# CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.339
17 October 1967
ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 17 October 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. I.F. PORTER (United Kingdom)

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

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| Brazil | Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES |
| | Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE |
| | Mr. J. NOGUEIRA FILHO |
| Bulgaria: | Mr. K. CHRISTOV |
| | Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV |
| | Mr. T. DAMIANOV |
| Burma: | U KYAW MIN |
| Canada: | Mr. E.L.M. BURNS |
| | Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL |
| | Mr. J.R. MORDEN |
| | Mr. A. BERNIER |
| Czechoslovakia: | Mr. V. VAJNAR |
| | Mr. J. STRUCKA |
| Ethiopia: | Mr. A. ZELLEKE |
| | Mr. B. ASSFAW |
| India: | Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI |
| | Mr. N. KRISHNAN |
| | Mr. K.P. JAIN |
| Italy: | Mr. R. CARACCIOLO |
| | Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI |
| | Mr. E. FRANCO |
| | Mr. F. SORO |
| Mexico: | Mr. J. CASTANEDA |
| | Miss E. AGUIRRE |
| Nigeria: | Mr. B.O. TONWE |

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| Poland: | Mr. A. CZARKOWSKI |
| | Mr. E. STANIEWSKI |
| Romania: | Mr. N. ECOBESCO |
| | Mr. O. IONESCO |
| | Mr. C. GEORGESCO |
| | Mr. A. COROIANU |
| Sweden: | Mr. A. EDELSTAM |
| | Mr. T. WULFF |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: | Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN |
| | Mr. M.V. ANTYASOV |
| | Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV |
| United Arab Republic: | Mr. H. KHALLAF |
| | Mr. A. OSMAN |
| | Mr. O. SIRRY |
| | Mr. M. SHAKER |
| United Kingdom: | Mr. I.F. PORTER |
| | Mr. M.E. HOWELL |
| United States of America: | Mr. A.S. FISHER |
| | Mr. S. DePALMA |
| | Mr. G. BREAM |
| | Mr. A.F. NEIDLE |
| Special Representative of the Secretary-General: | Mr. D. PROTITCH |
| Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General: | Mr. W. EPSTEIN |

1. The CHAIRMAN (United Kingdom): I declare open the 339th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

2. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The negotiations now taking place in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in regard to a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/192, 193) have entered an important phase. We have to finish the elaboration of a draft treaty in order to ensure the solution of a great problem which has been discussed over a long period both in the Committee and at sessions of the General Assembly.

3. During the period which has elapsed since the draft treaty on non-proliferation was presented to the Committee, all delegations of the countries represented here have had an opportunity to state their attitude towards this document. The discussion that has taken place shows that practically all the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, whatever the differences in their positions in regard to individual treaty questions, regard this draft as an important step in the disarmament negotiations, a step which brings the problem of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons closer to a solution. The debate has revealed quite clearly a basic trend in the evaluation of the draft treaty by many delegations in the Committee, namely, that this draft constitutes a basis for the achievement of an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

4. We highly appreciate the statements made by the representatives of countries members of the Committee who have spoken with approval of the draft treaty and have put forward their comments, considerations and suggestions aimed at solving the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as speedily as possible.

5. In this connexion we should like to note that the Head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr. Christov, stated at the meeting of the Committee held on 5 September that his delegation approved the draft treaty (ENDC/PV.328, para.19). A positive attitude towards the draft treaty was also expressed by the representative of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Winkler, in his statement at our meeting of 31 August, in which he evaluated this draft as an important contribution to the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/PV.327, para.34).

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

6. The representative of Poland, Mr. Goldblat, in expounding the position of the Polish People's Republic in connexion with the submission of a draft treaty on non-proliferation to the Committee, stated at the meeting of 29 August the following:

"The event marks a turning-point in the six years of efforts aimed at stopping the spread of the most deadly instruments of war ever devised by man. Its significance, therefore, cannot be over-estimated." (ENDC/PV.326, para.2)

7. In giving a general evaluation of the draft treaty at the meeting of the Committee held on 19 September, the representative of Mexico, Mr. Castañeda, remarked:

"... my Government considers it on the whole clearly satisfactory. Its main objective, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, is adequately ensured by the prohibitions in articles I and II. These are the cornerstone of the system." (ENDC/PV.331, para.3)

8. The leader of the delegation of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Khallaf, stated at the meeting held on 26 September that the Government of the United Arab Republic supported in principle the draft treaty on non-proliferation. He said:

"... we are pleased to state that we consider - in principle - the draft presented to be a valid basis for negotiation," (ENDC/PV.333, para.5)

9. Many other delegations members of this Committee have also expressed a positive attitude towards the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and towards the main obligations contained in it.

10. During the debate that has taken place since the draft treaty was submitted to the Committee there have been put forward a number of constructive and useful considerations relating to one or another aspect of the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Working papers containing proposals by Mexico (ENDC/196) and the United Arab Republic (ENDC/197) have been submitted to the members of the Committee for consideration. These proposals, which contain several amendments and additions to the text of the draft treaty, have been made in a spirit of sincere desire to contribute to the elaboration and conclusion of a treaty that would correspond to the interests of as great a number of countries as possible.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

The Soviet side is studying with all due attention the proposals of Mexico and the United Arab Republic, as well as the considerations put forward by all other delegations, and intends in due course to make a detailed statement on this matter.

