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**TELEGRAM**  
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11-19-67

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O R 191230Z NOV 67 ZFF-4  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6112  
INFO AMEMBASSYMOSCOW 502  
USMISSION NATO 68  
USUN NEWYORK 1465

S E C R E T SECTION ONE OF TWO GENEVA 1795

LIMDIS

DISTO/NATUS

SUBJECT CO-CHAIRMEN'S MEETING, NOV 18 -  
NPT AMENDMENTS AND PROCEDURES

1. READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, ROSHCHIN PROVIDED SOVIET UNION'S POSITION ON NPT AMENDMENTS. RE ARTICLE IV ON PEACEFUL USES, SOVIET UNION READY ACCEPT TEXT DEVELOPED BY CO-CHAIRMEN WITHOUT ANY CHANGES (GENEVA 1002, PARA 10).

2. RE DISARMAMENT ARTICLE, CO-CHAIRMEN'S TEXT (STATE 52434) ACCEPTED WITH FOLLOWING TWO CHANGES: (A) REFERENCE TO QTE

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TREATY ON GCD UNQTE INSTEAD OF QTE AGREEMENT ON GCD UNQTE AND REFERENCE TO QTE STRICT AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL UNQTE INSTEAD OF QTE STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL UNQTE. SOVIETS POINTED OUT THEIR CHANGES BASED ON AGREED PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE.

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3. ARTICLE REGARDING NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS ARTICLE WITHOUT CHANGE AS PROPOSED BY MEXICO (GENEVA 1004).

4. RE ARTICLE ON PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES, CO-CHAIRMEN'S TEXT (STATE 54177) ACCEPTED WITH FOLLOWING REDRAFT OF SECOND SENTENCE: QTE IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES PARTY TO THIS TREATY SO DESIRING MAY, PURSUANT TO A SPECIAL AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS, OBTAIN ANY SUCH BENEFITS ON BILATERAL BASIS OR THROUGH AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL BODY WITH ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES. QTE ROSHCHIN EXPLAINED THAT TWO CHANGES IN SENTENCE WERE DESIGNED, FIRST, TO SPECIFY THAT NON-NUCLEAR STATES RECEIVE BENEFITS THUS MAKING CLEAR THAT ARTICLE DOES NOT APPLY TO NUCLEAR STATES WHO CAN DO PEACEFUL EXPLOSIONS IN THEIR OWN TERRITORY WITHOUT APPLYING TO INTERNATIONAL BODY; AND, SECOND, TO MAKE EXPLICIT POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING BENEFITS ON BILATERAL BASIS.

5. ON AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES I AND II PROPOSED BY UAR, USSR HAS FAVORABLE ATTITUDE AND WOULD BE READY INCORPORATE THEM, BUT SINCE INCORPORATION WOULD CREATE COMPLETE RECONSIDERATION THESE ARTICLES, USSR IS READY TO FOREGO INTRODUCING THESE

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CHANGES. SOVIET UNION WOULD PREFER MAKE AGREED STATEMENTS IN ENDC EXPRESSING POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF USSR AND US AND STATING THAT ARTICLES I AND II IN PRESENT FORM COVER SUBSTANCE OF UAR AMENDMENTS AS PRACTICAL MATTER. FOSTER AGREED GENERALLY WITH THIS APPROACH AND REMINDED ROSHCHIN THAT SOVIET DEL HAD ALREADY RECEIVED US DRAFT STATEMENT DESIGNED ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE.

