

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT**

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ENGLISH

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT
FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 5 September 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. P. WINKLER

(Czechoslovakia)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES

Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV

Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Mr. T. DAMIANOV

Burma:

U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. J.R. MORDEN

Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER

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. G.P. TOZZOLI

Mr. E. FRANCO

Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. J. CASTANEDA

Miss E. AGUIRRE

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO

Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. J. GOLDBLAT

Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. O. IONESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mr. H. EWERLOF
Mr. M. STAHL
Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. V.P. SUSLOV
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. A. OSMAN
Mr. O. SIRRY

United Kingdom:

Sir Harold BEELEY
Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. D.J. MOSS

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER
Mr. G. BUNN
Mr. C. GLEYSTEN
Mr. G. BREAM

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Czechoslovakia): I declare open the 328th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. CHRISTOV (Bulgaria) (translation from French): The Bulgarian delegation welcomes the presentation of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/192, 193). We agree with those members of the Committee who have stressed the importance of this event as a decisive step in the disarmament negotiations.
3. In accordance with the position of the Bulgarian Government in regard to the necessity and urgency of concluding a treaty to stop the multiplication of the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons, I wish to declare at the beginning of my statement that my delegation approves the draft treaty that has been submitted. We are convinced that this treaty, which is the result of efforts over a long period, embodies, with the sense of precise realities by which it is characterized, the possibilities of resolving, in this latest phase of the negotiations, one of the most topical and alarming problems of our time.
4. The Bulgarian delegation considers that the texts submitted are profoundly imbued with the spirit of the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations General Assembly and reflect the concerns which inspired them. The purpose of a non-proliferation treaty being to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever, it is natural and logical that the treaty should contain provisions capable of ensuring its complete effectiveness.
5. The draft meets that essential requirement particularly by its first articles. In this regard a gap remains to be filled concerning the important question of control. Needless to say, the solution which must be found for it is of the same order of importance for the effectiveness of the treaty. In other words, the article on control cannot and must not leave open the loop-holes which are closed by articles I and II.
6. Under the terms and within the framework of the non-proliferation treaty, control must ensure the scrupulous application of the commitment assumed by non-nuclear countries not to manufacture nuclear weapons. The purpose of the system which is to be established will therefore be to verify the destination of the fissile material required for peaceful nuclear installations in non-nuclear countries or that resulting from the operation of such installations in those same countries.

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7. We hope that the co-Chairmen of the Committee, with whose unfailing patience and devotion to our common task we are familiar, will find the solution which is required. My delegation, in common with a number of other delegations, considers that the system of safeguards under the International Atomic Energy Agency is an adequate form of control and one which has the advantage of having stood the test and of being accepted by the majority of the countries Members of the United Nations.

8. In our opinion, the draft acquires a particular value by the way in which it takes account of the problem of the peaceful use of nuclear energy and the progress of nuclear technology in the conditions created by the existence of a non-proliferation treaty. That is, of course, a problem of exceptional importance which closely affects the vital interests of all the countries of the world. Both the corresponding paragraph of the preamble and article IV of the draft treaty give this problem a solution which, in view of the actual framework within which it must be maintained, preserves the inalienable rights and ensures the safeguarding of the interests of all countries.

9. We consider that even a problem as complicated and delicate as that concerning the right to use nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes -- which, may I say, in passing, does not for the time being come within the field of practical application -- finds in the text of the draft a possibility of solution that is in keeping with the present state of development of nuclear science and technology and with the interests of all countries. To that end the draft treaty provides that the ways of using nuclear devices for peaceful purposes shall be regulated on the basis of appropriate international procedures in order to satisfy requests for the use of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes.

10. My country is as much concerned as any other country about the existence of the serious dangers created by the threat of a nuclear war, a threat that hangs over peace, over security, over the future and over the fate of the world itself. Thus the Bulgarian Government has always considered that one of the primary objectives of its foreign policy was to contribute to the struggle for the banning of the use of nuclear weapons, for general and complete disarmament, including, in the first place, nuclear disarmament through the destruction of nuclear devices and their vehicles. We know that that is the wish of a large number of other countries and that specific proposals in that direction have been made on many occasions. But we also know just as well that, as was pointed out by the representative of the United Kingdom in his statement on 29 August (ENDC/PV.326 para. 59), no one around this

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table thinks that that is within the realm of practical possibility. Thus our efforts to work out a non-proliferation treaty are aimed at attaining an immediate and possible objective in a specific situation.

11. The tension in international relations is showing at the present time dangerous trends towards deterioration. These trends are imparting to the arms race an ever more frenzied pace. For its part, the arms race, including the race for nuclear weapons in which more and more countries run the risk of becoming involved, is daily increasing the tension. Does that mean that this is an inevitable process, that we are caught in an implacable cog-wheel or that we are condemned to live in a vicious circle from which there is no escape? Of course not. We know that international tension is the result of the policy of the imperialist forces -- a policy of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The war of aggression which the United States is now waging in Viet-Nam, with its sequence of escalations, bombardments and horrors, the aggression of Israël against the Arab peoples, and the critical situation in other parts of the globe illustrate that policy in the most sinister fashion.

