

(The second unilateral move implemented by a government (this time not requiring reciprocation, but complete in itself) was the New Zealand enforcement of its nuclear weapon-free status with regard to its harbours. Since US naval ships paying routine visits would not declare whether or not they carry nuclear weapons (this is their deliberate policy), they were refused entry to New Zealand harbours. This is the first, but hopefully not last, governmental attempt to make its nuclear weapon-free status real in fact, not just a symbolic declaration. The example has not yet been followed by others, but future developments bear watching.

The third case of a unilaterally implemented governmental peace plan is less clear, because it is difficult to sort out whether it is a real action or merely a declaration. We refer to the USSR's pledge, in a speech at the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament, never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Most observers welcome the pledge, but note that it has not been reflected in weapons deployed nor in strategic postures. Perhaps it would be difficult to do so, since the nuclear weapons deployed for deterrence (second strike or retaliation) are so similar to those needed for first strike or first use.

The fourth instance is in the form of a significant research report, a comprehensive plan for economic conversion from military to civilian production in Sweden. The UN Secretary-General has called for such national-scale studies by all members, but so far only Sweden has done so. Economic conversion studies are of great practical importance if disarmament is to be carried out without economic dislocation; but they are also psychologically important, by signalling that the nation doing the planning is truly serious about disarmament. This is why the Swedish report is listed here as