6. RE AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE V TO ESTABLISH PERIODIC REVIEW AND PREPARATORY COMMISSION, ROSHCHIN SAID SOVS BELIEVE THIS WILL CONTRADICT IDEA OF UNLIMITED DURATION OF NPT. ALSO, STIPULATION THAT REVIEW CONFERENCE CONSIDER WHETHER "PURPOSES OF PREAMBLE" HAVE BEEN REALIZED IS NOT ACCEPTABLE BECAUSE (1) IT IS VERY DOUBTFUL WHETHER IT POSSIBLE IN NEAR FUTURE TO FULFILL PURPOSES OF PREAMBULAR PARA WHICH DEALS WITH GCD, AND (2) ESTABLISHMENT OF PREPARATORY COMMISSION WILL DEFACTO CREATE NEW ORGAN WHICH

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WILL SUBSTITUTE FOR ENDC. INSTEAD OF AMENDING ARTICLE V, USSR PROPOSES THAT US AND SOV DELS MAKE STATEMENTS IN ENDC THAT IF, AFTER FIRST REVIEW CONFERENCE, THERE APPEARS NECESSITY OF ANOTHER CONFERENCE, PARTIES MAY DISCUSS AND ARRANGE THIS MATTER THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.

7. FOSTER EXPRESSED GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT AT SOV POSITION. PERIODIC REVIEW AND PREPARATORY COMMISSION COULD TAKE AWAY

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MUCH OF THE POSSIBLE FUTURE INCENTIVE FOR WITHDRAWAL, AS WELL AS SOME OF THE CURRENT PRESSURE FOR LIMITED DURATION. HE THOUGHT THESE CHANGES WOULD BE CONCESSION OF VALUE TO OTHERS BUT NOT AMOUNT TO OUR GIVING ANYTHING IMPORTANT AWAY. ROSHCHIN RESPONDED THAT PROBLEM OF FUTURE CONFERENCES WOULD NOT BE FORECLOSED; HOWEVER, TREATY PROVISION FOR PERIODIC REVIEW WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT COULD CREATE FEELING THAT TREATY HAS TO BE REVISED EVERY FIVE YEARS. FOSTER SAID UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WOULD NOT BE GOOD ENOUGH. COUNTRIES WANT RIGHT TO HAVE ADDITIONAL CONFERENCE IF MAJORITY SO DESIRES AND THEY WOULD BE CONCERNED AS TO WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF USSR AND US WERE IN OPPOSITION. NWHIS PROVISION COULD MAKE TREATY MORE STABLE. ROSHCHIN ARGUED THAT EVEN WITHOUT TREATY PROVISION WE WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT SUBSEQUENT REVIEW CONFERENCE IF PRESSED THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, BECAUSE OTHERWISE PARTIES MIGHT WITHDRAW.

8. FOSTER SAID THERE WAS GREAT DEAL OF FEELING IN SUPPORT OF ADDITION OF WORDS "OF THE PREAMBLE", IN DEFINING PURPOSES TO

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BE REVIEWED AT THE REVIEW CONFERENCE. HE SAID THIS IN EFFECT COULD BE SUBSTITUTE FOR INSISTENCE ON NUCLEAR POWERS COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO NEGOTIATE SPECIFIC MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT. US AND USSR DID NOT WISH TO DO THIS, AND THUS ONLY WAY OUT WAS TO PROVIDE SAFETY VALVE. NON-NUCLEARS WOULD HAVE RIGHT TO QUESTION US PERIODICALLY ABOUT PROGRESS WE WERE MAKING. TIMERBAEV (USSR) SAID WE HAD ALREADY MADE MANY CONCESSIONS TO NON-NUCLEARS ON

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THIS SCORE: ACCEPTING COMMITMENT FOR FIRST REVIEW CONFERENCE; WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS; AMENDMENT CONFERENCE WHENEVER ONE-THIRD OF PARTIES WISH AND AT ANY TIME; AND FINALLY STATEMENTS BY US AND USSR THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER ADDITIONAL REVIEW CONFERENCES. FOSTER URGED THAT SOVS NEVERTHELESS GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO THESE AMENDMENTS BECAUSE THEY WOULD BUY US A GREAT DEAL AND ALLEVIATE PRESSURES. RUSHCHIN URGED THAT WE WORK ON ENDC STATEMENTS AND ATTEMPT PERSUADE JAPAN TO BE SATISFIED WITH THIS.

