

1964**Twentieth Session of the United Nations General
Assembly, 'Agenda Items Related to Disarmament'****Citation:**

"Twentieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 'Agenda Items Related to Disarmament'", 1964, Wilson Center Digital Archive, South African Foreign Affairs Archives, Armaments, Disarmament, File 32,3, Vol. 1, 16.2.62-20.9.66. Obtained and contributed by Anna-Mart van Wyk, Monash South Africa.
<https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/116053>

Summary:

South African report on the twentieth session of the General Assembly as it relates to nuclear proliferation.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY)

Original Language:

English

Contents:

Original Scan

TWENTIETH SESSION - GENERAL ASSEMBLYAGENDA ITEMS RELATING TO DISARMAMENT

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28	Question of General and Complete Disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (resolution 1908 (XVIII) of 27 th November, 1963.)
29	Question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (resolution 1909 (XVIII) of 27 th November, 1963.)
30	Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (resolution 1910 (XVIII) of 27 th November, 1963.)
45	Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament: (a) Report of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 1931 (XVIII) of 11 th December, 1963); (b) Report of the Secretary-General (IDEM). NOTE: Not dealt with in this directive - recorded for memorandum purposes only.)
98	Question of the convening of a World Disarmament Conference (resolution DC 224 of 15 th June, 1965, of the Disarmament Commission.)

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GROUNDDIRECTIVES FOR NINETEENTH SESSION

The directives relating to disarmament prepared for the abortive nineteenth assembly session are attached to the master copy hereof as follows:-

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Annexure</u>
Question of General and Complete Disarmament (Item 23)	A
Convention on the Prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons (Item 24)	B
Suspension of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear tests (Item 25)	C
Non-proliferation of Nuclear weapons (Supp.Item 7) (Not appearing separately on provisional agenda for twentieth session)	D
Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa (Item 83) (Not appearing separately on provisional agenda for twentieth session)	E

2. RESUMÉ OF GROUND COVERED IN ABOVE DIRECTIVES

The directive on General and Complete Disarmament dealt with the following:-

- (a) Interim report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee - 17.4.1963 to 1.9.1963. This included the signature of the limited nuclear test ban treaty and the establishment of the direct communications link (Hot Line) between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.
- (b) Developments at the 18th Session of the Assembly including the adoption by the Assembly of the resolution calling upon all states to refrain from orbiting weapons of mass destruction, and the resolution on General disarmament (i) calling for a resumption in the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Committee (ii) recommending the encouragement of widening areas of basic agreement and (iii) urging the search for agreement on measures which could serve to reduce international tension.
- (c) Report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (A/5731 - DC/209) for the period 21.1.1964 to 17.9.1964, a copy of which was annexed to the directive.

The directives on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and on the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests dealt with developments at the 18th Session leading to the resolutions adopted by the assembly on these topics.

The directives relating to non-proliferation and to the denuclearisation of Africa, contained explanatory memoranda regarding the motivation for placing these items on the agenda and background sketches of how they arose.

SEQUENT DEVELOPMENTSMEETING OF DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

As a result of the voting deadlock in the General Assembly, disarmament was not discussed at the nineteenth session. Having thus been deprived of the customary universal forum for open (and polemical) discussions on disarmament, the Russians called for the convening of the full United Nations Disarmament Commission which had been established in 1952, had consisted since 1959 of all United Nations member states and which had last convened on August 18th, 1960. Although favouring serious negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, the United States agreed to convening the full Commission which, as a result, met from 21st April to 16th June, 1965, during which period 33 meetings were held. The Commission had before it the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee report for 21.1.1964 to 17.9.1964, mentioned above.

The Permanent Representative's report on the Commission's activities is attached. (Annexure F)

2. RESUMPTION OF MEETINGS OF EIGHTEEN-NATION DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE

The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee resumed its negotiations on 27th July, 1965. For background, its summarised report for the previous session, 21.1.1964 to 17.9.1964, follows:-

QUOTATION BEGINS.