11. In our statement today we should like to make some preliminary comments on questions that have been raised in the Committee during the discussion of the draft treaty on non-proliferation. Great attention has been given during the debate to the problem of the peaceful development and use of nuclear energy. We note in this connexion the statements made by many delegations expressing satisfaction at the inclusion in the draft treaty of a special article concerning research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes by all parties to the treaty.

12. At the same time, a number of delegations have put forward proposals to include in the treaty additional articles regarding the peaceful development of nuclear energy; in particular this has been formulated in the proposals of Mexico, which has submitted an amended text for article IV of the draft treaty.

13. The Soviet delegation is giving due attention to that proposal and is still studying it at present. In doing so we base ourselves on the assumption that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should enable all countries, both nuclear and non-nuclear, to develop their peaceful atomic industries and all forms of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. We for our part will do everything necessary to ensure that such a treaty shall correspond as far as possible to the interests of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, both on a national and an international scale.

14. During the discussion in the Committee great attention has also been given to the question of peaceful nuclear explosions as part of the problem of the use of nuclear energy. This is an important question which is of fundamental significance for the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and, I would say, for the fate of the future treaty.

15. The representative of Brazil, Mr. Azeredo da Silveira, speaking at the meeting of 31 August, asked why, under the non-proliferation treaty, the non-nuclear countries must also refrain from manufacturing nuclear explosive devices intended

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for peaceful purposes (ENDC/PV.327, para.17). We therefore deem it necessary to state once again our considerations concerning the problem of peaceful nuclear explosions.

16. In preparing the text of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, we cannot disregard the fact that in the world today there are forces that are striving by every means to pave a way to nuclear weapons for themselves. Exclusion of the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear explosive devices from the scope of the treaty would open up a wide loop-hole for violation of the treaty. Indeed, it is well known that the technology of the manufacture of nuclear explosive devices in no way differs essentially from the technology of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. These nuclear explosive devices could be used without any particular difficulty as nuclear weapons. Thus the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Zelleke, speaking on this subject at the meeting of the Committee held on 5 October, stated with complete justification:

> "... we are convinced of the fact, and so far it has not been challenged, that the technology required for the production of peaceful nuclear explosive devices is the same as that required for nuclear weapons, and also that the same peaceful devices can serve to wage a war with a consequential devastation equal in magnitude to that of nuclear weapons." (ENDC/PV.336, para.48)

17. In order that the non-proliferation treaty may become a really effective and reliable instrument for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, it must cover all nuclear explosive devices without exception, as is provided for in the existing draft treaty. Any other solution of this problem would be contrary to the very idea of non-proliferation and at variance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, which has laid down as the main basis for a non-proliferation treaty the principle that all ways and loop-holes for the direct or indirect proliferation of nuclear weapons must be closed.

18. Of course, renunciation by the non-nuclear countries of the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear explosive devices should in no way cause any detriment to those countries, if the need should arise for them to carry out peaceful nuclear explosions for the implementation of some particular economic development project.

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19. We consider that this question, including the procedure and conditions for carrying out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, could be settled on the basis of a separate international agreement. It is from these positions that the Soviet Union approaches a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and examines the considerations put forward by a number of delegations concerning the problem of peaceful nuclear explosions. We assume that specific proposals in this regard will be submitted to the Committee after all-round consultations on the question.

20. In discussing the draft treaty on non-proliferation, many delegations have put forward considerations concerning the link between non-proliferation and other measures of nuclear disarmament. This question was also reflected in the draft article IV-C proposed by Mexico.

21. The preamble to the draft treaty before the Committee contains provisions expressing the intention of the parties to the treaty to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race. But, as is evident from the statements made by many delegations, the link between the problem of non-proliferation and other disarmament measures should, in their opinion, be expressed more directly in the draft treaty, and a separate article devoted to this subject should be inserted into it.

22. Moreover, some delegations have expressed the view that the non-proliferation treaty should impose direct obligations on the parties to it to carry out other measures of nuclear disarmament. The position of the Soviet Union in regard to the problem of nuclear disarmament is well known. We have asserted and continue to assert the need for agreement on a wide range of measures relating to nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union is ready to enter into negotiations immediately on various disarmament measures.

23. But is it justifiable, from the point of view of achieving agreement on non-proliferation, to adopt the position of tying up in a single package problems of non-proliferation and other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament? Is it realistic at the present stage to strive, within the framework of a single treaty on non-proliferation, to solve several problems at the same time? The treaty

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on which we are working is intended to solve a definite and specific question -- prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons. The simultaneous solution of any other problem would, of course, require time, a considerable length of time, and would at the same time give rise to further questions. If we postpone the solution of the non-proliferation problem until we have reached agreement on other disarmament measures, the right moment may be irretrievably missed. It is better to settle the various measures in the field of disarmament one by one, that is, separately, without tying them up in a single package which would be difficult to untie.