9. ON QUESTION OF DEPOSITARY GOVERNMENTS, RUSHCHIN SAID SOVS AGREED THERE SHOULD BE THREE NUCLEAR POWER DEPOSITARIES AS IN TEST BAN AND OUTER SPACE TREATIES. HOWEVER, SOVS WERE PREPARED ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF MEXICAN PROPOSAL OF ADDING NON-NUCLEAR DEPOSITARIES IF TOTAL NUMBER COULD BE ENLARGED TO SIX,

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THREE NUCLEARS AND THREE NON-NUCLEARS. THIS WOULD ENCOURAGE NON-NUCLEAR SUPPORT OF TREATY. SOV PROPOSAL IS CONTINGENT ON NOT HAVING DIFFICULTIES IN NAMING NON-NUCLEARS AND ACCEPTABILITY TO US.

10. FOSTER RESPONDED THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO NON-NUCLEAR DEPOSITARIES, BUT HE FORESAW SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES. FOR EXAMPLE, IF INDIA WERE EXCLUDED, IT WOULD HAVE ADDITIONAL COMPLAINT AGAINST TREATY; BUT IF IT WERE INCLUDED, WOULD IT HAVE VETO? ALSO, WE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER ADVANCED NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRY SUCH AS JAPAN, BUT THIS WOULD RAISE QUESTION OF WHETHER NON-NUCLEARS HAD TO BE "NON-ALIGNED". FOSTER QUESTIONED WHETHER SOVS WOULD HAVE CONVINCING SUGGESTIONS WHICH WOULD SATISFY BOTH US, USSR, AS WELL AS OTHERS. RUSHCHIN CONCLUDED THAT, SINCE US NOT IN FAVOR, HE WOULD MAINTAIN EARLIER UNDERSTANDING REGARDING THREE NUCLEAR DEPOSITARIES.  
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 503  
AMEMBASSY NATO 69  
USUN NEWYORK 1466

S E C R E T SECTION TWO OF TWO GENEVA 1795

LIMDIS

DISTO/NATUS

SUBJECT: CO-CHAIRMEN'S MEETING NOV. 18 - NPT AMENDMENTS AND PROCEDURES

11. RE NUMBER OF NON-NUCLEAR ACCESSIONS REQUIRED TO BRING TREATY INTO FORCE, ROSHCIN SAID USSR AGREED THIS SHOULD BE BETWEEN 35 AND 40. IT WAS NOW TIME TO FILL IN BLANK. FOSTER SAID HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS ON SPECIFIC NUMBER FROM WASHINGTON. ROSHCIN RECALLED THAT THERE HAD BEEN EARLIER DISCUSSIONS ON WHETHER DEPOSITS OF RATIFICATION BY NUCLEAR POWERS COULD BE WITHHELD UNTIL KEY NON-NUCLEARS ACCEDED. HE SAID THAT FOR SOV UNION IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL THAT FRG ADHERE. FOSTER SAID THERE WERE OTHERS THAT WERE ALSO IMPORTANT.

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SUCH AS ISRAEL AND UAR. HE SUGGESTED, AND ROSHCIN AGREED, THAT ANY SUCH UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AND USSR BE UNWRITTEN AND "TREATED WITH GREAT CAUTION."

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12. ROSHCIN THEN TURNED TO AMENDMENTS OF BRAZIL, BURMA, ITALY AND INDIA. HE SAID SOME OF THESE WEAKENED TREATY, CREATED LOOPHOLES OR HAD NO DIRECT RELATION TO PROBLEM OF NON-PROLIFERATION, AND WOULD THEREFORE DELAY AND COMPLICATE NPT. THEREFORE, THESE WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE.