Representatives of the following States continued their participation in the work of the Committee:

Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

I. General and Complete Disarmament

The Committee has continued consideration of general and complete disarmament. Measures of the first stage of a treaty on general and complete disarmament regarding: nuclear weapons delivery vehicles, conventional armaments, and nuclear disarmament together with appropriate control measures (ENDC/52) were discussed. These discussions continued to give primary consideration to a revised draft treaty on general and complete disarmament, submitted by the Soviet Union on 26 November 1962 (ENDC/2/Rev.1, transmitted as part of Annex I of the Committee's report on 10 April 1963, as amended on 4 February 1964, ENDC/2/Rev.1/Add.1*), and to the outline of basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world submitted by the United States on 18 April 1962 (ENDC/30, transmitted as part of Annex I of the Committee's report of 31 May 1962, ENDC/30/Add.1 and ENDC/30/Add.2, transmitted as part of Annex I of the Committee's report of 7 September 1962, and ENDC/30/Add.3, transmitted as part of Annex I of the Committee's report of 29 August 1963).

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* Asterisk indicates Conference documents which are attached as Annex I

On 14 September 1964, the delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Emirates public presented separate memoranda containing a brief resumé of the suggestions and proposals made by each delegation on general and complete disarmament which were discussed during 1964 in the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/144).*

II. Measures aimed at the lessening of international tension, the consolidation of confidence among States, and facilitating general and complete disarmament

The Committee in its efforts to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date, continued consideration in its plenary meetings of such measures as could be agreed to prior to, and as would facilitate the achievement of, general and complete disarmament.

On 21 January 1964, at the 157th meeting, the United States submitted a Message of President Lyndon B. Johnson to the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/120).* The United States also submitted that day the Text of a Letter from the President of the United States to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR delivered on 18 January 1964 (ENDC/119).*

On 19 March 1964, at the 176th meeting, on 16 April 1964, at the 184th meeting, on 25 June 1964, at the 193rd meeting, on 27th August 1964, at the 211th meeting, and on 10 September 1964, at the 215th meeting, the United States made additional proposals elaborating its proposals for a verified freeze on the numbers and characteristics of strategic nuclear vehicles, for a verified cut-off of production of fissionable material for use in nuclear weapons, for a verified mutual destruction of B-47 and TU-16 bombers, and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

On 21 January 1964, at the 157th meeting, the Soviet Union submitted Replies by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, to Questions put to him by Mr. H. Shapiro, Chief Correspondent of the United Press International Agency in Moscow on 31 December 1963 (ENDC/118).*

On 28 January 1964, at the 160th meeting, the Soviet Union submitted a Memorandum of the Government of the USSR on measures for slowing down the armaments race and relaxing international tension (ENDC/123).*

On 25 June 1964, at the 193rd meeting, on 16 July 1964, at the 199th meeting, and on 13 August 1964, at the 207th meeting, respectively, the Soviet Union made additional proposals elaborating on Item 3 (reduction of military budgets), Item 8 (elimination of bomber aircraft), and Item 6 (prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons) of the aforementioned Memorandum of the Government of the USSR, dated 28 January 1964.

On 13 February 1964, at the 166th meeting, Brazil submitted a Working Paper of the Brazilian Delegation for an Agreement on the Application of Savings on Military Expenditures (ENDC/126).*

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On 26 March 1964, at the 178th meeting, the United Kingdom submitted a Paper on Observation Posts (ENDC/130).*

On 21 April 1964, at the 185th meeting, the Soviet Union submitted a statement by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, announcing a decision of the Soviet Government: 1. To stop straightaway the construction of two new large atomic reactors for the production of plutonium. 2. During the next few years to reduce substantially the production of uranium-235 for nuclear weapons. 3. To allocate accordingly more fissionable materials for peaceful uses. (ENDC/131).*

On 21 April 1964, at the 185th meeting the United States submitted excerpts from an address by President Lyndon B. Johnson in which he stated that he had ordered a further substantial reduction in the United States production of enriched uranium, to be carried out over a four-year period. When added to previous reductions this will mean an over-all decrease in the production of plutonium by 20 per cent, and of enriched uranium by 40 per cent. (ENDC/132).*

On 21 April 1964, at the 185th meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom announced that his Government was pursuing a policy along similar lines in this matter.

The Committee, in the communique issued at the close of the 185th meeting, noted "with great satisfaction" the statements by the representatives of the USSR and the United States concerning the announcements on 20 April by President Johnson and Chairman Khrushchev of steps which their Governments are taking to reduce fissionable materials production for weapon purposes, and the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom.

On 25 June 1964, at the 193rd meeting, the United States submitted a Working Paper on Inspection of a Fissionable Material Cut-off (ENDC/134).*

On 29 July 1964, a List of General Assembly Resolutions Referring to Tasks of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament, prepared by the Secretariat, pursuant to the decision of the Committee at its 202nd meeting on 28 July 1964, was circulated (ENDC/139).* These resolutions, including Resolution 1909 (XVIII) on the question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and Resolution 1910 (XVIII) on the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, were discussed at several plenary meetings.

