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INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 ACDE-01 AF-00 AMAD-01 ARA-00 CIAE-00
CFE-00 C-01 DOEE-00 CISA-02 EAP-00 EB-00 EUR-00
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-00 ADS-00 NEA-00 NRRC-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OES-00 OIG-02 PA-01 PM-00 PRS-01
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1481
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
SECDEF WASHDC
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA
JOINT STAFF WASHDC
USDOE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 004915

ACDA FOR NP; DOE FOR DP/OAC; JCS FOR J5/DDIN; SECDEF

FOR OSD/ISP; GENEVA FOR CD; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, CDG, NPT
SUBJECT: 47TH UNGA/FIRST COMMITTEE;
- NPT CONSULTATIONS -- WESTERN GROUP LUNCH

1. THIS IS FC - 044. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, ACDA ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GORDON HOSTED A LUNCH FOR WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS ISSUES RELATED TO, AND PREPARATIONS FOR, THE 1995 NPT CONFERENCE. ALL AGREED THAT 1995 POSED DIFFERENT CHALLENGES FROM PAST REVIEW CONFERENCES. IN ADDITION TO PREDICTABLE DEMANDS FOR MORE PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL, REPS BELIEVED THAT DEMANDS RELATED TO ARTICLE IV WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE 1995 CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

3. ON THE EVE OF THE OCTOBER 22 NPT CAUCUS AT THE UN, ACDA ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR NONPROLIFERATION POLICY BRAD GORDON HOSTED A LUNCH FOR A NUMBER OF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES. ATTENDING THE LUNCH WERE BRIAN DONNELLY, UK; AMB. ERRERA, FRANCE; AMB. O'SULLIVAN, AUSTRALIA; AMB. WAGENMAKERS, NETHERLANDS; AMB. MASON, CANADA; MARTIN KREMER, GERMANY; MR. HANATANI, JAPAN. ON THE U.S. SIDE WERE AMB. LEDOGAR AND SUSAN BURK, ACDA/NP.

4. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS, GORDON EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE LUNCH WAS TO SHARE VIEWS ON THE 1995

CONFERENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE U.S. STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THE INDEFINITE EXTENSION OF THE NPT IN 1995 IS AN ACHIEVABLE GOAL ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT BE EASY. HE NOTED THAT LONG-STANDING ARMS CONTROL HOBBY HORSES SUCH AS A CTB MAY NO LONGER BE THE ISSUE IN 1995; RATHER WE MIGHT EXPECT THERE TO BE EFFORTS TO "MOVE THE GOALPOSTS" (I.E., TO DEMAND, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES COMMIT BY A DATE

CERTAIN TO MOVE TO ZERO NUCLEAR WEAPONS. OTHER ISSUES THAT MIGHT AFFECT THE 1995 CONFERENCE WOULD BE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. HE CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS BY EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR THE PARTIES TO KNOW THE OUTCOME OF THE 1995 CONFERENCE BEFORE IT BEGINS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE A STRONG MAJORITY OF PARTIES WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPORT AN ACCEPTABLE EXTENSION OUTCOME WHEN THE CONFERENCE CONVENES.

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5. BRIAN DONNELLY (UK) INTERVENED TO NOTE THAT IN ADDITION TO THE TRADITIONAL ARMS CONTROL ISSUES THAT HAD PREOCCUPIED PAST REVIEW CONFERENCES, WE MIGHT ALSO EXPECT GREATER ATTENTION TO QUESTIONS OF ACCESS TO AND SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. WE HAVE CHANGED THE WAY WE LOOK AT THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY SINCE THE NPT WAS NEGOTIATED IN 1968. NOW, WITH THE GROWTH OF SUPPLIER REGIMES AND THE INCREASED LINKING OF ALL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, SOME STATES SEE THE TRANSFER OF INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY AS BEING INCREASINGLY CONSTRAINED BY NONPROLIFERATION CONCERNS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, NPT ADHERENCE WAS BECOMING A BASIC CRITERIA FOR SUPPLY OF ALL KINDS OF INDUSTRIAL

TECHNOLOGY, NOT JUST NUCLEAR. TURNING TO THE DRAFT UNGA RESOLUTION THAT THE UK HAD CIRCULATED TO ALL PARTIES, DONNELLY REPORTED THAT THE RECEPTION TO IT HAS BEEN GENERALLY POSITIVE. WITH REGARD TO COUNTRIES' VIEWS ON EXTENSION, IT WAS EARLY FOR MANY STATES TO COMMIT TO A PARTICULAR EXTENSION OUTCOME. AT THE SAME TIME, IN ITS CONSULTATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNGA RESOLUTION, THE UK HAD NOT ENCOUNTERED ANY SPECIFIC RESERVATION TO EXTENDING THE TREATY.

