

**Memorandum of a Conversation with the Deputy Head of Soviet Delegation,  
Comrade Grinevskii, regarding the Current State of Negotiations in the Eighteen-  
Nation Disarmament Committee**

Comrades Zachmann and Neugebauer took part in the conversation.

1. Regarding the current state of negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee

According to the Soviet delegation, the situation in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has improved in the past 14 days. The Soviet delegation in Geneva is of the view that the committee of the UN General Assembly will present a complete draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by 15.3.1968. The main opponents of the treaty are currently Brazil and Romania.

The Italian representative has shown restraint. He has received instructions to strongly oppose the draft treaty. Since he did not agree with such an order, he arranged for a personal conversation with Fanfani and received permission to show restraint, at least for the time being.

India and Burma have not yet spoken. There are no major differences between the positions of India and Burma regarding the draft treaty. Currently, they will neither support nor reject it.

In recent days it has become clear that a number of members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee from the group of non-aligned nations who do not support the

current version of the draft treaty will not object to the temporary conclusion of the work of the committee on 15.3.1968 and the transmission of the draft treaty to the General Assembly.

They wish to make use of the extension of the XXII UN General Assembly in order to delay the conclusion of the treaty or to have the negotiations referred back to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

Currently, a major problem is how to deal with the Swedish draft amendments. The negotiations between the delegations of the USSR and the USA are still in progress on this matter.

In principle, there is nothing to object to in the Swedish proposals. A majority of committee members would welcome the inclusion of the proposals in the draft treaty.

A principled decision must be made, however, on whether any changes at all should be made to the draft treaty before 15.3.68.

The conclusion of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on 15.3.1968 depends exclusively on the decision of the co-chairmen. Currently, the Soviet delegation is opposing every proposal to prolong the negotiations and has the support of the U.S. delegation in this matter.

The main issue for the socialist states remains as before the negative position of the SRR on the draft treaty. Romania's insistence upon rejecting the draft treaty could be the main obstacle to concluding the committee's negotiations in the near future.

2. On the negotiations between the USSR and the USA on security guarantees for states not possessing nuclear weapons

These negotiations are still in progress. The government of the USSR has been ready from the beginning to include such security guarantees in the draft text. The USA and Great Britain, however, have strictly rejected this. Therefore, possibilities must be found to regulate the issue outside the treaty, so that the conclusion of the treaty is not delayed.

Kosygin's proposal of 1.2.1966 provided the basis for a solution. This initiative of the USSR was also rejected by the Western powers.

Currently under negotiation is an agreement on security guarantees by the nuclear powers for non-nuclear weapons states in the UN Security Council. The following is planned:

- to adopt a resolution in the Security Council containing a commitment, in the case of a nuclear weapons attack or the threat of such an attack, to come to the assistance of the state in question;
- the nuclear-weapons states should endorse and support the Security Council resolution with explicit, unilateral declarations.

The government of the USSR is continuing its fight to push through its stance that security guarantees can be given only to states that do not possess any nuclear weapons and upon whose territory no nuclear weapons are stored.

The Western powers are strictly opposed to such a stipulation.

The proposal by the Western powers to give security guarantees to non-nuclear weapons states and to such states that are not involved in a nuclear-weapons conflict was decisively rejected by the USSR.

For these reasons, no agreement has yet been reached between the USSR, the USA and Great Britain.

### 3. On West Germany's Position regarding the Non-Proliferation Treaty

The representatives of the USA have tried to convince the Soviet delegation in Geneva that the official West German position on the draft treaty of 18.1.1968 is better than that of the previous year.

The Soviet comrades have been informed that: the West German "Representative for Disarmament" Schnippenkötter has drafted a memorandum containing the West German position with regard to the draft treaty of 18.1.1968. Kiesinger has approved this memorandum. The ongoing exchange of views between Brandt and Rusk is continuing on the basis of this memorandum. The memorandum will not be made public. It has been transmitted to West German foreign missions as a basis for political work and debate.

The essential content of the memorandum:

- a) The West German government is particularly concerned about the wording of Article III (control). Although it will not forcefully oppose this article, it has already been decided that the West German government can only accept control

- inspections from states that apply the safeguards system of the IAEA themselves.
- Thus, the West German government, for instance, would reject inspectors from the Soviet Union.
- b) The duration of the treaty can only be 10 – or at the most 15 years.
  - c) The West German government will speak resolutely in favor of periodic conferences to review the treaty. They should take place every five years.
  - d) The treaty can enter into force only after 40 parties, including the nuclear weapons states and half of the members of the Board of Governors of the IAEA have ratified it. In this way it must be guaranteed that all so-called threshold [nuclear] powers have ratified the treaty.
  - e) West Germany demands security guarantees from the nuclear-weapons states not only in the case of nuclear attack but also a threat with such weapons.

[Signed]

Zachmann

Recipients:

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Cde. Deputy Minister Fischer

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*[Translation from the German by Ursula Froese]*