

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.386  
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ENGLISH

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 1 August 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. JAROSZEK (Poland)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil: Mr. A. da COSTA GUITMARAES

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

Czechoslovakia: Mr. T. LAHODA  
Mr. R. KLEIN  
Mr. J. STRUCKA

Ethiopia: Mr. A. ZELLEKE

India: Mr. M.A. HUSAIN  
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy: Mr. R. CARACCIOLO  
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. R. BERLENGHI

Mexico: Mr. J. CASTANEDA  
Mr. H. CARDENAS RODRIGUEZ

Nigeria: Alhaji SULE KOLO  
Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland: Mr. H. JAROSZEK  
Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI  
Mr. H. STEPOSZ  
Mr. S. DABROWA

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO

Mr. O. IONESCO

Mr. V. TARZIORU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL

Mr. A. EDELSTAM

Mr. H. BLIX

Mr. L. LUNDBERG

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A. A. ROSHCHIN

Mr. R. M. TIMERBAEV

Mr. V. V. SHUSTOV

Mr. M. P. SHELEPIN

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF

Mr. O. SIRRY

Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I. F. PORTER

Mr. W. N. HILLIER-FRY

United States of America:

Mr. G. BUNN

Mr. C. GLEYSTEN

Mr. S. GRAYBEAL

Mr. C. G. BREAM

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Poland): I declare open the 386th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. ECOBESCO (Romania) (translation from French): If we were to try to choose a slogan for the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, it seems to me that the most appropriate word in the present circumstances would be "action". For it is precisely the need to act — and to act energetically and rapidly — that constitutes the imperative requirement of the times in which we live.
3. The conclusion of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/226\*), to whose negotiation the Committee made a substantial contribution, marks the first stage on the road towards elimination of the danger of the proliferation of the atom's destructive force. But this represents only one step. The next steps must be in line with the decisive movement leading to the delivery of mankind from the spectre of the nuclear danger. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the lengthy negotiations on the non-proliferation treaty.
4. Thanks to the constant efforts of a large number of States, including Romania, several provisions have been included in the treaty which make clear the link between that treaty and other disarmament measures that must be taken. Those provisions are well known to all of us who took part in their drafting. Hence we do not propose to recall all of them now. However, we consider that article VI -- the key article from the point of view of the problems that concern us at present -- must be particularly stressed. I have called it the key article because it establishes the commitment of the States parties to the treaty --  
    "... to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".  
The implications of that undertaking are both profound and manifold.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

5. First of all, we have in mind the qualitatively new element which, as was rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, appears "for the first time in history" (ENDC/PV.381, para. 2) and consists in the fact that the non-proliferation treaty lays on States a legal duty to pursue their efforts towards the achievement of disarmament.

6. Next, it is indicated unequivocally that the primary objective to which our action should constantly be directed is general disarmament and, first and foremost, the cessation of the atomic arms race and the achievement of nuclear disarmament. Thus the fundamental option — general disarmament — is also established likewise for the first time in formal mandatory provisions.

7. Thirdly, the article clearly defines the nature of the measures to be undertaken and stresses the criterion of their effectiveness.

8. Fourthly, the article brings out very strikingly the urgency of the disarmament measures on which we must come to an agreement; and that is the element which necessitates the speeding of our work in this Committee.

9. Another element in the provisions of article VI relates to continuity of negotiations, which are conceived and must be carried out in an uninterrupted process.

10. Lastly, the obligations referred to in article VI show the extent of the responsibility of States, especially of the nuclear-weapon States, for the adoption of radical disarmament measures.

11. That is the legal setting which calls upon us to take action, and indeed obliges us to act. But the legal bases which I have just mentioned are not and cannot be regarded as mere abstractions. They stem from the understanding of the great danger hanging over contemporary civilization by reason of the existence of nuclear weapons. It is a fact that the existing nuclear arsenals contain weapons of such great destructive power that, even if only part of them were to be unleashed, whole countries and peoples would be completely annihilated. The world and each nation in it cannot feel secure as long as those terrifying means of mass destruction exist and can be used either directly or by accident, or as an instrument of the policy of pressure and threat.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

12. Moreover, it is a sad fact that the arms race, instead of being halted, reaches each year ever greater proportions, so that large resources and energies, so necessary for the attainment of the noble aspirations of man for progress and well-being, are devoted to highly destructive ends. The international political climate and the development of peaceful co-operation between States are directly affected by the arms race -- that permanent source of tension, suspicion and conflict.

