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京都大学基礎物理学研究所 湯川記念館史料室

Teld  
Statement  
"Nuclear Sharing  
and NATO"  
May, 1963

c091-004

NUCLEAR SHARING AND NATO

The representatives of the NATO nations meeting in Ottawa are confronted with two developments of far-reaching importance: a proposal that the United States and United Kingdom give their NATO partners, through a multi-national force, an increased share in the control and operation of nuclear weapons; and the enlargement of the "nuclear club" by the French decision to develop an independent nuclear striking force.

The multi-national force proposal apparently aims at providing the Western European countries with assurances of military protection without giving them individually outright possession of nuclear weapons, and at forestalling the pressures in the individual NATO countries to follow the French lead. We believe that this proposal, far from enhancing European security, would increase the likelihood of nuclear war because of further proliferation of nuclear weapons and increased reliance on their use.

The present "balance of deterrence", based on possession of invulnerable long-range missiles by Russia and America, is precarious at best. Any further proliferation of nuclear weapons would produce a destabilizing effect. Also, any plans for a permanently organized multi-national nuclear force would greatly hinder the negotiation of agreements on nuclear disarmament. It is hardly possible to outlaw testing nuclear weapons and to agree on reducing their numbers while, at the same time, making them the fulcrum of one's political and strategic alliances.

A multi-national NATO force, whether consisting of surface or submarine vessels, would lead to increased armaments and increased number of nations with a finger on the thermonuclear trigger. The proposed restrictions on the use of the weapons by a veto power is only an illusory safeguard. Even now there are pressures at work in some European countries to remove these restrictions. The multi-national nuclear force would become an opening wedge for creating many independent nuclear forces via the easy route of nuclear sharing.

Until now, the nuclear powers have resisted the requests by other great powers -- be it France or China -- to be provided with direct aid in building their own nuclear arsenals. Any further increase in the number of nuclear powers would render incalculably more difficult to negotiate the universally accepted goal of nuclear disarmament. It would exacerbate the tensions and conflicts which could lead to a nuclear war.

We consider it essential that all nations, not only the NATO powers, agree to forgo all steps towards spreading possession and control of nuclear weapons to additional countries.

At the same time, efforts must be redoubled at achieving international agreements on reduction and eventual elimination of the threat of nuclear war. Towards this end, we urge:

1. An agreement among the U.S., the U.K., France, and the U.S.S.R. to refrain from providing other countries with nuclear weapons or with aid in producing them. A resolution should be adopted by the United Nations requesting all member nations to refrain from aiding others, be they members of the U.N. or not, in developing their own nuclear weapons.
2. Creation of nuclear-free zones under the supervision and authority of the United Nations.
3. A redoubled effort at agreement in the UN Disarmament Conference in Geneva. To this effect, the Conference should undertake to promote the development and public discussion of constructive plans by all member nations leading toward reconciliation of the proposals advanced by the nuclear powers.

We appeal to the NATO nations now meeting; Take notice of the fervent desires of all peoples for reduction of armaments and for removal of the nuclear threat. Do not take fateful decisions that may accelerate the arms race and compromise the chances for progress towards disarmament and world peace.

B. T. Feld  
Physics Department  
MIT  
Cambridge 39, Mass.



Dr. Hidekai Yukawa  
Research Institute for Fundamental Physics  
Kyoto University  
Kyoto, Japan

c091-004-002

VIA AIR MAIL

July 1, 1963

Dr. Hidekai Yukawa  
Research Institute for Fundamental Physics  
Kyoto University  
Kyoto, Japan

Dear Dr. Yukawa,

As Professor Luria and I wrote you a few weeks ago, the statement on "Nuclear Sharing and NATO" which you signed last month was transmitted to the Secretary General of NATO, who acknowledged receipt on May 23. It was also released to the press in Ottawa, Washington, New York, and Boston, but to the best of our knowledge no mention of it has appeared in any newspaper.

Even though, as a result of lack of enthusiasm by most NATO members, the proposal for a multi-national force now seems to be in abeyance, it is clear that the issue has in no way been resolved. In view of the importance of the issue, it has been suggested that the statement should now be sent to the New York Times as a letter to the editor, signed by some or all of the six Nobel Prize Laureates who were among the signers. We wonder if you would be willing to be a signer of such a letter to the editor. In the proposed letter the statement (a copy of which is enclosed) would be preceded by the following sentence:

"Following is the text of a statement that was submitted last May 22, the opening day of the Ottawa meeting of the NATO Council, to the Secretary General of NATO over the signatures of 56 scholars and scientists from 11 countries, including the undersigned..."

