



Seventeenth session
Agenda item 77

THE URGENT NEED FOR SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMO-NUCLEAR TESTS

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON
TESTS

ANNEX I

1. Provisional verbatim records of the 83rd to 89th plenary meetings inclusive of the Conference.
2. Extract from the verbatim record of the 90th plenary meeting.
3. Provisional verbatim records of the 45th to 47th meetings inclusive of the Sub-Committee on a Treaty for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT
PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Monday, 26 November 1962, at 3 p.m.

Chairman

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN

(Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics)

This provisional record contains the originals of speeches in English together with the Conference room interpretation of speeches in other languages.

It is requested that any corrections to the originals of speeches be submitted in four parts (preferably incorporated in four of the single-sided mimeographed copies with which delegations are supplied) by the authorized Liaison Officer of the delegation concerned to the Documents Office, Room A.206. If no corrections are received within four working days from the date of distribution the final version, in which the interpretations will be replaced by translation, will be prepared and issued on the basis of the provisional record.

THE TIME LIMIT FOR CORRECTIONS TO THIS RECORD WILL BE 0900 HOURS ON
3 DECEMBER 1962.

(PROVISIONAL)

ENDC/PV.83

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. ASSUMPCAO de ARAUJO

Mr. FRANK de COSTA

Mr. J. LENGYEL

Bulgaria:

Mr. M. TARABANOV

Mr. G. GUELEV

Mr. M. KRASSILEONOV

Mr. ISMIRALIEV

Burma:

U TUN SHEIN

U MAUNG LEUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. J.E.G. HARDY

Mr. J.P.M. BELL

Mr. R.M. TAIT

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. K. HURKA

Mr. M. ZEMLA

Mr. M. HLUSAK

Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

ATO HADDIS ABEMAYTERU

India:

Mr. A.S. LALL

Mr. A.S. MEHTA

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLEROTTI

Mr. L. CAVAGLIERI

Mr. C. COSTA-REGHINI

Mr. F. LUCIOLI OTTIERI

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

Mexico:

Mr. E. CALDERON PUIG
Mr. D. GONZALES GOMEZ
Mr. A. de ICASA

Nigeria:

Mr. L.C.N. OBI

Poland:

Mr. M. LACHS
Mr. E. SZAJLIEWSKI
Mr. W. WIECZOREK
Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI

Romania:

Mr. K. BALITZA
Mr. H. FLORESCU
Mr. E. GLASER
Mr. N. ECCOBESCU

Sweden:

Mr. R. EDBERG
Baron C.H. von PALTTEN
Mr. P. WELLDIN
Mr. S. FRIEDMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN
Mr. A.L. ROSCHIN
Mr. I.G. USACHEV
Mr. P.F. SALGHEV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A.F. HASSAN
Mr. M.H. EL-ZAYYAT
Mr. S. AHMED

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

United Kingdom:

Mr. J.B. GODBER
Sir Michael WRIGHT
Mr. J.K. WRIGHT
Mr. J.M. EDES

United States of America:

Mr. A.H. DEAN
Mr. C.C. STEELE
Mr. D.E. MARK
Mr. V. BAKER

Deputy Special Representative of the
Acting Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

Deputy Director

European Office of the United Nations: Mr. G. PALTHEY

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I declare open the eighty-third plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

I call on the Deputy Special Representative of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Mr. EPSTEIN (Deputy Special Representative of the Acting Secretary-General): On behalf of the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, it is once again our privilege to welcome the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to the European Headquarters of the United Nations.

The Conference resumes its deliberations after a recess during which detailed and constructive discussions on disarmament and on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests have taken place in the General Assembly. The Assembly debates enabled all the Members of the world Organization to make important contributions to the solution of these problems. The recent grave events have provided additional proof of the dangers inherent in the armaments race, which gives no lasting assurance of security but results in acute political disputes and situations which may endanger the peace of the entire world.

We know from past experience and current differences that the road to disarmament is formidable and arduous. The Eighteen-Nation Committee, which has been rightly praised by the Assembly, is pursuing its goal with perseverance and zeal. In particular, it made a noteworthy contribution in narrowing the gap between the opposing positions on the question of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. The gap appears to have been further narrowed by the current session of the General Assembly, which not only condemned all nuclear tests and requested their cessation by 1 January 1963, but also pointed the way to compromise solutions which could lead to agreement by the nuclear Powers.