13. The triple demands of peace, security and general human progress consequently make it even more necessary than ever before to undertake joint efforts towards the attainment of disarmament and first and foremost of nuclear disarmament -- the fundamental desideratum of all peoples. Therefore we must immediately undertake broad measures of disarmament if we wish to see come about in the world the decisive mutation which I would call the "mutation of peace".

14. Those are the essential elements that determine the position of Romania, which consists in firm support for measures designed to achieve general disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament. To that end the most important and urgent measures, in the view of the Romanian Government, are the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the reduction and ultimately the elimination of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles from the arsenals of States. The creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world is also a part of the series of actions leading to that end. The Romanian delegation favours a thorough consideration by our Committee of proposals designed to attain those objectives.

15. Within the framework of collateral measures our Committee has had before it on several occasions the proposal relating to the elimination of military bases on foreign territory. Foreign military bases, wherever they may be, are a source of tension and concern in the world and must be eliminated. It is not difficult to imagine the positive effects that would follow from the replacement of military bases by bases for scientific research, for training personnel, for technical assistance and co-operation, all contributing to the economic and cultural development of peoples.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

16. In campaigning incessantly for the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction, Romania declares itself in favour of strengthening the Geneva Protocol of 1925 for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of bacteriological methods of warfare. The path to be followed is indicated by resolution 2162 B(XXI) of the United Nations General Assembly, which calls upon all States strictly to observe the principles and objectives of the Protocol, condemns all actions contrary to those objectives and invites all States to accede to the Protocol (ENDC/185).

17. The massive penetration of modern science and technology into the life of nations makes it possible to extend man's power to fields which in the past were inaccessible. To the imposing achievement represented by the conquest of outer space may now be added the daring plans to discover the secrets of the seas and oceans. The enormous resources of the sea-bed and the promising prospects of their utilization for the benefit of mankind justify the concern of the international community to establish a system calculated to ensure the exclusively peaceful utilization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Consequently it is necessary to adopt measures to prevent the intrusion of the military factor into that environment, which is not yet contaminated. For that reason the Romanian delegation is in favour of prohibiting the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and the conclusion of an appropriate international instrument.

18. Concerning regional measures to contribute to the strengthening of peace and the promotion of co-operation among nations, Romania, as a European country, attaches particular importance to and shows a constant concern for the achievement of European security, which is the major desideratum of all the peoples of the continent and in which all mankind is interested.

19. As is well known, many proposals and suggestions have been put forward for achieving that objective, testifying both to the special importance of the problem and to the growing interest in finding the most appropriate ways and means of solving it. The essential premise on which the progress of the cause of European security depends is the establishment of relations between all States on new and sound bases, which makes

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it imperatively necessary to respect unreservedly the right of all peoples to decide their own destiny. It follows that nothing can justify interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, and that the establishment of relations between States based on respect for and the strict implementation of the principles of independence and sovereignty, of equality of rights and non-interference, is an absolute condition for avoiding international conflicts and ensuring a relaxation of tension and peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

20. Convinced that the establishment of a lasting system of peace and security in Europe must be the result of the joint efforts of all the nations of the Continent, whether large or small, Romania is making its own contribution to that task while working with determination for the development of relations between States in all fields as an essential factor for the creation of confidence and the improvement of the European political climate. The Romanian Government has declared and declares itself in favour of the liquidation of foreign military bases established on the territory of other States, in favour of the simultaneous abolition of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and of the Warsaw Pact, and in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops within their own national frontiers and of the adoption of effective measures calculated to lead to a military détente and to the reduction and elimination of the nuclear danger on the European continent. As Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, Chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stated recently:

"... European security, the creation of relations on the basis of respect, of independence, of sovereignty, and of non-interference in internal affairs are not compatible with the existence of foreign bases and foreign troops on the territory of other States, or with military blocs. We must act to liquidate the vestiges of the cold war with all firmness and determination."

21. The development of events shows strikingly that the achievement of European security requires the elimination step by step of the sources of tension and the anachronistic situations which prevent the unhindered development of co-operation; it requires the effective and fruitful discussion of unsettled problems, the careful identification and utilization of every opportunity of strengthening understanding and rapprochement amongst peoples.