6. AMB. MASON (CANADA) AGREED THAT GORDON'S CONCERN ABOUT MOVING THE GOALPOSTS WAS RIGHT ON TARGET. IN FACT, THIS WAS ALREADY HAPPENING. NIGERIA, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS CALLING CATEGORICALLY FOR A CTB, THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND SOLID GUARANTEES OF ACCESS TO NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. THIS KIND OF APPROACH WOULD GAIN MOMENTUM. GORDON RESPONDED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALL STATES INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE OF THE NPT, PARTICULARLY THE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES (NWS) COMMITTED TO INDEFINITE EXTENSION, BE ACTIVE IN PROMOTING THEIR COMMON OBJECTIVES. IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES (NWS) TO PROMOTE INDEFINITE EXTENSION.

7. AMB. ERRERA (FRANCE) INTERVENED TO SAY THAT THE FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSIONS IN 1995 MAY BE TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE WE FACE TODAY. CONSEQUENTLY, TOO MUCH ADVANCE PLANNING FOR THE 1995 CONFERENCE MAY NOT BE USEFUL. SUPPORTERS OF INDEFINITE EXTENSION WILL NOT GET AWAY WITH SUCH AN OUTCOME ALL THAT EASILY. HE SAID THIS, NOTING THAT IT WAS WITH THE

PAIN OF A NWS WHO IS GOING UNDER PRESSURE IN THE NPT CONTEXT TO DO MORE, AS THE TWO NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS WERE DOING. HE AGREED WITH DONNELLY THAT ARTICLE IV WOULD POSE PROBLEMS IN 1995. NUCLEAR COMMERCE HAS NOT DEVELOPED THE WAY STATES THOUGHT IT WOULD; CONSEQUENTLY THE BARGAIN OF 1968 IS NO LONGER THERE. HE ALSO AGREED THAT THERE WOULD BE INTEREST IN ACHIEVING TOTAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. IN THIS REGARD, THE NWS CAN HAVE AN IMPORTANT BEARING ON THE OTHER STATES. THE MORE THE NWS ARE ON THE DEFENSIVE, THE LESS EFFECTIVE THEY WILL BE. AS A COUNTRY THAT LOVES THE STATUS QUO, ERRERA SAID THAT IT PAINED HIM TO HAVE TO SAY THAT MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF SUPPORTERS OF INDEFINITE EXTENSION. HE

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CALLED FOR ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE, FOR EXAMPLE ON
ISSUES LIKE NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES (NSA) AND
NUCLEAR TESTING, AND UNDERLINED THE NEED TO TAKE THE
OFFENSIVE IN APPROACHING 1995. HE NOTED, ON THE OTHER
HAND, THAT A HUGE MAJORITY OF THE THIRD WORLD ATTACHED
GREAT IMPORTANCE TO NONPROLIFERATION. PROLIFERATORS
TRYING TO PORTRAY THIS AS A NORTH/SOUTH ISSUE WERE NOT
HAVING MUCH SUCCESS.

8. AMB. O'SULLIVAN (AUSTRALIA) SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN
STRUCK BY INDONESIA'S FIRST COMMITTEE STATEMENT TO THE
EFFECT THAT 1995 OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO
RECONSTITUTE THE NPT DEAL. THIS INTEREST IN REDDING
THE BARGAIN WAS DUE IN LARGE MEASURE TO THE LACK OF
VIABILITY OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND THE INCREASING
IRRELEVANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE STRONGLY HOPED
THAT THE PARTIES COULD AVOID A SITUATION IN 1995 THAT

INVOLVED A TRADE-OFF BETWEEN THE EXTENSION OF THE NPT
AND ZERO NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN VIEW OF CONCERNS ABOUT
NORTH KOREA AND CHINA, TOTAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY
THE NWS WOULD BE GREATLY TROUBLING TO AUSTRALIA.
GORDON ASSURED HIM THAT SUCH A TRADE-OFF WAS NOT
REMOVABLE IN THE REALM OF THE POSSIBLE. O'SULLIVAN
URGED THE U.S. AND OTHERS TO GIVE CAREFUL THOUGHT TO
MANAGEMENT OF A CTB BECAUSE THIS MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO
GET THROUGH 1995 WITH AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME.

9. AMB. WAGENMAKERS (NETHERLANDS) VOICED HIS
AGREEMENT WITH MUCH OF WHAT HAD BEEN SAID. HE SHARED
THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHO SAW ARTICLE IV AS BEING AN
IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR 1995. HE MENTIONED THAT IN A
CONVERSATION WITH NIGERIA, THE NIGERIAN REP HAD
MENTIONED A GROUP OF 15 (HE DID NOT KNOW THE COMPLETE
MEMBERSHIP), AND SAID THAT NIGERIA WAS TAKING THE LINE
THAT THE "NORTH" WAS NOT THAT IMPORTANT IF ONE HAD
FRIENDS LIKE INDIA, MEXICO AND INDONESIA.

