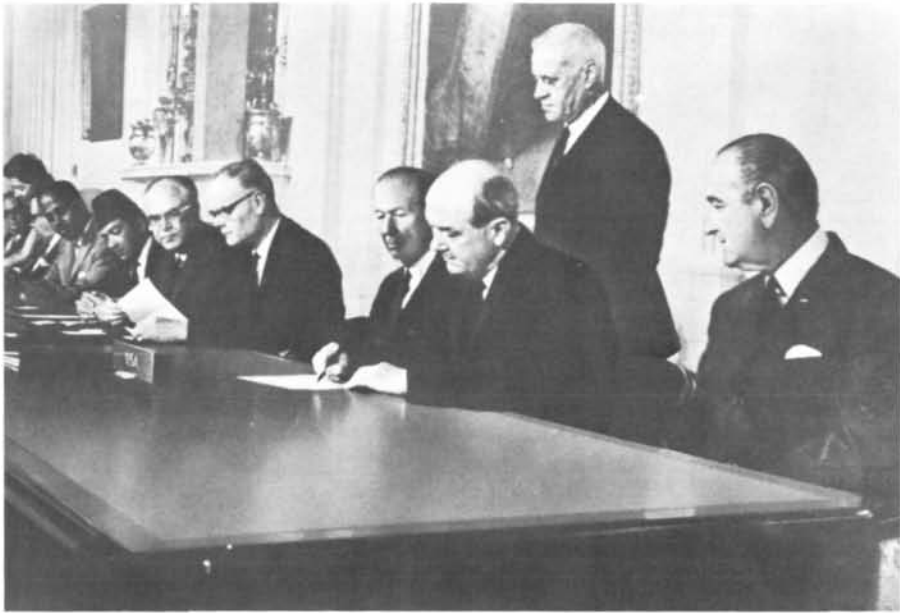
This is a reassuring and hopeful moment in the relations among nations.

We have come today to sign a treaty which limits the spread of nuclear weapons.

More than fifty nations are here in Washington to commit their governments to this Treaty. Their representatives are also signing today in Moscow and in London. We hope and expect that virtually all the nations will move in the weeks and months ahead to accept this Treaty which was commended to the world by the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Treaty's purpose are simple:

- To commit the nations of the world which do not have nuclear weapons, not to produce or receive them in the future;



Dean Rusk, US Foreign Secretary, signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty in Washington. On his left is President Johnson and to his right are William Foster, US Representative to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Sir Patrick Dean, UK Ambassador, and Anatoliy Dobrynin, USSR Ambassador, each of whom also signed the Treaty. Photo: Votavafoto, Wien

- To assure equally that such nations have the full peaceful benefits of the atom;
- and to ommit the nuclear powers to move forward towards effective measures of arms control and disarmament.

Just a year ago, Chairman Kosygin and I agreed at Glassboro that we could work intensively in the time ahead to achieve this result.

After nearly a quarter century of danger and fear — reason and sanity have prevailed to reduce the danger and to lessen the fear. All mankind is reassured.

As the moment is reassuring, so it is, even more, hopeful and heartening. For this Treaty is evidence that amid the tensions, the strife, the struggle and sorrow of these years, men of many nations have not lost the way — or the will — toward peace. The conclusion of this Treaty encourages the hope that other steps may be taken toward a peaceful world.

It is for these reasons — and in this perspective — that I have described this Treaty as the most important international agreement since the beginning of the nuclear age.

It enhances the security of all nations by significantly reducing the danger of nuclear war among nations.

It encourages the peaceful use of nuclear energy by assuring effective safeguards against its destructive use.

But, perhaps most significantly, the signing of this Treaty keeps alive and active the impulse toward a safer world.

We are inclined to neglect and overlook what that impulse has brought about in recent years. There have been fruitful times for the quiet works of diplomacy. After long seasons of patient and painstaking negotiation, we have concluded, just within the past five years:

- The Limited Test Ban Treaty
- The Outer Space Treaty
- and the Treaty creating a nuclear-free zone in Latin America.

The march of mankind is toward the summit — not the chasm. We must not, we shall not allow that march to be interrupted.

This Treaty, like the Treaties it follows, is not the work of any one nation. It is the accomplishment of nations which seek to exercise their responsibilities for maintaining peace and a stable world order. It is my hope — and the common will of mankind — that all nations will agree that this Treaty affords them added protection. We hope they will accept the Treaty and thereby contribute further to international peace and security.

As one of the nations having nuclear weapons, the United States — all through these years — has borne an awesome responsibility. This Treaty increases that responsibility — for we have pledged that we shall use our weapons only in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, we have made clear to the United Nations Security Council what I would repeat today: If a state which has accepted this Treaty does not have nuclear weapons and is a victim of aggression, or is subject to a threat of aggression, involving nuclear weapons, the United States shall be prepared to ask immediate Security Council action to provide assistance in accordance with the Charter.

In welcoming the Treaty that prevents the spread of nuclear weapons, I repeat the United States commitment to honor all our obligations under existing treaties of mutual security. Such agreements have added greatly to the security of our nation and the nations with which such agreements exist. They have created a degree of stability in an often unstable world.

This Treaty is an important security measure. But it also lays an indispensable foundation:

- For expanded cooperation in the peaceful application of nuclear energy;
- and for additional measures to halt the nuclear arms race.

We will cooperate fully to bring the Treaty safeguards into being. We shall thus help provide the basis of confidence necessary for increased cooperation in the peaceful nuclear field. After the Treaty has come into force we will permit the International Atomic Energy Agency to apply its safeguards to all nuclear activities in the United States — excluding only those with direct national security significance. Thus, the United States is not asking any country to accept any safeguards we are not willing to accept ourselves.

As the Treaty requires, we shall also engage in the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The needs of the developing nations will be given particular attention.

We shall make readily available to the non-nuclear Treaty partners the benefits of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. And we shall do so without delay and under the Treaty's provisions.

At this moment of achievement and hope, I am gratified to be able to report and announce to the world a significant agreement — an agreement I have actively sought and worked for since January 1964:

Agreement has been reached between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States to enter in the nearest future into discussions on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems and systems of defense against ballistic missiles.

Discussion of this most complex subject will not be easy. We have no illusions that it will be. I know the stubborn, patient persistence it has required to get this far. I know the difficulties that lie ahead. I know the fears, suspicions, and anxieties we shall have to overcome. But I believe that the same spirit of accommodation shown in the negotiation of the present treaty can bring us to a good result.

Man can still shape his destiny in the nuclear age — and learn to live as brothers.

Toward that goal — the day when the world moves out of the night of war into the light of sanity and security — I solemnly pledge the resources, the resolve, and the unrelenting efforts of the people of the United States and their Government.