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22. That is precisely why we consider that all European States have the duty to act in such a way that the process of détente is not checked but, quite on the contrary, is encouraged and broadened by all means, so that the countries of Europe can make the most of their creative potential without having to fear that their peaceful work may be rendered vain by conflicts and wars. It is undeniable that any progress along the path leading to the achievement of European security would have a favourable effect on the entire international situation, would facilitate the solution of other problems of concern to humanity at the present time, including the problem of disarmament, and would promote the cause of general peace and security.

23. Those are the views of the Romanian delegation on the substance of the problems that are before our Committee at the present stage. I should like now to explain my delegation's point of view on our programme of work, which obviously must be drawn up.

24. I do not believe I exaggerate when I say that never has this Committee had before it such a large number of proposals as at present. I am thinking above all of the memorandum of the Government of the Soviet Union of 1 July last, which was circulated as an official document (ENDC/227) by the Soviet delegation at the opening of the present session and which embodies proposals whose importance cannot escape anyone. I am referring also to the proposals contained in the message of President Johnson of the United States of America (ENDC/228), and to the suggestions put forward by the delegations of the United Kingdom (ENDC/PV.381), Sweden (ENDC/PV.383, 385), and other States members of the Committee.

25. The drafting of the programme of work and the establishment of priorities appear in these circumstances to be an important -- I would even say an indispensable -- factor in the arrangement of our joint activities and efforts. It seems to me that we all agree that, although this is not a very easy question, we shall nevertheless be able to settle it, and that the quicker we do so the better it will be for our work.

26. What are the criteria by which we ought to be guided? That is a preliminary question which calls for an answer. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, it is necessary to place in the foreground the substantive criteria which derive from the very stipulations of the documents defining the terms of reference of the Committee.

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And this is quite logical if we realize that the programme of work is but the first step in our activities within our terms of reference and aimed at carrying them out. 27. That being so, let us refer to those resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations which lay down the bases of our principal tasks. First there is resolution 2342 B (XXII), which requests the Committee "to resume at the earliest possible date consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament ..." and "to report on the progress achieved on the question of general and complete disarmament to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session." (ENDC/210)

There is no need to point out that by this resolution the General Assembly simply recalls the fundamental objective which should have been constantly discussed by this Committee and to which unfortunately the attention it deserves has not been given for some years. If this time again our Committee presents a report merely stating that no meeting has been devoted to general and complete disarmament -- "the most important question facing the world today", to repeat the terms of the well-known resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959 -- quite frankly I wonder how this fact will be appraised.

28. If general disarmament remains our permanent task, its central component -- nuclear disarmament -- demands the most urgent attention and must in consequence have absolute priority. This is clearly indicated to us by General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June last, which requests the Committee urgently to pursue negotiations --

"... on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament ..." (ENDC/226\*)

Specific responsibilities devolve upon us in this field in respect of consideration of the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the conclusion of an appropriate international convention -- resolution 2289 (XXII) of 8 December 1967 (ENDC/210) -- and the elaboration of a treaty prohibiting underground tests of atomic weapons -- resolution 2343 (XXII) of 19 December 1967 (ibid.).

29. Among collateral measures the elimination of military bases on foreign territory has a special place, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2344 (XXII) (ibid.). Account must be taken also of other proposed partial measures,

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both those which have already been brought to the attention of the Committee and those which may be submitted in the future.

30. In the light of the criteria I have mentioned, the programme of work might comprise the following main categories of problems:

- (1) General and complete disarmament.
- (2) Measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament.

One could also include in this second category the proposals relating to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; the prohibition of underground nuclear-weapon tests; the cessation of production, reduction and elimination of the stockpiles of such weapons; the limitation, reduction and elimination of nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles; the establishment of denuclearized zones.

- (3) Other measures.

