

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.365
15 February 1968
ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 15 February 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI

(Italy)

GE.68-2912

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. E. MOREIRA HOSANNAH
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

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. K. STRASIK

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
Mr. N. KRISHNAN
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO
Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA

Nigeria:

Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mr. S. DABROWA

Romania:

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

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL
Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. J. PRAWITZ
Baron C.H. von PLATEN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. O.A. GRINEVSKY
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV
Mr. V.B. TOULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. O. SIRRY
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. S. DePALMA
Mr. L.D. WEILER
Mr. C.G. BREAM
Mr. A.F. NEIDLE

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I declare open the 365th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. GOMEZ ROBLEDO (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): The date of 18 January will be of great significance in the annals of disarmament. Only those of us who were here in the dramatic years when the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons was debated constantly and without any apparent hope of solution, only those of us and those who with us closely followed the work of the Disarmament Committee, have been in a position to appreciate the arduous effort made by the nuclear Powers to arrive at last at the balance of conciliation and reciprocal adjustment which, as far as their respective positions are concerned, is represented by the draft treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which, in two identical texts and without any gap, have been submitted to us simultaneously by the United States and the Soviet Union (ENDC/192/Rev.1, 193/Rev.1). Whatever reservations we may still have in regard to the text submitted to us, we consider it only fair to convey publicly to our two co-Chairmen our warmest congratulations.
3. In the same vein of reciprocal congratulation I must put on record the pleasure with which my delegation has noted the almost complete incorporation, in articles IV and V of what I will venture in future to call the joint draft, of two of the amendments or additions proposed by Mexico (ENDC/196) to the previous draft submitted to the Committee on 24 August 1967 (ENDC/192, 193). Through these amendments my country has the legitimate satisfaction of having contributed to the insertion in the joint draft of provisions designed to cover adequately such vital matters as the development and peaceful use of nuclear energy by non-nuclear States, including access without any discrimination to the potential benefits of any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions.
4. With equal pleasure we welcome the insertion in full of the Mexican proposal concerning regional treaties, the purpose of which is to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in the territories of the parties, such as the Treaty for

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America or the Tlatelolco Treaty (ENDC/186), the fruitful influence of which, I would add in passing, is evident in several provisions of the joint draft.

5. Since I have mentioned the Tlatelolco Treaty -- which, it will be remembered, was signed in Mexico exactly a year ago yesterday, on 14 February 1967, and was presented to this Committee a week later, on 21 February, by Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles, Mexican Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (ENDC/PV.287) -- I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to the United Kingdom Government our great appreciation of the fact that the United Kingdom was the first of the three nuclear Powers whose representatives are present in this Committee to sign, on 20 December 1967, Additional Protocols I and II of the Treaty, as the Right Honourable Fred Mulley, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, informed the members of the Committee with undoubtedly great authority at the meeting of 23 January (ENDC/PV.358).

6. I should also like to recall in this respect something of equal relevance stated by Lord Caradon, leader of the United Kingdom delegation, on 26 October 1967 at the 1,508th meeting of the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, when he announced that his Government would shortly sign the Additional Protocols of the Treaty -- which it has now done. He said:

"It is our earnest hope that this response by the United Kingdom ... will soon be followed by similar statements by the Governments of the other States which possess nuclear weapons or which have territories within the area covered by the Treaty for which they are internationally responsible".

(A/C.1/PV.1508, pp.7,8-10)

7. A few hours ago we received the welcome news that yesterday, precisely on the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, President Lyndon B. Johnson made the following public statement:

"The United States considers this Treaty to be a realistic and effective arms control measure of unique significance -- not only to the peoples of Latin America, but to all the peoples of the world.

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

"Today I am pleased to announce that the United States will sign Protocol II to this Treaty, which calls upon the Powers possessing nuclear weapons to respect the status of denuclearization in Latin America and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American States party to the Treaty. I have appointed Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, as my emissary to sign the Protocol in Mexico with an appropriate statement."

In taking note with great satisfaction of that statement, we have pleasure in conveying to the United States Government, through its worthy representative in this Committee, our most sincere gratitude.

8. To conclude this point, we consider it appropriate to recall that, foremost among the resolutions transmitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Committee and annexed to his letter of 11 January 1968 (ENDC/210), is resolution 2286 (XXII), which was unanimously adopted and in which the General Assembly welcomes "with special satisfaction" the Treaty of Tlatelolco and, after declaring that it "constitutes an event of historic significance in the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security", addresses a number of urgent appeals to all States which are or may become signatories of the Treaty or of its additional Protocol (I) and to Powers possessing nuclear weapons, which are expressly invited "to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II of the Treaty as soon as possible".