This letter is being sent to:

Dr. Max Born  
Dr. Linus Pauling  
Dr. C. F. Powell  
Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi  
Dr. E. L. Tatum  
Dr. Hidekai Yukawa

I shall appreciate receiving your reply by return mail. With best regards,

Sincerely,

*B. T. Feld*

B. T. Feld  
Physics Department  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts



TO: THE SIGNERS OF THE STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR SHARING AND NATO  
FROM: B. T. FELD AND S. E. LURIA

First, we would like to thank all of you for the prompt return of the statement we circulated and for having contributed your names and helped collect the names of others. This statement was sent to major American and Canadian newspapers and wire services, as well as to the Secretary General of NATO and delegates meeting at Ottawa, Canada, on May 22. The statement was accompanied by the enclosed list of signers.

Unfortunately, as far as we know, the statement has received very little attention in any of the major American newspapers. Receipt of the statement has been acknowledged by the Secretary General of NATO.

We still hope to make use of this statement in such a way as to insure that it will receive public notice.

However, it is also important that the statement be widely disseminated in other countries, especially in other NATO member countries. We hope that all of you will feel free to make whatever use possible of this statement, so that its message may be heard by a wide audience.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY  
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.  
Professor B. T. Feld  
Room 26-505



*Via Air Mail*

Professor Hideki Yukawa  
Director  
Research Institute for Fundamental Physics  
Kyoto University  
Kyoto, JAPAN

c091-004-001

List of Signers

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- Denmark: Ole Maaløe, Microbiology, Copenhagen
- France: François Jacob, Biology, Paris  
André Lwoff, Biology, Paris  
Jacques Monod, Biochemistry, Paris
- Germany: Max Born, Nobel Laureate, Physics, Bad Pyrmont  
Gerd Burkhardt, Physics, Hanover  
Theodor Kaluza, Mathematics, Hanover  
Hermann Kuckuck, Genetics, Hanover
- Great Britain: Sidney Brenner, Biology, Cambridge  
C. F. Powell, Nobel Laureate, Physics, Bristol  
Joseph Rotblat, Biophysics, London
- Holland: H. J. Groenewold, Physics, Groningen  
B. R. A. Nijboer, Physics, Utrecht  
Th. W. Ruijgrok, Physics, Utrecht  
Philip B. Smith, Physics, Groningen  
H. A. Tolhoek, Physics, Groningen  
J. B. Ubbink, Physics, Utrecht
- Italy: Massimo Aloisi, Pathology, Padua  
Eduardo Amaldi, Physics, Rome  
Gilberto Bernardini, Physics, Geneva  
Bruno Bertotti, Physics, Rome  
Adriano Buzzati-Traverso, Biology, Naples  
Luigi Cavalli-Sforza, Biology, Pavia  
Giulio Cortini, Physics, Naples  
Arrigo Finzi, Physics, Rome  
Giovanni Giacometti, Chemistry, Padua  
Franco Graziosi, Biology, Naples  
Lucio Mezzetti, Physics, Padua  
Ettore Pancini, Physics, Naples
- Japan: S. Tomonaga, Physics, Tokyo  
T. Toyoda, Physics, Tokyo  
Hidekai Yukawa, Nobel Laureate, Physics, Tokyo
- Pakistan: Abdus Salam, Physics, London
- Sweden: George Klein, Biology, Stockholm
- Switzerland: F. G. Houterman, Physics, Bern  
Martin Kaplan, Epidemiology, Geneva
- U. S.: Gerald Brown, Physics, Copenhagen / Robert R. Wilson, Physics, Ithaca, N.Y.  
R. F. Christy, Physics, Pasadena, California  
Theodosius Dobzhansky, Biology, New York  
Freeman J. Dyson, Physics, Princeton, N. J.  
John T. Edsall, Biochemistry, Cambridge, Mass.  
Bernard T. Feld, Physics, Cambridge, Mass.  
Hudson Hoagland, Biology, Worcester, Mass.  
David R. Inglis, Physics, Lamont, Illinois  
Salvador E. Luria, Biology, Cambridge, Mass.  
Thomas Merton, Writer, Abbey of Gethsemane, Kentucky  
Aaron Novick, Biology, Eugene, Oregon  
Jay Orear, Physics, Ithaca, New York  
Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate, Chemistry, Pasadena, Cal.  
Roger Revelle, Oceanography, La Jolla, Cal.  
Bruno Rossi, Physics, Cambridge, Mass.  
Matthew Sands, Physics, Pasadena, Cal.  
Theodore Shedlovsky, Biophysics, New York  
Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, Nobel Laureate, Biochemistry, Woods Hole, Mass  
Edward L. Tatum, Nobel Laureate, Biochemistry, New York  
George Wald, Biology, Cambridge, Mass.

