

**October 30, 1964**  
**Reply from Acting President, Dr. Subandrio, to  
Premier Zhou Enlai**

**Citation:**

"Reply from Acting President, Dr. Subandrio, to Premier Zhou Enlai", October 30, 1964, Wilson Center Digital Archive, PRCMFA 105-01870-01. Obtained by Taomo Zhou.  
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/121564>

**Summary:**

Subandrio writes a letter to Premier Zhou Enlai, praising the idea proposed in a previous message from China about holding a summit conference on general disarmament and banning of nuclear weapons. Subandrio suggests that the conference could have a higher chance of success if the 5 nuclear states (US, USSR, UK, France, and China) met prior to the summit.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from MacArthur Foundation

**Original Language:**

English

**Contents:**

Transcript - English

Djakarta, 30 October, 1964

Excellency,

I have received your message that was handed to me by Ambassador Yao Chung-ming [Yao Zhongming] in Djakarta [Jakarta] on 19 October, 1964 in which you put forward the proposal:

“that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the questions of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones nor against each other.”

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia notes with satisfaction that:

“the Chinese Government solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.”

After having given considerable thought to the matter, the Indonesian Government wishes to state that the idea of holding a summit conference on general disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons is quite agreeable to her since this will conform to the deeply held convictions and fervent aspirations of all peace-loving peoples in the world, including the Indonesian people.

The chances of success of such a summit conference will be enhanced if prior to it a meeting could be arranged of the 5 states (the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, France and the People's Republic of China) currently possessing nuclear armaments. In the event of solid agreements having been achieved in the meeting of nuclear armaments possessing states, the results could be further consolidated in the larger summit conference.

Failing this, it will be very doubtful whether such a summit conference could be materialized.

Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Dr. Dubandrio.  
Acting President.

His Excellency Chou En-lai [Zhou Enlai]  
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China  
PEKING [Beijing]