On 6 August 1964, at the 205th meeting, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States submitted a Joint Statement by their Governments on the First Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (ENDC/140).*

On 7 August 1964, the Soviet Union submitted replies by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, to questions put to him by the editorial staff of the newspapers "Pravda" and "Izvestiya" on 4 August 1964 (ENDC/141).*

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On 14 September 1964, the delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic presented separate memoranda containing a brief résumé of the suggestions and proposals made by each delegation on collateral measures which were discussed during 1964 in the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/144).*

On 14 September 1964, the delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic submitted a Joint Memorandum on the question of a treaty banning all nuclear weapon tests (ENDC/145).*

In general the questions before the Committee were discussed in a thorough and concrete manner. All the participants in the Committee took an active part in this discussion. Many interesting proposals were put forward.

Thus far, the Committee has not reached any specific agreement either on questions of general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at the lessening of international tension.

The Committee expresses the hope that the useful discussions and exchange of views during the period covered by the report will facilitate agreement in the further work of the Committee.

III. Meetings of the Co-Chairmen

During the period covered by this report, the Representatives of the United States of America and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in their capacity as Co-Chairmen of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, have held numerous meetings. The schedule of and procedure for the work of the Conference, general and complete disarmament, and measures aimed at the lessening of international tension, the consolidation of confidence among States, and facilitating general and complete disarmament were discussed and developed.

IV. Procedural Arrangements

A. Sixty-one plenary meetings took place between 21 January 1964 and 17 September 1964.

B. The Committee, at an informal meeting on 23 April 1964, agreed to a recess beginning 28 April 1964, and to a resumption of work in Geneva on 9 June 1964.

C. The Committee, at its 212th meeting on 1 September 1964, decided to adjourn this session of the Conference following its plenary meeting on 17 September 1964. The Committee decided to resume its meetings in Geneva as soon as possible after the termination of the consideration of disarmament at the 19th Session of the General Assembly, on a date to be decided by the two Co-Chairmen after consultation with the members of the Committee. QUOTATION ENDS.

The basic obstacle to progress in the negotiations is still the Russian refusal to contemplate any agreement while the West persists with ideas of nuclear-sharing arrangements in NATO and the multi-lateral Force. Western initiatives include plans (1) for a non-proliferation treaty (a) binding nuclear powers not to transfer control of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear powers and (b) binding non-nuclear nations not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons themselves and (c) the

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ossible provision of a collective security guarantee;
 2) a freeze of nuclear delivery vehicle production;
 3) extension of the partial nuclear test ban treaty.
 The Italians have proposed voluntary renunciation by non-nuclear countries of nuclear armament for a specified period. The Russians have adopted a stance of non-cooperation.

3. STUDY UNDERTAKEN BY THE "NEW YORK TIMES"- AUGUST, 1965

The "New York Times" correspondent in South Africa asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs for background guidance in replying to a series of questions received from his newspaper designed to provide the basis for a study on the prospects for the conclusion of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The questions and the answers are given below. It was emphasised to the "New York Times" correspondent that the information provided was for background use only.

- (1) Would the Government be willing to sign a treaty promising not to develop or acquire atomic weapons and, if so, are there conditions such as Peking signing or nuclear powers guaranteeing security?

Answer:

This matter is currently under study by the Eighteen-Nations Disarmament Committee in Geneva. South Africa is not represented on this Committee. Should the studies in Geneva lead to an agreement among the powers principally concerned (i.e. the powers already recognised as atomic powers) on the draft of such a treaty, the South African Government would naturally give immediate consideration to the issues involved in becoming a signatory.

- (2) What steps, if any, has the nation taken towards acquiring peaceful or military nuclear capability?

Answer:

Reference can be made, as regards peaceful nuclear capability, to the statements made at the inauguration of the Safari I reactor earlier this month. As regards military nuclear capability, this is a matter on which some of the visiting scientists at present in this country, such as Sir William Penney and Professor Boettcher, have publicly commented.

- (3) What is the official position on proliferation and is there any private sentiment or pressure for developing atomic weapons?

Answer:

The dangers of what is popularly known as "proliferation" are fully recognised, as is the desirability of not adding to the ranks of the atomic powers. Nor is there any disposition on the part of public opinion in South Africa to press for the development of atomic weapons.

- (4) What is the Government's position on permitting International Atomic Energy Agency inspection of its peaceful atomic programme?

