The Polish Government expresses its conviction that the Government of the USSR, which has supported the Polish proposal, will view with favour the detailed proposals contained in the memorandum and will continue to support the creation of a denuclearised zone in Central Europe.

Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany

The Polish Government expresses its satisfaction at the fact that these governments have previously declared themselves ready to accede to the denuclearised zone in Central Europe, and its conviction that the Polish Government can count on the full cooperation of these governments.

(1) Text of the memorandum handed by the Polish Government on 14th February 1958 to the representatives in Warsaw of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Czechoslovakia, the Eastern German Democratic Republic and the USSR, and to the representative of Sweden for transmission to the Federal Republic of Germany.

These recipient countries being those to be included in the proposed denuclearised zone and those with forces stationed therein. The memorandum was accompanied in each case by a note to the recipient government; those notes are summarised at annex.

III. Appendix

The Rapacki plan II

Memorandum concerning the creation in Europe of a denuclearized and limited armaments zone.

Submitted on March 28, 1962 in Geneva by the Polish delegation to the 18-nation disarmament conference

Whereas the conference of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee is to consider, simultaneously with the elaboration of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, proposals on steps and measures aiming at the lessening of international tension and increasing mutual confidence among states, thus to facilitate the implementation of general and complete disarmament:

Whereas the creation of denuclearized and limited armaments zone constitutes one of the most important measures and steps of this kind, the delegation of the Polish Peoples’ Republic in agreement with the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, submits on the agenda of the Committee a proposal for the creation of denuclearized and limited armaments zone in Europe.

1. Purpose

The purpose of the Polish proposal is the elimination of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles, a reduction of military forces and conventional armaments on a limited territory, on which this can contribute towards to lessening of tension and towards a substantial reduction of the danger of conflict on that territory.

2. Territorial scope

The zone ought to include basically the following states: the Polish People’s Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. The agreement concerning the zone is open: other European states ought to have a possibility to accede to this agreement.

3. Rights and duties of states included in the zone or acceding to it

Rights and duties resulting from the creation of the zone should be carried out in the two following stages:

Stage one – freezing of all nuclear armaments and rockets and prohibition of the creation of new bases. 

a. Rights and duties of states included in the zone

1. On the territory of states included in the zone, preparation of production and production of any kind of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them shall be prohibited.

2. States included in the zone shall be prohibited to introduce any kind of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them.

3. States included in the zone shall be prohibited to grant permission to establish new bases and facilities for stockpiling or servicing nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them.

b. Rights and duties of other states

1. All states which dispose of any kind of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them shall be prohibited to transfer them to states included in the zone.

2. All states which dispose of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them shall be prohibited to introduce new quantities of such weapons of any kind into the zone.

3. Establishing in the area of the zone of new bases and facilities for stockpiling or servicing of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for them shall be prohibited.

Stage two – elimination of nuclear armaments and rockets and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments.

a. Rights and duties of states included in the zone

1. Elimination from the national armaments of all nuclear delivery vehicles by the states included in the zone.
2. Reduction to an agreed level of military forces and corresponding reduction of conventional armaments by states included in the zone.

b. Rights and duties of other states

1. Withdrawal from the area of the zone of all kinds of nuclear weapons and all facilities for their stockpiling and servicing as well as of all nuclear delivery vehicles permanently or temporarily stationed by foreign states, and of all facilities for their servicing.

2. Reduction of foreign military forces stationed on the area of the zone to an agreed level with a corresponding reduction of their armaments.

4. Control

1. To secure the effectiveness of disarmament measures mentioned in part 3 of this Memorandum, a strict international control and inspection on the ground and in the air will be provided, the establishment of appropriate control posts included.

2. A special control body will be established to supervise the implementation of the proposed obligations. Composition and competence of this body as well as its procedure will be agreed upon by the states concerned.

The signatory states of the agreement concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone will enter an obligation to submit to the control of the said body and provide all facilities and assistance in its activity.

3. The signatory states of the agreement concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone will agree on the extent and measures of control in each of the two stages.

5. Guarantees

In order to guarantee the inviolability of the nuclear-free zone powers disposing of nuclear weapons will undertake to:

a. Refrain from any steps which might violate directly or indirectly the status of the zone;

b. Not to use nuclear weapons against the territory of the zone.

In view of the above, the delegation of the Polish People’s Republic proposes the following:

1. The 18-Nation Committee will request the states concerned to take immediate steps to carry out the proposal concerning the creation of denuclearized and limited armaments zone.

2. The 18-Nation Committee will request to initiate appropriate consultations on the creation of the zone, with the states concerned and to submit a report on these consultations not later than 1962.

3. The 18-Nation Committee will also request the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt a resolution concerning the creation of a denuclearized and limited armaments zone in Europe.