There are before you resolutions 1762 A and B (XVII) adopted by the General Assembly on the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. These resolutions reflect the ardent desire of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world that such tests, and their menace to health and security, be ended for ever. Members of the General Assembly, and in particular the non-aligned countries, have emphasized that a nuclear test ban is the indispensable first step to general and complete disarmament. The present moment seems especially propitious for agreement between the nuclear Powers, perhaps more propitious than ever before, in view of the recent exchanges between the heads of government and the almost simultaneous

(Mr. Epstein)

announcements concerning the conclusion of extensive series of tests by both sides. It is our fervent hope that when the Conference reports to the General Assembly by 10 December next, it will be able to record substantial progress in the negotiations.

You also have before you resolution 1767 (XVII) of the General Assembly, which calls for agreement on general and complete disarmament at the earliest possible date. It also recommends that urgent attention be given to collateral measures of disarmament. Various measures, besides the cessation of nuclear tests, have been urged during the Assembly, such as the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons, the reduction of the risk of war by accident or miscalculation, the establishment of nuclear free zones in certain geographical regions, the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only, and other such measures which would decrease tension and facilitate general and complete disarmament. Agreement on such measures would greatly improve the international climate and help to solve the fundamental issues which are at the core of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Let me express the hope of the Acting Secretary-General that the Committee will achieve results in all the tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly -- a nuclear test ban, collateral measures of disarmament and general and complete disarmament. Let me also express his conviction that the non-aligned members of this Committee will continue their active and positive role in helping to reach agreement. I extend to you the earnest good wishes of the Acting Secretary-General for success in your work.

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In my capacity as Chairman of this meeting, I should now like to say a few words of welcome to members of this Committee.

After a recess of ten weeks, the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament resumes its work. There is no need to speak of the importance of our task. Many, if not all, international crises of the past year were an effect of the armaments race feeding the cold war. If it is our wish to prevent a recurrence of these dark clouds, which are manifestations of the cold war, we should in the first place halt the armaments race and solve the disarmament problem. Recent events in the Caribbean have made clear to everyone the threat of a rocket nuclear war.

During this period the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly has considered the disarmament problem and the question of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, which are matters immediately related to the task of our

(The Chairman, USSR)

In that important international forum the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of all countries on these important problems were expressed and resolutions were adopted calling for new and constructive efforts with a view to the speediest possible solutions. In resuming its work the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee must take into account the wishes of the people, as expressed in the resolutions of the General Assembly, on the questions of disarmament and the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and, without being deflected towards secondary questions, it should concentrate its efforts on the main problems.

I call now upon the representative of the United States, as co-Chairman of the Conference, for a welcoming message.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): I should like to express my pleasure at being back in Geneva to begin this resumed session of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament. I note with great satisfaction that many old friends and colleagues from our former sessions are here again to represent their Governments. I shall look forward to establishing the same good relations with the members of delegations who are here for the first time. We anticipate working with them all at the resumed session in the quiet and effective fashion that has become the standard of this Conference. The time is right for us to reach our first agreements, and my delegation will seek every possible opportunity to bring this about. The spirit in which my delegation is returning to this Conference has been eloquently set forth in the statement of President Kennedy, issued today, concerning the opening of this resumed session, which I should now like to read:

"The Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference resumes its deliberations in Geneva today. This is as it should be. The crucial developments within recent weeks have served to confirm both the need and the urgency of the task before it. It is clear that a renewed and immediate effort must be made to halt the constantly increasing tempo of the arms race if there is to be assurance of a lessening of the danger of war. It is therefore my continued hope that serious negotiations will proceed at once on those initial measures of disarmament which could, if put into effect without delay, materially improve international security and enhance the prospects for further disarmament progress."

(Mr. Dean, United States)

"Among these measures we believe high priority should be given to the conclusion of an effective agreement which would end once and for all tests of nuclear weapons. The United States has completed its recent series of atmospheric tests. There is hope that the Soviet Union evidently will soon conclude its series of atmospheric tests. This suggests that the moment may be at hand to initiate the beginning of the end of the upward spiral of weapons competition. If so, the opportunity must not be lost. It is important that these negotiations now move forward, and that concrete progress be achieved. To this end I pledge anew my personal and continuing interest in the work of the Conference."

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): On that note we will end the public part of our meeting this afternoon. I now call for a five minute break in our proceedings so that the hall may be cleared of those who are not participating directly in the Conference.

The meeting was suspended at 3.25 p.m. and resumed at 3.30 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (interpretation from Russian)): We shall now resume our work. Permit me to say a few words as Chairman of this meeting. Today the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament resumes its work after a recess of more than two and a half months. We have some new representatives with us here today and, on behalf of the Committee, I should like to welcome our new colleagues, the representative of Burma, Ambassador U Tun Shein, and the representative of Czechoslovakia, the Deputy Foreign Minister. These new participants will work with us for the solution of the important tasks facing us. I should also like to welcome the representative of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and the interpreters and other staff who help us in our work.