This third category would include elimination of military bases situated on foreign territory; prohibition of flights beyond national boundaries of bombers carrying nuclear weapons; limitation of navigation zones for rocket-carrying submarines; prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons; prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; regional disarmament measures; methods and arrangements concerning the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of articles IV and V of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

31. We realize, of course, that this represents an extensive programme, which will take longer to implement. Nor are we unaware that the Committee's time at this session is very limited. But if we wish to bear in mind the General Assembly resolutions -- and I wonder if we should have the right to proceed in any other way -- and the numerous proposals which have been submitted to us for consideration, we shall have to accept the idea of a complex programme which will form the basis of our negotiations throughout several sessions. In this way not only the continuity of the Committee's work but also the perspective which it must have will be assured.

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32. Another aspect connected with organization to which the Romanian delegation would like to draw attention is the pace of our work. As we see it, given the importance and urgency of the problems entrusted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee and the hopes of the peoples for the achievement without delay of new disarmament agreements -- and we must always keep this fact in mind -- there is a vital need for the greatest possible intensification of the pace of our work.

33. One solution might be to increase the number of meetings each week -- for example, from two to three a week. This would make it possible to devote one meeting a week to each of the categories I have just outlined. Another possibility might be to establish a committee of the whole to examine partial measures, while maintaining the two scheduled meetings, one to deal with general disarmament and the other with proposals for nuclear disarmament. I hope that no one will object if I recall that at the start of the activities of the Eighteen-Nation Committee a similar body was established at the suggestion of the Romanian delegation, and the experience of that body might prove useful to us now. After the concrete discussions which are to follow the general debates have made headway, and in step with the progress registered on some of the proposals, the Committee will be able to concentrate its attention on those in priority.

34. It might also be useful to hold -- along with official meetings and even more frequently -- joint unofficial meetings, which because of their flexibility can contribute to the clarification of problems and therefore to the promotion of understanding.

35. I have stressed those aspects of organization because of my conviction that we must do our best to give an impetus to the disarmament negotiations. We have expressed our opinion in this regard frankly. However, if it is considered that the choice of other methods of work could better serve the aims we are pursuing while enabling us to begin a fruitful dialogue -- which we favour -- we are certainly prepared to take them into account.

36. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Over two weeks have passed since the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament resumed its work. At the Conference an interesting debate on topical problems of disarmament is developing, and various proposals are being put forward concerning ways and means of carrying out the tasks confronting the Committee. Many delegations have manifested a desire to indicate and lay down a way, by keeping to which it would be possible to take constructive steps for the purpose of developing and consolidating the success achieved as a result of the elaboration of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/226\*). The Soviet delegation is studying in the most attentive and thorough manner all the proposals and considerations put forward during the present discussion, being anxious to contribute in every possible way to the successful work of the Committee.

37. We note that the Soviet Government memorandum (ENDC/227) of 1 July concerning some urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament, which was submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee by the Soviet delegation on 16 July, has aroused considerable interest among many of the participants in these negotiations. We express the hope that the proposals contained in that document will serve as a good basis for ensuring further progress in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

38. In accordance with the provisions of article VI of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the recommendations of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, the main task now confronting us is that of conducting in a spirit of good will negotiations with the object of solving the problem of nuclear disarmament and diminishing the threat of a nuclear war.

39. The Soviet Government memorandum on disarmament focuses attention on problems of nuclear disarmament and of defending mankind against the threat of a nuclear war. The programme of measures for nuclear disarmament was elaborated by the Soviet Union with due regard to the interests of all States advocating the prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

40. The question of elaborating and concluding a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons should, in our view, occupy one of the central places in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee. We must deal with this problem by virtue of the United Nations General Assembly recommendation. The Assembly, which considered this question on the initiative of the Soviet Union at its twenty-second session, expressed in resolution 2289 --

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"... its conviction that it is essential to continue urgently the examination of the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and of the conclusion of an appropriate international convention."

(ENDC/210)

The task facing this Committee is to respond to that resolution of the United Nations in a constructive spirit.

41. Today, when enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons have been accumulated in the world and the international situation remains tense, the solution of the problem of a ban on the use of nuclear weapons is especially urgent. The disastrous consequences for mankind inherent in a war involving the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and the immeasurable calamity and suffering it would bring to the whole world, are common knowledge. The members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee have at their disposal the report of the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons (A/6858), prepared by a group of prominent scientists from various countries in accordance with resolution 2162 A (ENDC/185) adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. That report gives a very lucid picture of the catastrophe which would befall mankind if a nuclear war were to break out.

