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The Possibilities for Disarmament and the Importance of  
Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations

1. The prospect for general disarmament, partial or  
regional agreement and increase of stability  
in the international situation

In many respects the situation as to disarmament seems to have developed into an unfavourable direction since, say, 1963.

The chances for an agreement on general disarmament seem practically zero as long as the Chinese Peoples Republic does not participate: it cannot be realistically expected that the USSR or the USA will give up an essential part of their nuclear armament, while China and France are extending gradually their nuclear armament.

a) In order to attain general disarmament one of the important requisites is certainly to try to obtain the participation of China and France in the negotiations on general disarmaments. It seems improbable that this can be attained without obtaining the membership of (communist) China of the U.N. Although it remains certainly useful to explore possible roads to general disarmament, it seems clear now that the agreement cannot be made without the active participation of USA, USSR and China, and that this is not for the next few years.

b) Regional or partial agreements concerning disarmament may be more feasible and even possible without the participation of all big powers (especially without China). In this respect one may think of:

I. partial agreements, especially:

- (i) a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- (ii) extending the test-ban to all nuclear tests;

II. regional agreements, such as:

- (i) an agreement on European Security, e. g., agreeing on