9. Reverting to the draft non-proliferation treaty, in the light of the aforementioned considerations the Mexican delegation accepts it in general, convinced as it is of the urgent need to avert as soon as possible the danger -- which becomes more terrifying as time passes -- of an increase in the number of nuclear-weapon States. Furthermore, this approval of the text as a whole and in principle is not incompatible -- quite the contrary -- with our desire that we should continue to endeavour to improve the draft treaty, which my Foreign Ministry is studying very carefully, as well as the

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

amendments which may be submitted and among which we shall give particularly sympathetic consideration to those which make more and more possible the widest acceptance of the treaty by the non-nuclear-weapon countries.

10. For that reason we have pleasure in giving immediately our full support to the amendments suggested by the delegation of Sweden (ENDC/215) to the preamble of the joint draft and to its articles VI and VIII. It seems to us very proper, in the first place, that at least in the preamble and at least as a reminder we should take into account the solemn undertaking by the parties to the partial test ban treaty signed in Moscow in 1963 (ENDC/100/Rev.1) to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time in all physical environments and to continue negotiations to this end. Mexico has always considered, as everyone knows, that the conclusion of such a treaty is a collateral measure absolutely indispensable in the disarmament process, and my delegation has therefore proposed on an appropriate occasion (ENDC/196) that this undertaking should be expressly mentioned in the wording itself of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In some way or other it must be included somewhere in the treaty, lest it be thought that by such a surprising and inexplicable omission this matter has been shelved.

11. My delegation also finds most commendable any endeavour to improve the text of article VI, which as at present drafted is scarcely more than a declaration of good intentions, with which, as we know only too well, the road of the arms race is paved. In default of formally laying down the obligation to pursue disarmament negotiations "with all speed and perseverance", in accordance with the Mexican proposal, something would be achieved by stating that they must be held "at an early date" and not postponed indefinitely.

12. Lastly, it seems to us to be likewise very constructive that the delegation of Sweden has decided to support "very strongly" (ENDC/PV.363, para.16) the amendment suggested by the United Kingdom delegation (ENDC/203) to paragraph 3 of article VIII to the effect that other conferences may be held every five years to review the operation of a treaty whose subject matter is extraordinarily

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

complex and, moreover, altogether unprecedented, for which reason there is need to keep watch on its effectiveness in the light of experience and at reasonable intervals.

13. We have not yet had time to examine with the care they deserve the other amendments or suggestions which have been formulated by the Swedish and by other delegations; and that is why we have confined ourselves to stating our views on those we have just mentioned. We support them as the most feasible for the time being, on the understanding that the Mexican delegation to the United Nations General Assembly will be entirely free to propose or support any other amendments likely to improve the text still further until it is rendered as perfect as possible. In a world forum properly so-called it is necessary to carry out in a complete manner the negotiation of a treaty which by its very nature is the concern of the entire world.

14. Mr. DePALMA (United States of America): The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (ENDC/186), which was concluded just a year ago, represents a historic landmark in the co-operative and friendly relations among the States of Latin America. It is an important step towards the world-wide prohibition of the spread of nuclear weapons.

15. It is not surprising that Latin America is the first area of the world which, in the words of the Treaty, has undertaken to "use exclusively for peaceful purposes the nuclear material and facilities which are under their jurisdiction" (ENDC/186, p.15), and to preserve the nuclear-free status of the territories of the parties to the Treaty. Latin America has been a model to the world of an area where solutions to international problems have been sought through peaceful procedures and regional co-operation. The Organization of American States is a symbol of the commitment of the member countries to peaceful endeavour.

16. My Government has consistently supported the creation of nuclear-free zones where the initiative for such zones originates within the area concerned, where the zone includes all States in the area whose participation is deemed important,

(Mr. DePalma, United States)

where the creation of a zone would not disturb necessary security arrangements, and where provisions are included for following up on alleged violations in order to give reasonable assurances of compliance for the zone.

17. The United States observed with keen interest the negotiation and conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which incorporates so well the fundamental criteria my Government considers essential for the creation of such zones.

18. The parties to the Treaty of Tlatelolco have called upon those Powers possessing nuclear weapons to respect the denuclearized status of Latin America and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American States parties to the Treaty.

19. I am pleased to report to this Committee that President Johnson announced yesterday that the United States will sign Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and that, upon ratification following advice and consent by the Senate of the United States, the United States will assume the Protocol's obligations to those countries within the region which undertake and meet the Treaty's requirements as well as the territories within the region of extracontinental Powers which adhere to Protocol I.

20. I should like now to read the text of the President's statement, including the passages already cited by the representative of Mexico. In his statement President Johnson said:

"One year ago today, on February 14, 1967, the nations of Latin America gathered in Tlatelolco, Mexico, to sign a treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America. Twenty-one nations of the region have now joined in this historic undertaking.