42. The Soviet Government's memorandum proposes that a draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons be discussed as a matter of high priority and that there should be an exchange of opinions on the convening of an international conference to sign an appropriate convention. The conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be of great importance for ensuring international security and would be a sound prerequisite for the accomplishment of other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament.

43. At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly the Soviet Union submitted a specific document on this problem, a draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (A/6834), with a view to making a practical contribution towards the speedy solution of this important problem. The Soviet Government proposed that each State signatory to the convention should assume the obligation not to use nuclear weapons, not to threaten any State with their use, nor to incite other States to use such weapons. Under General Assembly resolution 2289 (XXII) (ENDC/210) the draft convention was transmitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee and is now at the disposal of the participants in our negotiations.

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44. The Soviet delegation would like to remind the Committee that the General Assembly, at its sixteenth session in 1961, upon the initiative of Ethiopia and other African and Asian States, adopted the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. That Declaration is, I am sure, well known to all of us but I should like to recall its text. It states:

"(a) The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations;"

...

"(d) Any State using nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization;"

(General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI)).

45. Thus the United Nations has already outlawed nuclear weapons as threatening the whole of mankind. This United Nations recommendation expresses the will of the peoples of the world to ban the use of nuclear weapons, and all nations are called upon to act in accordance with it. Our task today is to establish the provisions of the Declaration banning the use of nuclear weapons in the form of an international treaty.

46. The conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be a deterrent to those who might be disposed to resort to nuclear bombs and missiles. Such an agreement would develop and give concrete expression to the obligation of States to refrain in their relations from the use or threat of force, as laid down in the United Nations Charter, by extending this obligation to atomic and hydrogen weapons, which are today the most dangerous means of warfare.

47. The proposal to conclude a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons enjoys wide support. The representatives of many countries both in the United Nations and in the Eighteen-Nation Committee have been urging for a long time the speedy solution of this important question. At our Conference the delegations of socialist countries -- Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania -- have repeatedly advocated the conclusion of a convention without delay. The representatives of Ethiopia, Mexico, the United Arab Republic, India and other non-aligned States participating in the work of our Conference have also expressed their support for the idea of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. The interest of the peoples and of the overwhelming majority of

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countries in prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons constitutes the basis on which the Eighteen-Nation Committee should conduct negotiations in order to achieve an agreement on this question.

48. However, in his statement at the 381st meeting of our Committee held on 16 July the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Mulley, questioned the expediency of concluding a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. He stated that such a prohibition would not shield the world against the possible use of nuclear weapons in an armed conflict, and, what is more, that a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons "would not ... contribute to security; it could well impair it ..." (ENDC/PV.381, para.70). Can we consider such an argument to be substantiated? After all, it is beyond dispute that the best guarantee of the reliability of any agreement is the interest of the parties in such an agreement. That fully applies also to a treaty banning the use of nuclear weapons. If governments show their willingness to conclude a convention regarding the use of nuclear weapons, one may rest assured that such an agreement will be effective.

49. There are examples in history when there was no resort to certain kinds of weapons because their use had been banned by international agreements. Poison gases and toxic substances destroyed thousands of lives in the First World War, but they were not used in the Second World War, when the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was already in existence.

50. Nor can we agree with another argument of the United Kingdom representative, according to which "the only ... way to remove the danger of nuclear war is by general and complete disarmament under effective international control" (ibid., para.71). One might conclude from that statement that we should not take any partial steps at all towards disarmament and a diminution of the threat of war. If that is so, does it not remind one of the well-known thesis of "all or nothing", which, if it were to form the basis of our negotiations, could block all progress in the field of disarmament?

51. We, of course, base ourselves on the premise that the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is not an end in itself, after the achievement of which a halt could be made. On the contrary, such an agreement, just like the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three environments (ENDC/100/Rev.1) or the non-proliferation treaty, is regarded by the Soviet Union as a step towards the complete prohibition and destruction of such weapons, as a measure leading to general and



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complete disarmament. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. A.A. Gromyko, when putting forward at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly the proposal of the USSR for the conclusion of an international convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, declared that --

"... the Soviet Union is proposing that nuclear weapons be done away with politically and that the road further, towards their physical scrapping, be sought now." (A/PV.1563, provisional, p.66).