13. FOSTER THEN SAID US HAD REVIEWED VARIOUS AMENDMENTS FOLLOWING ORIGINAL MEXICAN AMENDMENTS, AND WISHED TO SUGGEST TWO MINOR ADDITIONS TO ARTICLE ON PEACEFUL USES. HE THEN PROPOSED CHANGES SET FORTH IN PARA 1(A) OF GENEVA 1663. FOSTER EXPLAINED THAT THESE ADDITIONS WOULD BE PARTIALLY RESPONSIVE TO NIGERIAN AND BRAZILIAN AMENDMENTS AND WOULD STRENGTHEN ARTICLE FOR MOST NON-NUCLEARS WHO WISHED TO BE SURE THAT THEY WOULD HAVE THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PEACEFUL APPLICATIONS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. HE ADDED THAT, IN ANY EVENT, WE SURELY INTEND TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION REGARDING APPLICATION TECHNOLOGY.

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14. ROSHCIN RESPONDED THAT THESE WERE MINOR AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD DELAY CO-CHAIRMAN RESPONSES. THESE AMENDMENTS MIGHT REOPEN WHOLE PROCESS OF CONSIDERATION AND RECONSIDERATION OF AMENDMENTS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE MORE PRACTICAL FOR US AND USSR TO MAKE STATEMENTS IN ENDC THAT ART IV WOULD INCLUDE INFORMATION AND COOPERATION ON PEACEFUL APPLICATIONS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. FOSTER SAID THAT US HAD ALREADY MADE SUCH A STATEMENT, AND HOPED SOVS COULD CONSIDER OUR SUGGESTION WHILE WE CONSIDERED THEIR MINOR CHANGES ON MEXICAN AMENDMENTS. ROSHCIN, HOWEVER, WAS CONVINCED THAT NEW US SUGGESTIONS WOULD CREAT SUBSTANTIVE DIFFICULTIES IN MOSCOW THUS CAUSING CONSIDERABLE DELAY. HE WAS ALSO CONVINCED THAT THESE CHANGESE WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON BRAZILIAN POSITION.

15. FOSTER ASKED WHETHER SOVS WOULD BE WILLING STATE IN ENDC THAT, IN SEPARATE AGREEMENT CONTEMPLATED FOR SHARING BENEFITS OF PEACEFUL EXPLOSIVES, WE INTEND INCLUDE UNDERTAKING TO PROVIDE INFORMATION RE APPLICATION TECHNOLOGY. FOSTER SAID THERE MIGHT BE VALUE IN SUCH A STATEMENT. ROSHCIN SAID HE WOULD

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REFER QUESTION TO MOSCOW.

16. ROSHCIN THEN CONCLUDED HIS FORMAL PRESENTATION BY STATING THAT IS US AGREES WITH SOV PROPOSALS ON NPT AMENDMENTS, SOVS INTEND CONSULT WITH THEIR ALLIES AND AFTERWARDS THEY WILL

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GIVE US FINAL REPLY. FOSTER INQUIRED WHETHER USSR, AFTER HIS CONSULTATIONS, WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUBMIT AMENDMENTS TO ENDC EVEN THOUGH ARTICLE III PROBLEM NOT WORKED OUT. ROSHCIN SAID THIS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. TIMEBAEV INTERJECTED THAT MOSCOW WOULD OF COURSE, PREFER TO SUBMIT ALL AMENDMENTS AND ARTICLE III AT SAME TIME, BECAUSE THIS WOULD DETER FURTHER AMENDMENTS. FOSTER STRESSED THAT WE MIGHT HAVE REBELLION ON OUR HANDS FROM ENDC MEMBERS, UNLESS WE PROVIDED ENDC WITH SOME POSITIVE RESPONSES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE HOPED SOVS WOULD PROCEED CONSULT WITH THEIR ALLIES ON ARTICLES AGREED AND THAT WE COULD SHORTLY INTRODUCE SOME AMENDMENTS INTO ENDC. HE THOUGHT US DEL MIGHT BE ABLE OBTAIN USG REACTION VERY PROMPTLY ON MINOR CHANGES SOVS HAD PROPOSED IN DISARMAMENT ARTICLE AND IN PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES ARTICLE. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT TAKE LONGER ON REVIEW CONFERENCE AND PREPARATORY COMMISSION AND, IN ANY EVENT, US AND SOV UNION MIGHT NOT BE AGREED ON THESE RIGHT AWAY.