Answer:

A trilateral agreement was concluded earlier this year between the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States and South Africa, providing for the application of the International Atomic Energy Agency inspection system to the Safari I reactor and its fuel, which were obtained from the United States.

4. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

For memorandum purposes it is recorded that the Department has informed the Permanent Representative (136/4/38 of 13th April, 1964 and 32/3 of 3rd March, 1965) that it does not propose to avail itself of the Secretary-General's invitation to supply any information on the above-mentioned subject.

C. DIRECTIVE

The directives for the nineteenth session are of continuing validity and are given below:

(1) General and Complete Disarmament

South Africa has consistently declared itself in favour of nuclear disarmament at the United Nations. South Africa is also in favour of holding a Conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes, and to suspend nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, but feels that the timing of such a Conference should depend on the prior attainment of a much greater measure of agreement amongst the Great Powers on the general question of nuclear disarmament and that any convention should make provision for an effective system of inspection and control.

(2) Suspension of Tests

The delegation should follow the general Western line, as on previous occasions, bearing in mind the following comment of the Prime Minister which was embodied in the XVith Session directive on this matter:

"If the opportunity arises the Delegation should speak against the continuance of nuclear testing. Reference should be made as at a previous session, to the serious concern of Women's organisations and other sections of public opinion in South Africa.

The Delegation may support any move as is envisaged by the item, provided of course that no conditions are embodied which are unacceptable to the West."

3) Denuclearisation of Africa

When the question of the consideration of Africa as a nuclear free zone was discussed at the XVI Session the resolution (1652) was adopted by 55-0 with 44 abstentions. South Africa could obviously not have voted against the resolution but did abstain - an important consideration at that time being the French testing programme in the Sahara. (With the transfer of French nuclear testing to the Pacific this objection fell away.) Our view indeed is that Africa should be recognised and preserved as a nuclear free zone - including the prohibition of the construction, possession, delivery and use of such weapons by any nations within or without the continent. This view was never publicised for fear of hurting French susceptibilities.

The Delegation in its attitude to any draft resolution formulated on this item should have regard to the criteria laid down by the Prime Minister and embodied in the announcement on the Republic's accession to the Test Ban Treaty, paragraphs 3 and 4 of which are quoted below:-

"3. Although the Republic of South Africa is not directly concerned with nuclear weapon tests, it shares the desire of the populations of the world that its atmosphere, soil and open waters shall not be polluted and its peoples endangered by radioactive fall-out resulting from nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

It is for this reason, therefore, that while realising that the treaty can only be of limited value in countering the tragic dangers inherent in the production of nuclear weapons, the Republic of South Africa has decided to become a party to the treaty.

4. In announcing this decision the Republic of South Africa feels compelled to draw attention to its convictions on the following related matters:

- (a) The undertakings in the treaty should be strengthened by the development of an effective system of inspection and control.
- (b) General nuclear disarmament on the basis of an effective system of inspection and control should be the next major objective.
- (c) The existence of nuclear weapons and pollution through tests, dangerous though they may be to mankind, do not constitute as practical and everyday a threat to world peace, co-operation and prosperity as the continuation of ideological wars, with attempts by states to dominate and indoctrinate the minds of all people, and the intervention by states, in prosecution of their ideological campaigns, in the domestic affairs of other states under the guise of morality or service to humanity".

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Although the nuclear reactor inaugurated at Pelindaba on 5th August, 1965 is intended to explore the peaceful uses of atomic energy, it is possible that African States may seek to attribute some military significance to it. In this connection a newspaper report of the Prime Minister's remarks at the opening function is quoted below, since it has an indirect bearing, (the official text is not yet available):-

"We believe we have a contribution to make not only to the advancement of South Africa but also to the advancement of the rest of Africa. Any knowledge developed here, anything done here, is also at the disposal of the small nations of Africa, who, like us, have difficulties in keeping up with the progress made by the great nations of the world."

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D. Supplementary1. United States Position

On 31st August, 1965, a member of the United States Embassy in Pretoria, called on the Department to convey certain basic attitudes of the United States to the forthcoming United Nations General Assembly Session. As regards disarmament, he stated that there might be considerable pressure for the holding of a world disarmament conference. This would be opposed because it would be nothing less than a propaganda meeting serving little actual purpose and could also perhaps be used as a means to attain the attendance of Red China on the discussions on disarmament matters. The United States thought that it would be better to deal with the matters in the United Nations itself than outside and would press especially the question of the non-proliferation of delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons and also for a comprehensive test ban treaty. Furthermore they would, if successful with the above, press for a freeze of delivery vehicles etc. It is possible that the question of nuclear free zones can come up, perhaps especially for Africa. The United States had no real objections to proposals of this nature.