"The United States considers this Treaty to be a realistic and effective arms control measure of unique significance -- not only to the peoples of Latin America, but to all the peoples of the world.

"Today I am pleased to announce that the United States will sign Protocol II to this Treaty, which calls upon the Powers possessing nuclear weapons to respect the status of denuclearization in Latin America and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American States party to the Treaty. I have appointed Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, as my emissary to sign the Protocol in Mexico with an appropriate statement.

(Mr. DePalma, United States)

"Upon ratification by the Senate, the United States will assume the obligations to those countries within the region which undertake and meet the Treaty's requirements. I am pleased to note that the drafters of this Treaty have indicated that transit by the United States within the Treaty zone will continue to be governed by the principles and rules of international law.

"The Treaty of Tlatelolco has been closely related to the long effort to reach world-wide agreement to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. It will create a nuclear free zone in an area of seven and a half million square miles, inhabited by nearly two hundred million people. Like the non-proliferation treaty, this Treaty, in addition to prohibiting the acquisition of nuclear weapons, also prohibits the acquisition of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. However, it has been drafted in such a way as to make it possible for Latin American parties to the Treaty to obtain peaceful nuclear explosion services.

"It is indeed fitting that this giant step forward should have had its genesis in Latin America, an area which has come to be identified with regional co-operation. I particularly wish to congratulate our distinguished friend, President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico, for the initiative and leadership which his Government has contributed to this Treaty and thereby to the peace of this region and of the world.

"In signing this Protocol, the United States once again affirms its special and historic relationship with the peoples of Latin America and its stake in their future. The United States gives this affirmation gladly, in the conviction that the denuclearization of this region enhances the development of its peaceful nuclear potential."

21. The commitment of the parties to the Treaty of Tlatelolco will serve as an example to the world that international security and the peaceful development of nuclear energy are enhanced by measures such as the draft non-proliferation treaty. The Treaty of Tlatelolco should strengthen and encourage the work of this Committee in devising a world-wide agreement to promote peace and security and to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. DePalma, United States)

22. The United States is pleased to note that the United Kingdom has already signed Protocol II, and hopes that other nuclear-weapon Powers will take similar action.

23. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I thank the representative of the United States for the statement he has made to the Committee concerning the recent decision by his Government.

24. Does any other delegation wish to speak?

25. Mr. DePALMA (United States of America): If there are no other speakers on matters of substance, I wish to make a statement concerning the procedure of the Committee. The co-Chairmen have been giving consideration to ways in which the available time of this Committee may be used to maximum advantage so as to give all members a full opportunity of presenting their views on the draft treaty and to have them adequately considered. Having in mind the date of 15 March established by the General Assembly for the presentation of our full report, the co-Chairmen suggest that it would be advantageous to schedule a third meeting each week. I understand that one delegation would like to speak tomorrow, and it has been suggested that we should meet tomorrow. Next week, and thereafter, the co-Chairmen suggest, meetings might be scheduled for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. That would enable the Secretariat to prepare the provisional record in time for it to be available for each meeting. Of course, if it appeared in any of the succeeding weeks that the number of expected speakers would not justify the holding of a third meeting or that additional meetings were required, the schedule could be adjusted.

26. The co-Chairmen hope that all members of the Committee will take advantage of this additional opportunity to express their views. They hope that the members will do so as soon as they can. Because of the 15 March date for the presentation of our report, the co-Chairmen believe it will be necessary for them to begin their own consultations concerning the draft report to the General Assembly during the last week of February. With the possibility of three meetings, not only this week but next week and the following week, the co-Chairmen believe that wider consultations and preparations for the report could then begin in the first week of March and continue until the end of this session.

27. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): The members of the Committee have just been informed of the initiative taken by the co-Chairmen, who propose that we hold three meetings a week. The meeting tomorrow that has been proposed to us is also justified by the fact that one member of the Committee has already put down his name on the list of speakers.

28. I ask the Committee whether it thinks that this suggestion of the co-Chairmen is acceptable -- that is to say, whether the Committee thinks unanimously that it would be a good thing to hold three meetings a week, in accordance with the procedure that has been recommended to us by one of the co-Chairmen, the representative of the United States.

29. Are there any objections to that proposal?

30. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, before you ask the opinion of all the members of the Committee regarding the co-Chairmen's proposal I should like, as co-Chairman of the Committee for the USSR, to state our views in support of the declaration just made by the co-Chairman for the United States, Mr. DePalma, concerning the procedure of work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee for the present period, until the end of the present session.

31. Like the co-Chairman for the United States, we consider that the question of the Committee's procedure of work should be strictly co-ordinated with the text of General Assembly resolution 2346A (XXII) (ENDC/210), which contains a request by the General Assembly to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to submit to it on or before 15 March a full report on the negotiations regarding a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, together with the pertinent documents and records.