24. As is stated in the resolutions of the General Assembly, the non-proliferation treaty should be a first step towards the achievement of other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. As for the proposals put forward during the discussion for the inclusion in the treaty of a special article on disarmament matters, and the specific text for such an article submitted by the delegation of Mexico, that question has to be given careful study. The Soviet delegation, which attaches great importance to this problem, will consider with due attention all the proposals in this regard and will submit appropriate recommendations to the Committee.

25. In the discussion of the draft treaty on non-proliferation, the delegation of Mexico also put forward a proposal to embody in the treaty in the form of a separate article (IV-B) the provision contained in the preamble that nothing in the treaty should affect the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories. The Soviet Union, as is well known, consistently advocates the establishment of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world and regards the establishment of such zones as one of the most important means of averting the threat of nuclear war. In this connexion the Soviet delegation would like to state that the proposal of Mexico is in keeping with the position of the Soviet Union on this question.

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26. As we have already mentioned, some very important proposals by the United Arab Republic have also been submitted to the Committee for consideration. Those proposals, which, as we have already pointed out, are imbued with a constructive spirit and a desire for the best possible solution of the problem of non-proliferation and of safeguarding the security of all countries, will be studied by us with due attention. After all-round consultations on the questions raised in those proposals, we shall put appropriate considerations before the Committee.

27. During the discussion of the draft treaty many delegations have touched upon the question of control over compliance with the treaty. We note with satisfaction that the overwhelming opinion expressed in the Committee is that such control should be carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The representative of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Khallaf, confirming the position of his country in favour of establishing control over compliance with the treaty by means of IAEA, stated:

> "In such a treaty the only inspection system acceptable ... is compulsory and not voluntary, international and not regional, effective and not fictitious." (ENDC/PV.333, para. 13)

28. The Soviet Union has maintained and continues to maintain the position that control over compliance with a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The main difficulties existing at the present time in connexion with the preparation of a draft article on control are due to the fact that there are influential circles which are doing their utmost to frustrate the drafting of that article and thus to sabotage the solution of the non-proliferation problem, which hinders their revanchist, militaristic plans.

29. It is well known that West Germany is creating an obstacle in this matter. Influential circles in the Federal Republic of Germany have in the past used any pretext to hamper progress in solving the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Now they have decided to use the question of control as a pretext for hindering the drafting and conclusion of a treaty by opposing the establishment of a single system of IAEA safeguards for control over the implementation of a non-proliferation treaty. In contrast to the overwhelming majority of States of the

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world, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany would like to put West Germany in a position which would exclude it from the scope of international control by limiting control over it to EURATOM, which would be tantamount to self-control.

30. The question arises: why does the Federal Republic of Germany adopt such a negative position in regard to control over compliance with a non-proliferation treaty by IAEA, whose system of safeguards is recognized by almost one hundred States of the world and has been tested in practice? That position of the Federal Republic of Germany cannot fail to give rise to caution in regard to the true intentions and aims of the policy of West Germany in the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

31. The Committee is now considering one of the most important problems of the present time, the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which is directly connected with the aim of reducing the danger of nuclear war. The solution of this problem will promote not only progress in the whole field of disarmament, but also the strengthening of the peace and security of all countries. In solving this problem the interests of disarmament clash with the interests of militarization, those of security with those of revanchism, those of peace with those of war.

32. On the achievement of agreement on non-proliferation will depend to a considerable extent the development of subsequent international relations, whether they will be directed towards peaceful co-operation among the peoples and utilization of the great scientific discoveries of our times for the benefit of mankind, or whether they will involve humanity in a new, even wider arms race with all its horrifying consequences for the peoples of all countries, large and small, developing and developed, nuclear and non-nuclear.

33. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that, despite the difficulties and obstacles which we are encountering in working out the final text of a draft treaty on non-proliferation, the forces opposing that treaty will be overcome. All those who are interested in the relaxation of international tension are hopefully awaiting the completion of our work and the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. To men of good will this is a means of safeguarding life and well-being not only for our generation but for generations to come. They reject the policy of procrastination -- in fact of sabotage -- which is being pursued

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by certain circles in connexion with the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. For our part, we should like to express the assurance that the Soviet Union will do its utmost to bring this important task to a successful conclusion in order to strengthen the peace and security of all peoples.

34. Mr. FISHER (United States of America): I will make only a very brief observation on the speech just made by the representative of the Soviet Union. I found it on the whole a most thoughtful and in large part constructive speech. Only in respect of one part do I find myself called upon to express a somewhat different view. The problem of article III on which we are still working and on which the co-Chairmen are still negotiating is, it is true, a difficult one; but I do not feel that the situation is quite as dismal as the representative of the Soviet Union seemed to describe it in his remarks. In particular, I believe that in working out the difficult problems before us it is not fair to characterize the position of any country whose interests are affected, whether it is at this table or not at this table, as that of a saboteur. This is a problem that can be solved, and I think it will be solved with the co-operation of all those who sincerely wish to halt proliferation.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 339th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. I.F. Porter, representative of the United Kingdom.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the USSR and the United States.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 19 October 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.