2. United States Draft Non-Dissemination Treaty

On August 18th, 1965, "The Times" reported the tabling of the American draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons at the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva as follows:

"It requires the nuclear powers to undertake not to transfer nuclear weapons into the national control of any non-nuclear state, either directly or indirectly through a military alliance, nor to take any other action which would cause an increase in the total number of states and other organisations having independent power to use such weapons. They would also refrain from assisting any non-nuclear country in the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

The non-nuclear states, likewise, would be obliged not to manufacture nuclear weapons or to receive their transfer into national control. They would agree also not to seek or receive assistance in manufacturing weapons or to grant such assistance to others. All states signing the treaty would co-operate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency or equivalent international safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities.

Any party to the treaty would have the right to withdraw on three months notice if it decided that its supreme interests had been jeopardised. This notice would have to include a statement of the events regarded as having led to this situation. The treaty itself could be reviewed at the request of two thirds of the signatory states".

Britain did not co-sponsor the American draft because it did not "rule out the possibility that an

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association of states might be set up with the capacity to make use of nuclear weapons by the decision of a majority of its members, in other words, without the veto of an existing nuclear power.

The Russian reaction was that non-dissemination could not be discussed seriously so long as the west was considering Nato nuclear force projects. Pravda (August 19th) said Washington's proposals retained a loophole giving West Germany access to nuclear weapons.

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ANNEXURE FPERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE'S REPORT ON DISARMAMENT
COMMISSION MEETING

Ambassador Mohamed Arwad El-Kony, Permanent Representative of the United Arab Republic, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Commission, to succeed Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, the former Chairman and now a member of the International Court.

The Commission's meetings were at first irregular but they became more frequent towards the end of the session after the submission of draft resolutions. They were characterized chiefly by a revival of cold war exchanges, and most members were at first reluctant to intervene in the debate. The Soviet Union's purpose in calling for the convening of the Commission was obviously to use it as a forum for embarrassing the United States and, in competition with Communist China, to emphasise its opposition to United States actions, particularly in Viet Nam and subsequently also in the Dominican Republic. Apart from violent criticism of the United States in connection with these specific subjects, the Soviet Delegation placed emphasis on the elimination of foreign military bases, the prevention of acquisition of nuclear weapons by West Germany and the banning of the use of nuclear weapons. In connection with the latter, the USSR proposed the convening of a conference to draw up a convention. The other communist delegations echoed the Soviet arguments on these subjects.

Attacks on West Germany and on Western proposals for some form of multilateral nuclear force were a recurrent theme in the communists' statements. It was in this connection that the Soviet Ambassador alleged that the "racists of South Africa" had entered into an alliance with West Germany to create "a nuclear base" in South Africa. (Your minute 1/154/3 of 28th April, 1965, and our minute 9/1/12 over 9/1/12/1 of 4th May, 1965, refer). He also alleged agreements by West Germany with "Israeli extremists", and stated that arms had been given by West Germany to Portugal for use in its "colonial repressions".

The United States replied strongly to the Soviet attacks, both in defending current American actions and in recalling Soviet actions from the Hitler-Stalin pact onwards. The United States Delegation, which was led for most of the session by Mr. William C. Foster (the United States representative on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee) emphasised in its statements the need to return to the negotiations in Geneva and to seek gradual balanced steps in disarmament. The details of the United States delegation's proposals were set out in its draft resolution, as will be seen below.

In countering the communist propaganda onslaught the United States received support in a limited way from other Western countries, especially the United Kingdom. However, on the whole, even the Western countries seemed to prefer to keep out of the clash between the United States and the USSR as much as possible. All the Western countries emphasised the need for a return to serious negotiations in the ENDC.

Under the shadow of the Chinese bomb there was considerable discussion from all sides in the Commission of the need for a non-dissemination or non-proliferation agreement and for the extension of the nuclear test-ban treaty to cover underground tests, although, of course the approaches of the various political groupings to these subjects differed greatly and did not give reason for much hope that agreements

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ould be possible in the near future. The USSR, for instance, argued that there could be no effective non-proliferation agreement while the United States insisted on a multilateral arrangement in NATO which would give other countries access to nuclear weapons. The United States and other Western delegations explained that the idea of a multilateral nuclear force was intended to prevent the demand for nuclear weapons by individual countries within NATO and that, in any case, a non-dissemination treaty could have guarantees suitable to the USSR written into it. But the Soviet representative refused to accept any assurances on this point and insisted that the West wanted to close the "main door to the nuclear club but keep the service door open".