32. In view of the very limited amount of time left to us before the date set by the General Assembly for submission of the report, we think it would be appropriate to intensify the work of the Committee so that, in the time remaining, all delegations would have every opportunity to state their views on the question

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

that we are considering here, namely the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and so that the co-Chairmen, in their turn, could carefully consider and study the views and proposals put forward by members of the Committee, provide explanations concerning the draft treaty on non-proliferation, and also carry out the necessary consultations in connexion with the preparation of the report to the General Assembly.

33. In this regard, as already stated by the United States representative, we likewise take the view that it would be very appropriate to hold a third weekly meeting, and at the same time we declare our readiness to hold a still larger number of meetings per week should the need subsequently arise. Thus we are ready, if necessary, to meet three, four, or more times in a week.

34. The Soviet delegation supports the proposal and expresses its readiness to undertake consultations between the co-Chairmen concerning the draft report of the Committee to the General Assembly during the last week of February, with a view to undertaking wider consultations on this subject and preparing a draft report to the General Assembly in the first week of March, so that this important work of drafting the report may be completed by the date set by the General Assembly.

35. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union, who has given us a further argument in favour of this decision to hold more meetings of the Committee each week.

36. Mr. KHALLAF (United Arab Republic) (translation from French): My delegation is entirely in favour of the proposal just made by our co-Chairmen. I have only one small point to raise. As you know, we hold weekly meetings of non-aligned countries every Wednesday morning. Therefore I wonder whether we can prevail upon the goodwill of the Secretariat to arrange the meeting of the Committee on Wednesday afternoon instead of Wednesday morning.

37. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): The representative of the United Arab Republic has just raised the question of the informal meeting of the eight non-aligned delegations which is held every Wednesday morning. I

(The Chairman, Italy)

believe that the point raised by Mr. Khallaf fits perfectly well into the statements made by the co-Chairmen, who also spoke to us of the need to have consultations at a given moment.

38. In this connexion, and clearly before submitting this proposal to the Committee, I should like in my capacity as Chairman to ask for a clarification. I should like to know, first, whether as far as the Secretariat is concerned it would be possible to have several meetings each week; secondly, whether it would be possible to arrange a meeting on Wednesday afternoon; thirdly, whether, when the co-Chairmen refer to consultations, they mean private consultations, consultations within the Committee or consultations by groups. I believe that is a point on which the Committee is entitled to be informed before this proposal is submitted to it.

39. Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): The Secretariat is ready to meet all the requirements of the Committee. The only problem which would arise in the event of a meeting on Wednesday afternoon would be that the verbatim record might not be ready in time as it would be if the meeting were held in the morning. Otherwise, there is no problem so far as the Secretariat is concerned on this point.

40. Regarding the other point, namely, possibly increasing the meetings to four: when it is necessary, there again the Secretariat will be in a position to serve the Committee; but having the records ready in time would always depend on the number of meetings.

41. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): In regard to the question raised by the Chairman concerning what our delegation means by consultations -- and I think the United States delegation will also agree, apparently, with this -- for consultations on the preparation of the report we do not propose any other procedure than that which the Committee has usually followed in this respect at all previous sessions and in all previous cases in which a report has had to be submitted to the General Assembly.

42. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I think that the Committee is now in a position to decide whether it will hold an additional meeting tomorrow and whether, beginning next week, it will hold additional meetings or, shall we say, more than the two meetings held hitherto. Are there any objections or comments on this question?

43. Mr. BURNS (Canada): I was just struck by the point made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General: that if there is a meeting on Wednesday afternoon we should not be able to have the verbatim record for the following day. In consideration of that, I wonder whether the representative of the United Arab Republic and the representatives of the other non-aligned States would be prepared to hold their meeting in the afternoon instead of in the morning -- that is, on Wednesday afternoon if it is decided that we should have a meeting on Wednesday as well as on Tuesday and Thursday.

44. Mr. KHALLAF (United Arab Republic) (translation from French): For my part I have no objection to trying to change old habits; but my colleagues from the non-aligned countries must also come to a decision on the matter. I know that these meetings are very useful to us and we all attach great importance to them.

45. Mr. GOMEZ ROBLEDO (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): We see no difficulty whatsoever in meeting on Wednesday afternoons.

46. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I have the impression that the problem can thus be considered settled. If there are no other comments, I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

47. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I wish to thank the co-Chairmen for this initiative, which apparently corresponds to the unanimous wish of the Committee.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 365th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gian Paolo Tozzoli, representative of Italy.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Mexico, the United States, the USSR, the United Arab Republic, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Canada.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Friday, 16 February 1968, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.