12. Examined against this background, the conclusion of a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons seems to us, at the present time, one of the rare initiatives that it is possible to accomplish in order to contribute an element of détente, in order to extricate the disarmament debate from the sterile ground where it has been marking time for so long. In our opinion, that is one of the main objectives highlighted in the penultimate paragraph of the preamble to the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which states that the parties to the treaty desire:

"... to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control." (ENDC/192, 193)

13. In that regard, I should also like to quote the representative of the Soviet Union who, in his statement on 24 August when the draft Soviet treaty was submitted, declared:

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"... the Soviet Union at the same time has always based itself on the premise that this treaty is not an end in itself but is only one of the preliminary steps towards restricting and stopping the nuclear arms race. The policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at achieving an agreement on the cessation of the arms race and on the complete disarmament of all States. It is precisely from the point of view of this wide perspective that we regard a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which will to a considerable extent facilitate further joint actions by States in the field of nuclear and general disarmament." (ENDC/PV.325, para.43)

14. In that connexion, one can never insist enough on two other reasons for concluding a non-proliferation treaty as quickly as possible. On the one hand, in the present circumstances this problem is holding back the negotiations on the problems of disarmament and, on the other hand, any delay in solving it encourages the tendencies of certain countries to equip themselves with nuclear weapons. There is little time to lose if one wishes to stop such tendencies and to open up the path of negotiation.

15. May I now say a few words concerning another very important problem. I am referring to the problem of security which has been raised on several occasions during our discussions. That is logical since it concerns all countries, whether nuclear or non-nuclear. I do not intend to analyse in depth this very complicated problem which gives rise, as soon as it is touched upon, to innumerable questions and affects interests of all kinds. But in view of the fact that the problem concerns my country, just as it does any other country, and that, for obvious reasons, this problem is closely linked to that of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, I will venture to make a few remarks on the subject.

16. The international situation being what it is, the question arises whether there is a single country that is not concerned about the problems of its security in one way or another. I think it is no exaggeration to say that such a country does not exist. Consequently, that situation creates serious problems for every country and for the entire international community, since in most cases the security of a country is dependent upon that of neighbouring or other countries.

17. It goes without saying that each sovereign country is the sole judge of the measures and means which it considers to be the most appropriate for the solution of its own problems of security. It must be noted that, rightly or wrongly, most countries endeavour to equip themselves with the most modern and most sophisticated weapons. In the atomic age, that means in some cases: atomic armaments.

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18. What is the situation created by that prospect in regard to the problem of the security of States? I shall confine myself to recalling what has been proved here by more than one brilliant demonstration, namely, that the country which is in a position to manufacture its own atomic bomb and decides to do so does not, by that fact itself, increase the chances of its security -- far from it. It places itself in a situation of immediate risk, because other countries in relation to which it is supposed to wish to safeguard its security will not wait till it has obtained possession of an atomic weapon. Moreover, those same countries or others in the same area will also rush into the nuclear arms race, and that will put to a severe test the security of several countries. Let me add that, in the present state of science, technology and economic development, not everyone becomes an atomic power that wishes to do so; only ten or fifteen countries will be in a position to equip themselves with atomic weapons, if they so desire, in the next few years. The other countries -- and they are the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations, that is, at least a hundred -- will only be in a position to manufacture atomic weapons in the more remote future. What will happen to their security? Let us recall again that certain non-nuclear countries possessing a sufficient economic and industrial potential scarcely conceal their desire to equip themselves with nuclear weapons for reasons which have nothing to do with their security, for clearly aggressive purposes. What will happen to the security of a large number of countries if such countries become possessors of nuclear weapons? The proliferation of nuclear weapons is incompatible with national and international security. The mere prospect of an increase in the number of nuclear countries has the result of raising new problems and creating general complexes of insecurity.
19. I have stated that my delegation approves the draft treaty which has been submitted to us. That does not at all mean that we are unaware of the limitations of the draft. But we firmly believe that the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty on the basis of that draft will have positive effects on the discussion of other disarmament problems, will contribute to the lessening of international tension and to the improvement of the political climate, will strengthen confidence in relations between States and will facilitate the development of co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy.
20. Without wishing to underestimate the legal aspects of the limitations of the draft treaty, we believe that it is essential to bear in mind that what is concerned, in this case, is not an isolated agreement under which the parties concerned will be bound solely by legal obligations relating to measures of a practical nature. We

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think that the draft treaty must be regarded from the standpoint of its achievement as an international instrument of primary importance and exceptional political scope, as the expression of a determination to pursue a definite political action of vital interest, within a very broad framework of efforts which should lead to relaxation of tension, international security and general and complete disarmament.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 328th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador P. Winkler, representative of Czechoslovakia.

"A statement was made by the representative of Bulgaria.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 7 September 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 10.55 a.m.