I have to inform the meeting that the co-Chairmen met on 25 November when they agreed that the work of the Committee should continue under the procedure previously approved on 24 July 1962 (ENDC/1/Add 3). The co-Chairmen also agreed to follow the time-table adopted earlier, namely that the Committee should meet three times a week on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. They propose that the meetings shall begin punctually at 10.30 a.m.

The co-Chairmen also deem it appropriate that this meeting, as well as our next meeting on Wednesday, 28 November, should be devoted to a general debate in the light of the resolution adopted by the Seventeenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problem of disarmament and on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests.

Today, on the list of speakers there are four delegations: the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Italy. I now call upon the representative of the United States.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): Today we resume the meetings of our Conference after a recess of two and a half months. During the recess the General Assembly of the United Nations has had an opportunity to review and to discuss the various aspects of our work, and the members of this Conference now have the benefit of the views expressed during the General Assembly discussions. Much has happened since we last met in this council chamber, and it is appropriate to ask: Where do we stand? I believe it is fair to say that at the present

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moment there is cause for concern and also cause for encouragement as we resume here.

Let us be realistic with each other. Let us not veil the causes of concern that do exist. We are all familiar with recent events that brought civilization so close to the abyss of nuclear war, a war which many have talked about but which must be viewed even more soberly and responsibly as a result of recent events. We are also familiar with the recent events in India; those have left sombre lessons for our work here. That clandestine efforts to gain military advantage may be attempted by some is now clear for all to see. That efforts at falsification of facts may be made at very high levels of government is also clear for all to see. The fact has been clearly underscored that the world cannot rest agreements involving national security on good faith alone. We all now know that agreements, if they are to bring an increased sense of security and not insecurity and suspicion, must include adequate means for giving reassurance to all parties that treaty obligations are in truth and in fact being met.

The meetings of the test ban Sub-Committee, which were continued here in Geneva during the recess at the suggestion of my Government in the hope that an agreement might be concluded by the end of this year, have unfortunately made no progress. The representative of the Soviet Union continued to reject the very minimum amount of international arrangements for the detection, identification, location and inspection of seismic tests that would give reasonable and adequate assurance of compliance with a comprehensive nuclear test ban agreement.

The Soviet delegation also refused, in effect, to consider a partial ban in those environments which do not require international verification, while negotiations went forward on a comprehensive test ban treaty to ban tests in all environments.

I wish to discuss this question further in a moment, but I do want to say at this point that we must devote ourselves with a renewed sense of urgency and purpose to this unfinished business, as President Kennedy has said in his statement which I read earlier today. We just cannot ignore the causes of concern that have arisen during the recess. Our tasks here are far too serious for us to allow our discussions to become a game of empty charades played in an ivory tower. At the same time, however, we must not despair. Nor, indeed, have we any reason to

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despair of the prospects for a better and more secure world as the result of our efforts in this Conference.

What are the elements in the present state of affairs that lend encouragement to a more hopeful view? Of course, in terms of national self interest, the strong incentive to halt the arms race remains. The competition in arms has not diminished in its threat to the security of nations; it continues as a drain upon resources that could be better used for the more productive objectives of human society. Surely those facts will spur us on to achieve early progress in our negotiations.

Another hopeful element is the firm establishment of this Conference as a continuing negotiating body. It may have escaped general notice, but it is worth noting, I believe, that, with the exception of negotiations concerning nuclear testing, for the first time in five years disarmament negotiations are being resumed after the General Assembly's consideration of the subject in the same forum in which they were taking place before the Assembly met. Indeed, probably for the first time since the end of the Second World War, we are able to resume work on disarmament in a continuing body, with agreed procedures and an agreed plan of work.

That this forum continues to exist in the midst of the swirling international currents of our troubled world is, I believe, in large measure a recognition that nations must seek a better order of things. The existence of our continuing Conference, today again in full session, reflects the belief, now more commonly shared, that it is through our labours here that we can forge the key that will unlock the gates to a better world.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

A further cause for hope is that, in the curious way history sometimes unfolds its pages, our vision may be clearer as the result of the sobering events we have recently experienced.

Further, whatever may have induced Chairman Khrushchev to initiate the events of recent weeks, thereafter wise statesmanship has been displayed on both sides in subsequent efforts to resolve the crisis; and the world has been given dramatic demonstration that the earth's two greatest military Powers can reach agreement based on reason when a sufficient incentive to reach agreement exists on both sides. It is for us here to demonstrate that the will to resolve differences can forge agreements even in the absence of the catalyst of acute crisis.