The Indian representative illustrated his government's concern with the Chinese nuclear threat by insisting that the two issues which they considered to be of overwhelming importance were the question of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. He argued that the nuclear explosions conducted by the Peoples Republic of China, "in defiance of international will", faced the world with a situation in which proliferation had already started, and he maintained that the ENDC should be directed to discuss the question of non-proliferation as a matter of highest priority.

Ireland has for many years been a leading advocate in the General Assembly of an agreement for the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, and the Irish Foreign Minister, Mr. Frank Aiken, was present in the Disarmament Commission to deliver his delegation's general debate statement which was devoted entirely to this subject. He said that there was very little time left to conclude an agreement to prevent a disastrous increase in the number of states producing nuclear weapons. Their further spread would "destroy the possibility of establishing stable peace based on International Law, co-operatively enforced by the United Nations". Mr. Aiken expressed fears that if nuclear weapons spread to a large number of countries, the chance of their not being used somewhere at some time, "by a lunatic national leader or revolutionary would be reduced to zero".

The South African delegation did not participate in the general debate, nor in the discussion of the draft resolutions. We did however intervene on three occasions in exercise of the right of reply - see our minutes 9/1/15/1 of 13th and 18th May, 1965. (Also referred to in our minute 9/1/12, 9/1/12/1 of 19th May, 1965). To complete the picture as given in our minute of 18th May, it should be mentioned that the representative of Kenya at a subsequent meeting on 21st May accused us, inter alia, of "introducing irrelevant issues" in our reply to the Tanzanian statement. He continued: "I would like to assure the representative of South Africa that he has no brief to speak for any of the African States, and least of all for the East African States which are Tanzania's immediate neighbours". (The section of the Kenyan statement which dealt with South Africa is attached - extract from DC/PV.86).

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

The following were the draft resolutions considered by the Commission, in the order in which they were submitted:

U.S.S.R. draft concerning foreign bases (DC/218)

This was the first draft to be submitted to the Disarmament Commission and it sought to have the Commission call upon "all States maintaining military bases in other countries to liquidate them forthwith and refrain henceforth from establishing such bases". It would further call upon the States concerned "to conclude an agreement providing for the withdrawal of all foreign troops within their own frontiers", and request the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of the resolution to the General Assembly. The full text of this resolution, which included various preambular paragraphs designed to appeal inter alia to anti-colonial sentiments, is attached.

There was a fear at one stage in Western quarters that, as only a simple majority was required in the Disarmament Commission, this resolution would be adopted. However, the Soviet Delegation was evidently not too confident and at the last moment stated that it would not press for a vote.

(ii) Soviet draft on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. (DC/219)

This draft resolution was aimed at exploiting the widespread concern about nuclear weapons and advocated "the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons as soon as possible". For this purpose a special conference "of all States in the world" would be convened. The draft resolution further would invite States possessing nuclear weapons to declare, pending the conclusion of a convention, that they would not use those weapons first. The full text of this draft resolution is attached.

As in the past the Western countries opposed the idea of a simple ban on the use of nuclear weapons and likewise were unwilling to accept the idea of a "non-first use" declaration. This draft did not appear to gain much support amongst "non-aligned" countries either, and the Soviet delegation withdrew it also at the last moment.

(iii) United States draft resolution (DC/220/Rev.1)

This draft, the full text of which is attached, would urge the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to reconvene as soon as possible and to:

- "A. Resume negotiations as a matter of priority on a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear weapon tests;
- B. Undertake without further delay drafting of an international non-proliferation agreement as called for in General Assembly resolution 1665 (XVI) and bearing in mind the suggestions made on that issue during the present session of the Disarmament Commission;
- C. Conclude as soon as possible an agreement to halt all production of fissionable material for weapons use and to transfer to non-weapons use sizable, agreed quantities of such material; and

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- D. Explore with a sense of urgency a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles which would open the path to early reductions in such vehicles."

This draft received support from all Western countries, most Latins, and also from some Afro-Asians, including India. However, it was strongly opposed by the Soviet Union and other communist countries who argued that it neglected important matters and constituted merely a delaying tactic without serious meaning for disarmament. In view of this strong opposition many "non-aligned" countries would doubtless have abstained in a vote, but the United States delegation was confident that it would be adopted by the necessary simple majority. In the end, however, after the Soviet delegation had announced that it would not press for a vote on its two draft resolutions, the United States delegation, with some hesitation, stated that it would likewise not press for a vote.