52. The draft convention proposed by the Soviet Union contains a special article -- article 2 -- which formulates the obligations of the parties to the convention as follows:

"... to make every effort to arrive as soon as possible at agreement on the cessation of production and the destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons in conformity with a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/6834)

53. I should like also to remind the Committee that General Assembly resolution 2164 (XXI) on the convening of a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons points out that --

"... the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would greatly facilitate negotiations on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and give further impetus to the search for a solution of the urgent problem of nuclear disarmament." (ENDC/185)

54. We express the hope that the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee will give thorough consideration to the problem of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons so that it may prove possible to reach an agreement in this important field. The Soviet delegation proposes that the Eighteen-Nation Committee, having considered the question of banning the use of nuclear weapons, should elaborate specific recommendations in that regard for submission to the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly.

55. The question of banning underground explosions for testing nuclear weapons is an important aspect of the problem of nuclear disarmament. A comprehensive ban on

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nuclear-weapon tests would help to a considerable extent towards restricting the arms race, especially in regard to improvements and the creation of new and more sophisticated nuclear-weapon systems.

56. Most of the delegations that have spoken during the current session of our Committee have emphasized that now, after the conclusion of the non-proliferation treaty, the question of the prohibition of underground tests has quite logically and naturally moved into one of the foremost places in the agenda of the disarmament negotiations. The Soviet Union fully agrees with that point of view, and therefore has once again stressed in its memorandum that --

"The Soviet Government is prepared to reach agreement without delay on the banning of underground nuclear-weapon tests on the basis of the use of national means of detection to control observance of the ban." (ENDC/227, p.3).

57. It seems to us that the attempts of certain countries to hinder the adoption of a constructive decision regarding the prohibition of underground nuclear tests on the pretext that there is a need for some sort of international control and on-site inspections are merely an expression of the fact that certain governments are not yet ready to reach an agreement on this important question. Given modern national seismic instruments, practically no country can carry out an underground nuclear-weapon explosion secretly without incurring the risk of being exposed as a violator of an important international agreement. The only thing needed to reach agreement on the cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests is a political decision by governments -- and primarily those of the nuclear Powers -- to put an end to such nuclear tests once and for all.

58. In that connexion I should like to refer to that part of the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Hulley, which deals with the question of underground nuclear tests (ENDC/PV.381, paras. 74 et seq.). First of all it has to be said that the arguments he put forward for the establishment of an international control commission for control over the observance of an agreement were, once again, based on the idea of international inspection. That was quite rightly brought to our attention by the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, in her very interesting statement at the meeting of the Committee on 30 July.

She said:

"... Mr. Mulley's proposal of a committee seems to presuppose that obligatory inspection in loco is a necessary element of a comprehensive test-ban control system." (ENDC/PV.385, para.17)

59. Consequently the basis on which that proposal of the United Kingdom delegation rests remains the same, namely international on-site inspection. That approach -- I should like to call the attention of the members of the Committee to the fact -- is contrary to the position repeatedly stated by us which is that control over the observance of an underground test-ban treaty can and must be carried out by national means of detection. As all of you have noted, our memorandum of 1 July reiterates once again the approach which we have repeatedly advocated in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and in other international forums, including sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

60. Let us take another United Kingdom proposal -- that of establishing nuclear test quotas on a descending scale over a period of four or five years (ENDC/PV.381, para.77). That proposal likewise does not in our view facilitate a speedy conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of underground nuclear tests. Instead of putting an end to such explosions in the very near future, it is suggested that we postpone cessation for a prolonged period of four to five years, whereas many countries justifiably call for an immediate solution of this important and urgent international problem.

61. We believe that the conclusion of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons opens up new possibilities for the cessation of all tests of such weapons. For its part the Soviet Union will strive for the speedy achievement of this aim.

62. The Soviet Union, in advocating the accomplishment of such measures as a ban on the use of nuclear weapons and the cessation of underground nuclear tests, proposes at the same time that great attention should also be devoted in our negotiations to the broader aspects of nuclear disarmament. We advocate the complete elimination of nuclear weapons as such, and the exclusion once and for all of the threat of nuclear war from the life of mankind.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

63. However complicated the problems of nuclear disarmament may be, we must seek mutually-acceptable ways for their solution. Today, when as the result of prolonged negotiations a number of agreements aimed at checking the arms race have already been achieved, States have accumulated useful experience which permits us to hope for the solution of other more complicated problems concerning disarmament.

