

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 72893

A document consists of 4 pages.
Number 4 of 10 copies, Series B

Mr. Conroy

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

WASHINGTON

SECRET

SECRET

OCT 10 1967

ICWRF

file US

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Status Report on NPT Negotiations - INFORMATION
MEMORANDUM

NPT negotiations are now going on in several places with the focal point between the US and USSR continuing to be in Geneva, but with some activity in New York and Washington. Crystallization of views on Article III in Paris (NATO) and Brussels (EEC) will, we hope, take place soon. If we do not get a green light from the October 18 NAC meeting to begin negotiations with the Soviets, we shall have to consider some tough alternatives: (1) further demarches to our allies to speed-up consultations; (2) negotiating without a green light, which poses the question of past commitments to allies; (3) the possibility of having to go to New York with a blank or three versions of Article III, or (4) further slippage in the ENDC/UNGA schedule which in my opinion, would be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

GENEVA. Mr. Fisher (with appropriate clearances from State, DOD and AEC -- Geneva 1001, State 49458) has been authorized to negotiate with the Soviets certain amendments not relating to safeguards based on suggestions presented by the Mexican delegate to the ENDC. These essentially involve moving several provisions from the preamble to the operative part of the treaty. These amendments would be:

a) An expression of the right of parties to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and encouragement of the fullest possible exchanges of scientific and technological information for peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

b) An undertaking by parties to cooperate to insure that potential benefits from any peaceful application of nuclear explosions will be made available through appropriate international procedures to non-nuclear-weapon

SECRET

SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 72893

SECRET

- 2 -

parties on a non-discriminatory basis.

c) A statement that nothing affects the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties in the NPT in order to assure total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

d) An undertaking by parties to pursue negotiations to arrive at further agreements regarding cessation of the nuclear arms race as well as agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

We have for some time envisaged that we would at some point have to make such changes to give the treaty more balance between the nuclear and non-nuclear powers. These changes represent a fall-back for which we have been preparing. The reaction of the Soviet delegation at Geneva has been sympathetic to this approach and we believe several useful amendments can be worked out.

We expect that acceptance of reasonable amendments -- modified by the US with Soviet agreement -- such as those proposed by Mexico and endorsed by Sweden, the UAR, and Ethiopia, will make it possible to line up the support of certain influential ENDC countries for the NPT as a whole. We then would expect these non-aligned ENDC delegations to support the treaty actively at the UNGA.

BRUSSELS. There have been several indications (Bonn 3804 and Brussels 2031) that the need for speed in arriving at a solution of the EURATOM problem is appreciated. Commissioner Rey (The Hague 1616) told the Dutch he hoped the Commission's position would be developed one week after the October 2-3 Luxembourg meeting, i.e. October 11. The Permanent Representatives will meet on this subject on October 13.

PARIS. At the NAC meeting which took place today, we understand the Canadians and British spoke in favor of prompt tabling of Article III. We did not expect a EURATOM position on our October 5 Aide Memoire to be ready in time for the NAC representatives of EURATOM countries to express their views on it. According

SECRET

SECRET

- 3 -

to a telephone report, the Dutch and Belgians were helpful and in his summation Brosio also tried to move things along promptly. The next NAC meeting is scheduled for October 18 in Brussels. At that time we should like to ask our allies to give us a green light. The British have indicated they could support this approach and we can assume support from the Scandinavians and Canada and perhaps Benelux, the latter subject, of course, to the EEC Commission's conclusions.

As far as New York and Geneva schedules go, I do not believe that we can allow much more time to go by without presenting a Co-Chairmen's recommendation on Article III to the ENDC. The non-aligned countries with special interests in safeguards, notably Sweden, would not easily swallow such an article without being given at least ten days to two weeks to consider it after being made privy to it in Geneva. The Soviets also may require time to digest changes which we shall put to them when the Co-Chairmen's negotiations resume. If we are to satisfy these two requirements and still recess the ENDC before the First Committee begins discussing ENDC subjects, at the latest in the middle of November, we would have to begin further negotiations with the Soviets on Article III by the end of next week. If we do not do this, I do not see how it will be possible to wind up the ENDC at Geneva with necessary backing of the NPT for the next bout in New York.

NEW YORK. I think that the Soviets will have a common interest with us in creating a favorable climate at the UN for reception of the NPT. We are trying to get Soviet agreement to collaborate to defer discussion of disarmament agenda items and to discuss the Outer Space, Sea-bed, and Korean items until the ENDC recesses, hopefully by the first week of November. The outside limit to how long we can defer debate on ENDC items in Committee I probably is November 15.

SECRET

SECRET

- 4 -

I think we could keep the ENDC in session until mid-November if agreement between ourselves and the Soviets were demonstrably just around the corner. But existing pressures to recess the current ENDC session, which has been meeting since early February will probably reach the bursting point around October 30. Accordingly, it will only be feasible to extend the ENDC into November if there is hope of a complete draft, with Co-Chairmen agreement on Article III, some time during the next two weeks.

WASHINGTON. Eugene Rostow received von Lilienfeld on October 6. Von Lilienfeld's main point was that the duration question was most important, especially for Chancellor Kiesinger. Rostow told von Lilienfeld we would not object to a German effort to get other ENDC delegations to introduce a duration amendment, but that we could not initiate this ourselves.

I met with Dobrynin on October 4, at which time he again repeated the phrase "1000 years". On the same occasion, Dobrynin expressed optimism that our positions on Article III were very close.

Security Assurances. At a dinner I gave for the members of the General Advisory Committee last night, General Gruenther asked Senator Fulbright whether the latter's known views about extending US commitments abroad would apply to the concerns of non-nuclear countries for assurances if they are to adhere to the NPT. Fulbright responded that provided Congress participated he saw no difficulty in meeting this problem. Fulbright said the important feature of a security assurance would be a parallel US-Soviet approach. Congressman Holifield observed that a joint or parallel US and Soviet security guarantee to India was probably essential.

/s/ William C. Foster
Director
William C. Foster

Clearances:

G/PM-Mr. Farley
EUR-Mr. Stoessel
IO-Mr. Popper

ACDA/IR:CGleysteen:aow

SECRET

**NATIONAL
SECURITY
ARCHIVE**

This document is from the holdings of:

The National Security Archive

Suite 701, Gelman Library, The George Washington University

2130 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20037

Phone: 202/994-7000, Fax: 202/994-7005, nsarchiv@gwu.edu