(iv) Joint Afro-Asian draft resolution on a World Disarmament Conference

The text of this draft resolution as originally submitted by Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia, was as follows:

"The Disarmament Commission, Recognizing the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary world and that its solution should be sought in a world-wide framework,

Convinced that a world disarmament conference would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament and for securing the further and steady development of this process by formulating proposals and guidelines in the spirit of the Declaration adopted at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, with a view to speeding up general and complete disarmament under effective international control and thus contributing to the relaxation of international tension;

1. Affirms the proposal adopted at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in October 1964 for the convening of a world disarmament conference to which all countries would be invited;

2. Recommends that the General Assembly give urgent consideration to the above-mentioned proposal at its twentieth session".

The move for a World Disarmament Conference at which all countries would be represented originated at the Cairo Conference of "non-aligned" countries. It was therefore strongly supported by those countries at the Disarmament Commission Session. They were encouraged actively by the

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U.S.S.R. and other communist countries. However, this matter caused considerable difficulties for Western countries, including the United States. These latter countries did not approve of the idea of a conference which they felt did not stand much hope of producing any constructive results and which would provide another forum for communist propaganda. They expressed strong reservations about a conference and insisted that to be successful there would first have to be considerable preparatory work and clear indications that progress could in fact be achieved.

In the minds of the "non-aligned" delegations the chief motive evidently was to see communist China included in future disarmament negotiations. Several of them admitted that while there were not grounds for much hope that a conference could produce significant developments in the disarmament field, it would provide for the inclusion of Communist China in disarmament negotiations without which, they argued, serious disarmament in the future could not be conceived.

The express aim of including Communist China caused, of course, special difficulties for some Western countries while others, e.g. United Kingdom, the Netherlands, New Zealand, were in agreement with the "non-aligned" countries on this point and therefore gave their support to the draft resolution in spite of their reservations on other grounds. The Chinese delegation strongly opposed the draft resolution and derided the idea that the inclusion of the communist regime in negotiations would make serious disarmament more possible.

The delegation of Malta introduced amendments to this draft resolution in an effort to make it more acceptable to those, especially the Western countries, who were doubtful about a World Disarmament Conference without proper preparation or terms of reference. The Maltese amendments would have reworded the 2nd preambular paragraph as follows:

"Convinced that a world disarmament conference might provide a valuable forum in which to seek agreement on steps to facilitate the adoption of specific measures of disarmament in accordance with the agreed principles for multilateral negotiations on disarmament issued jointly by the USSR and by the United States on 20 September 1961".

The Maltese amendments also sought to replace the word "affirms" in the first operative paragraph by the word "welcomes", and to add at the end of the second operative paragraph the words "in the light of the discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee".

The sponsors of the joining draft resolution were not willing to accept these amendments in toto. They argued that references to the "agreed principles" issued by the U.S.S.R. and United States in September, 1961, and to the ENDC would destroy any chances of participation by the Peoples Republic of China, because that Government had had no say in these previous agreements and discussions. They insisted that there could be no pre-conditions to this conference, which were not arrived at by all the prospective participants. They did, however, reword the second preambular paragraph as follows:

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Convinced that a world disarmament conference as proposed by the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament and for securing the further and steady development of this process, with a view to speeding up general and complete disarmament under effective international control and thus contributing to the relaxation of international tension."

This revision eliminated the words "by formulating proposals and guidelines in the spirit of the Declaration adopted at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries" and substituted merely "as proposed by the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries" after the words "a world disarmament conference". The revision also accepted one amendment proposed by Malta, namely the use of the word "welcomes" instead of "affirms" in the first operative paragraph. (Both these revisions were intended to reduce the prominence given to the Cairo Conference in the draft.)

The full text of the revised draft resolution in document DC/221/Rev.1, is attached.

The sponsors of this draft resolution requested that it be given priority in voting and this was agreed to without objection. The resolution was in fact voted upon several days before the other resolutions were taken up, namely on 11th June, 1965. An attempt was made by the Philippine Delegation to have a paragraph by paragraph vote, but this was opposed by the sponsors and the resolution was voted on as a whole by roll-call. The resolution was adopted by 89 votes to none with 16 abstentions as follows:

"In favour: Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand.

Against: None

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Abstaining: United States of America, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Spain."