There have perhaps been few watersheds in human history so clearly discernible at the time as the one at which we now find ourselves. Thus the question which all of us in our hearts ask is: What path for humanity? It is a sobering thought that the answer may well be written, at least in the first instance, by the results of the work of this very body.

The spirit of the answer of my Government was contained in a passage of President Kennedy's message of 28 October 1962 to Chairman Khrushchev. The President said:

"Mr. Chairman, both of our countries have great unfinished tasks and I know that your people as well as those of the United States can ask for nothing better than to pursue them free from the fear of war. Modern science and technology have given us the possibility of making labour fruitful beyond anything that could have been dreamed of a few decades ago.

"I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament, as it relates to the whole world and also to critical areas. Perhaps now, as we step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field."

The obligations which rest on governments for creative initiative and demonstrations of a will to reach agreement are particularly pressing at this moment in history: for though the limitations of the spoken and written word make it difficult to state it clearly, we all sense, I believe, that there is something different about the world of 26 November 1962 as compared with the world of 7 September 1962, when our Conference recessed.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

Further, we all sense, I believe, that what is hopeful about that difference may be fleeting in nature if nations fail at this moment in history to capture and utilize it. This consideration is important for the present session of our Conference.

What then should be our tasks in the coming weeks? As I have noted, we are fortunate in that we have an agreed plan of work, with an agreed schedule of meetings, set forth in documents ENDC/1/Add.2 and ENDC/1/Add.3, which you, Mr. Chairman, have already mentioned. As a useful aid to the progress of work we have the institution of the co-Chairmen, of which even greater use should be made during this session. Within this organizational framework, we can proceed with our tasks, not in a manner of routine activity but rather with that sense of urgency and of history-making which is obligatory for nations and their representatives who know that they stand at a watershed of history.

Our goal is the elaboration and execution of a programme of general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. Prior to the recess we had, under our agreed plan of work, almost completed the initial consideration of the topics falling under sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 5 of document ENDC/1/Add.3. We were just about to begin consideration of sub-paragraph (d), "Measures in the field of nuclear disarmament together with appropriate measures of control". We should, during this session of the Conference, press forward with our consideration of paragraph 5. At the same time, of course, and in keeping with paragraph 4 of that document, any delegation remains free to discuss in our plenary meetings any topic relating to our work, whether or not that topic may have been considered previously.

We cannot, of course, expect to reach full agreement on a general programme of disarmament, even for the first stage, in the weeks that remain before the end of the year. This fact, however, does not diminish the very real importance of the contributions we can make to our task in this area.

During the recess, governments have had an opportunity to review the earlier work of the Conference relating to general and complete disarmament. It is true, of course, that there were other events that preoccupied the minds of national leaders during the recess. Nevertheless, we have all had some opportunity to take stock of the state of the work of our Conference. Also, during the United Nations General Assembly discussions various interesting comments were made which should be the subject of further elaboration.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

In this connexion, we have, of course, not been unmindful of the brief remarks of Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Secretary of the Government of the Soviet Union, on 21 September in the United Nations General Assembly, on behalf of the Soviet Union, about the possibility of a change in his Government's attitude to the arrangements for disposing of nuclear weapon delivery vehicles, as well as the amendments (ENDC/48) submitted by the Soviet Union to its treaty proposal (ENDC/2*). Since this problem has been among the most acute of all those confronting our negotiations, any new approach deserves careful explanation, clarification and exploration in depth. We expect to participate actively in this aspect of our work, both in plenary meetings and in discussion with our Soviet co-Chairman.

In general, it is my Government's intention to seek, in every reasonable way, to overcome the admittedly serious differences that do exist with respect to all of the issues that go into the subject of general and complete disarmament. We hope that others will recognize the spirit with which we approach this, our more basic task; for it is one of flexibility based on a desire for mutual understanding of the concerns of each party. Let us, then, in the weeks ahead talk with, and not to, or at, each other.

While we seek that broader accommodation that is required for agreement on general disarmament, we must not lose sight of the significance of the moment of history in which our Conference resumes its work. To capture and utilize that which is hopeful about the difference in world affairs resulting from recent events we must urgently seek agreements in those areas that are ripe for early agreement. Not only would such achievements be beneficial in themselves; not only would they facilitate, in ways we may not ourselves comprehend, the reaching of agreements on general disarmament; but they would give to events that favourable momentum which history now offers.

Foremost among subjects ripe for agreement is the question of an effective ban on nuclear testing. Let me briefly review, without rancour and as objectively as I can, the situation in that area as it now exists.