64. In its memorandum of 1 July the Soviet Government proposed to all nuclear Powers to enter without delay into negotiations for stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the reduction of their stockpiles, and the subsequent complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons under appropriate international control. The Soviet Government has declared that it is prepared to start such negotiations at any moment. The Soviet side believes that an attempt could and ought to be made to arrive at an agreement on the whole of the measures leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons as well as on some of them which are directed towards this aim.

65. The proposals of the Soviet Government on the problems of nuclear disarmament, contained in our memorandum, reflect the desire of the Soviet Union to ensure progress in reaching a broad agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons and thus to achieve the accomplishment of the aims and obligations set forth in article VI and the preamble to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We believe that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, in whose work three of the nuclear Powers are participating, could undoubtedly make a valuable contribution towards solving the problems concerning the cessation of the nuclear arms race.

66. Those are some considerations of the Soviet delegation relating to the tasks confronting the participants in the negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in the light of article VI of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The consistent implementation of that agreement will provide all the parties to it, and first and foremost the non-nuclear States, with considerable advantages, from the point of view of a more thorough and all-round utilization of the benefits derived from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In this connexion we should like to express our full agreement with the statement made by the representative of Poland, Mr. Jaroszek, at the meeting of the Committee on 30 July when he said that --

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"... as a result of the joint effort made by the nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States, the international community has been given an important instrument of co-operation, not only in the field of disarmament but also with regard to the peaceful applications of nuclear energy". (ENDC/PV.385, para.60)

67. Today in connexion with the non-proliferation treaty there is in many countries an awakening of interest in the new and promising field of the constructive application of nuclear energy, such as the use of nuclear explosions for carrying out engineering works, large earth works and mining operations. Although the development of this field of the peaceful uses of the atom is still in its initial stages, we shall have to elaborate in the very near future, in accordance with article V of the non-proliferation treaty, international procedures for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. The importance of an appropriate preliminary study of this question has been pointed out in the statements made by many representatives, in particular by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Sweden. Some specific proposals have also been made concerning the implementation of article V of the non-proliferation treaty. We are giving serious consideration to this question. We are studying attentively the views and proposals put forward in this connexion.

68. In conclusion we should like to emphasize once again that the submission for the consideration of the Committee of the memorandum on some urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament is a manifestation of the Soviet Union's resolve to conduct serious and businesslike negotiations aimed at achieving agreement on disarmament questions. The Soviet delegation is prepared to study most carefully and to discuss also the proposals of other countries in this field. A good many such proposals have already been made during the present session of the Committee. These have been put forward in the statements of Bulgaria (ENDC/PV.383), Czechoslovakia (ibid.), Poland (ENDC/PV.385), the United States (ENDC/PV.381, 384), the United Kingdom (ENDC/PV.381), Canada (ENDC/PV.382), Sweden (ENDC/PV.383, 385) and Italy (ENDC/PV.385). And today we heard a number of very important proposals by the representative of Romania. No doubt other members of the Committee will put forward their views on ways of solving the problems confronting us.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

69. The representatives of a number of States suggested in their statements that the Committee should determine the order of its work by singling out an appropriate range of questions which could be considered in priority. Great attention was also devoted to this question by the representative of Romania in his speech today. We share the desire of the delegations to secure the maximum efficiency in the work of the Committee, and we hope that by our common efforts we shall succeed in organizing our activities in such a way as to help us to make progress most successfully in solving the problems before the Committee.

70. It is obvious -- and this is the firm conviction of the Soviet delegation -- that any progress in our talks is indissolubly linked to the speed with which we succeed in ensuring the entry into force of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. During our work here a number of other States have adhered to the treaty. Among them are Canada and Mexico, which are members of our Committee. All of us, of course, greatly welcome their adherence. So far about seventy governments have signed the treaty, and world public opinion expects other countries to follow suit.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 286th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador H. Jaroszek, representative of the Polish People's Republic.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Romania and the Soviet Union.

"The next meeting of the Committee will be held on Tuesday, 6 August 1968, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.