17. FOSTER THEN PROVIDED ROSHCIN WITH SUGGESTED NUMBERING OF NPT ARTICLES, AS IN GENEVA 1663. ROSHCIN SAID HIS FIRST IMPRESSION WAS THAT LIST WAS SUITABLE, BUT HE WOULD HAVE TO REFER TO MOSCOW.

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18. FOSTER STATED THAT US WOULD WISH TO RETURN TO SUBJECT OF DURATION AT LATER TIME. HE THOUGHT THIS WAS IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR MANY, AND US AND SOV UNION SHOULD DISCUSS SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES.

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19. ON NPT COMMENTS OF SWITZERLAND, FOSTER SUGGESTED THAT CO-CHAIRMEN SHOULD CIRCULATE THESE IN ENDC, UNDER COVER OF STATEMENT MERELY THAT CO-CHAIRMEN HAD RECEIVED THIS DOCUMENT. WE NEED NOT DO THIS IMMEDIATELY. ROSHCHIN RESPONDED THAT THIS MIGHT STIMULATE SUGGESTIONS FROM MANY OTHERS, E.G. JAPAN AND FRG. HE WAS TROUBLED THAT SUCH DOCUMENTS MIGHT THEN HAVE TO BE CIRCULATED IN GA AS PART OF ENDC REPORT. HE SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER FURTHER AND RESPOND LATER.

20. FOSTER AND ROSHCHIN THEN DISCUSSED TYPE OF REPORT WHICH COULD BE SENT FROM ENDC TO GA. FOSTER SUGGESTED THAT AROUND DEC. 1 WE SHOULD SEND SHORT, STATUS REPORT OF PERHAPS ONE OR TWO PAGES, PREFERABLY NOT ATTACHING ENDC DOCUMENTS. GA MIGHT THEN DECIDE THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN CHANCE FOR SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AND THEREFORE ENDC SHOULD BE ASKED TO SUBMIT FINAL TEXT TO UNDC, OR GA IF IT IS IN SESSION. ROSHCHIN SAID

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THAT PREFERABLE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE FULL REPORT ATTACHING COMPLETED TREATY, BUT HE AGREED WITH FOSTER THAT IF THIS NOT POSSIBLE, SHORT COURTESY REPORT SETTING FORTH STATUS OF WORK OF THIS SESSION WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO SEND SEPARATE REPORT DEALING WITH NON-NPT QUESTIONS. ROSHCHIN INQUIRED RE FOSTER'S VIEW ON ENDC SCHEDULE IF ENDC CONTINUED INTO DECEMBER. FOSTER SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED THERE MUST NOT BE LONG RECESS. HE THOUGHT WE SHOULD HAVE A CHRISTMAS RECESS WHICH SHOULD NOT EXCEED ABOUT ONE MONTH.

21. COMMENT. REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO CONCUR IN SOVIET CHANGES IN DISARMAMENT AND PEACEFUL EXPLOSIVES ARTICLES AND TO CONTINUE PRESS SOVIETS TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSED LANGUAGE REGARDING PURPOSES OF PREAMBLE, PERIODIC REVIEW CONFERENCES AND PREPARATORY COMMITTEE. ALSO REQUEST AUTHORIZATION FILL IN BLANK FOR NON-NUCLEAR ACCESSIONS TO BRING TREATY INTO FORCE. BELIEVE WE SHOULD AGREE TO 40. GP-3. TUBBY

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