While no Delegation voted against the draft resolution the delegation of China announced afterwards that it had not participated in the vote. The United States representative, in explaining his delegation's abstention, said that the United States believed that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee held greater promise for progress than a world conference. The world conference, he said, might "not be the only or best means of associating all military significant States in disarmament discussions", and he expressed the belief that such a conference might "compound rather than solve the problems of disarmament". He also regretted that the revised draft resolution did not refer to the ENDC discussions nor to the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles" which had been endorsed unanimously by the General Assembly. However, the United States delegation did not object to General Assembly consideration of the question of a conference and therefore abstained in the vote.

Some delegations which voted in favour, including the United Kingdom, Italy, Netherlands, Japan, Mexico, Philippines and Thailand, also expressed reservations about the proposed conference but did not wish to oppose consideration of the question by the General Assembly.

Before the vote on this draft the representative of France made a brief explanation of the position of his delegation which, he said, would apply to all the draft resolutions. He said that his delegation could only abstain from the vote on each of the drafts, and he continued:

"But never has an abstention been further removed from a demonstration of indifference. The interest that France has in general disarmament cannot be less great today than it has been throughout the long series of negotiations to which France is conscious of having contributed.

Obviously the reason for our abstention lies elsewhere. It stems from the conviction that the French Government has held for several years -- namely that the negotiation of an agreement on progressive, balanced and controlled disarmament must, if it is to maintain all chances of success, open in a truly appropriate framework, in which solutions to the technical problems may be found that will make possible the general agreement whose necessity has never seemed more urgent."

(v) Draft resolution on the reconvening of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (DC/222)

This draft resolution was prepared mainly by the neutral countries on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee who were joined as sponsors by various other countries. The following was eventually the list of sponsors:

Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Finland, Ghana, India, Japan, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Rwanda, Sweden, Togo, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

The operative part of this draft resolution was as follows:

1. Reaffirms the call of the General Assembly upon all States to become parties to the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and to abide by its spirit and provisions;
2. Recommends that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should:
 - (a) reconvene as early as possible to resume as a matter of urgency its efforts to develop a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and to consider all proposals for measures to relax international tension and halt and reverse the arms race, including those submitted to the Disarmament Commission at its present session;
 - (b) consider as a matter of priority the question of extending the scope of the partial test-ban treaty to cover underground tests;
 - (c) also accord special priority to the consideration of the question of a treaty or convention to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons giving close attention to the various suggestions that agreement could be facilitated by adopting a programme of certain related measures;
 - (d) keep in mind the principle of converting to programmes of economic and social development of the developing countries a substantial part of the resources gradually released by the reduction of military expenditures;
3. Requests the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to report to the Disarmament Commission and to the General Assembly during its twentieth session on the progress made in respect of the above recommendations.

The full text of the draft resolution is attached in document DC/222.

This draft was submitted only after lengthy negotiations behind the scenes and after attempts to work out a text which would be acceptable to both the United States and the Soviet Union. These attempts were continued right down to the very last moment, but did not prove successful, and in the end the Soviet bloc, France and a few Afro-Asian countries abstained. Lack of support for the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee was considered to be the basic reason for the abstentions, although the preambular paragraph referring to recent nuclear weapon tests was also a cause of division. A number of countries opposed the idea of making a reference which was obviously directed at Communist China. This particular paragraph (the 4th preambular) was voted on separately and adopted by roll-call, with 71 votes in favour, 12 against and 18 abstentions, as follows:

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- In favour:** Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Morocco.
- Against:** Pakistan, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia.
- Abstaining:** Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, Yemen, Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, France, Guinea, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Mali.

A separate vote was also taken on operative paragraph 2(c), at the request of Pakistan. This subparagraph was adopted by a show of hands with 71 votes in favour (including South Africa) to one against (Albania), with 25 abstentions (including Pakistan, Soviet bloc, France, Guinea, Syria).

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted in a roll-call vote by 83 votes to one with 18 abstentions, as follows:

- In favour:** Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.
- Against:** Albania

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Abstaining: Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen.

At the conclusion of the Disarmament Commission session the United States representative expressed the hope that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Commission would resume negotiations as soon as possible. However, no enthusiasm for such resumption was shown by the delegation of the U.S.S.R. and there was considerable speculation that the Soviet Union might refuse to return to the ENDC, at least for the time being. It was felt that the Soviet Union might be apprehensive that an agreement to resume the disarmament negotiations in Geneva would be interpreted by Communist China and others as weakness towards the United States at a time when the Soviet Government is attempting, at least in its words, to present a very strong front against United States actions.