10. GORDON REITERATED HIS EARLIER COMMENT THAT THE
PROCESS WOULD NOT BE EASY. HE SAID THAT IT WAS
INCUMBENT ON ALL NPT SUPPORTERS TO USE EVERY EFFORT TO
ACHIEVE AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME IN 1995.

11. TURNING TO MORE PROCEDURAL MATTERS, GORDON
REVIEWED U.S. THINKING ON SOME OF THE PROCEDURAL
ISSUES RAISED BY THE CONFERENCE. WITH RESPECT TO THE
NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE, THE U.S. BELIEVED THAT A
SINGLE CONFERENCE COULD ACCOMPLISH BOTH A REVIEW AND
THE EXTENSION OF THE NPT. WITH REGARD TO THE INTEREST

EXPRESSED BY SOME NON-PARTIES IN ATTENDING THE PREPCOM
AS OBSERVERS, THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO THINK ABOUT THIS;
AT FIRST BLUSH, WE WERE NOT PARTICULARLY ATTRACTED TO THE
IDEA. IF RAISED AT THE OCT. 22 NPT CAUCUS, HE
HOPED THAT THE PARTIES WOULD AGREE THAT THIS WAS AN
ISSUE FOR THE PREPCOM TO DECIDE WHEN IT CONVENED. ON
CONFERENCE FINANCING, HE ASKED THE REPS TO CONSIDER
WHETHER IT MADE SENSE TO SWITCH TO THE UN SCALE OF
ASSESSMENTS IN DIVIDING UP CONFERENCE COSTS IN VIEW OF
THE NEAR UNIVERSALITY OF THE NPT. (NOTE: JAPANESE
REP HANATANI FOLLOWED UP WITH BURK LATER THAT DAY TO
NOTE THAT THE USE OF THE UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR
THE 1995 NPT CONFERENCE WOULD RESULT IN AN INCREASE IN
JAPAN'S ASSESSMENT. BURK RESPONDED THAT THE IDEA HAD
BEEN SUGGESTED FOR CONSIDERATION ONLY. THE U.S. WAS
PREPARED TO STICK WITH THE EXISTING SCALE OF
ASSESSMENTS. HOWEVER, WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET
UNION AND THE RESULTING RECALCULATION OF ASSESSMENTS
IN THE UN AND IAEA, IT SEEMED AT LEAST ADVISABLE TO
LOOK AT THIS QUESTION. SHE EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S.

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WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY INCREASE IN ITS
ASSESSMENT WHICH WAS ALREADY 38.82 PERCENT OF THE
TOTAL COSTS.)

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10. GORDON ASKED THE REPS TO BEGIN THINKING ABOUT
WHAT THE PREPCOM WOULD DO WHEN IT MET. THERE WILL BE
A NUMBER OF PROCEDURAL ISSUES THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE
TAKEN UP, SUCH AS THE RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE
CONFERENCE, BUT THERE WILL ALSO BE DEMANDS THAT
SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES BE DISCUSSED, AND WE NEED TO
CONSIDER HOW WE RESPOND TO SUCH DEMANDS. ON THE VENUE

FOR THE CONFERENCE, GORDON REPORTED THAT THE U.S. WAS
PREPARED TO ACCEPT NEW YORK AS THE VENUE FOR THE
CONFERENCE ITSELF, ALTHOUGH WE WERE NOT ADVOCATING IT.
HE NOTED THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR PARTICIPATION BY A
LARGER NUMBER OF PARTIES SEEMED BETTER FOR NEW YORK
WHICH COULD BE USEFUL IF WE HAD LINED UP A SIZABLE
MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF AN ACCEPTABLE EXTENSION DECISION.
FINALLY, WITH RESPECT TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE
CONFERENCE, HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING THE
BEST POSSIBLE CONFERENCE PRESIDENT AND ASKED REPS TO
CONSIDER THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION. HE
DREW THEIR ATTENTION TO THE MARKER PUT DOWN BY THE
NONALIGNED IN THE NAM SUMMIT DECLARATION CALLING FOR A
NAM MEMBER TO BE PRESIDENT AND NOTED THAT THE NAMES OF
J. DHANAPALA OF SRI LANKA AND INDONESIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER ALATAS WERE CIRCULATING IN THIS CONNECTION.
AT THE SAME TIME, THE RULE OF GEOGRAPHIC ROTATION
SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS EASTERN EUROPE'S TURN TO PRESIDE
OVER THE CONFERENCE. HE ASKED REPS WHETHER THEY HAD
HEARD ANYTHING FROM THE EASTERN EUROPEANS. NO ONE HAD
ANY INFORMATION TO IMPART.

13. ON THE OBSERVER QUESTION, KREMER (GERMANY) SAID
THAT GERMANY BELIEVED THE DRAFT NPT RESOLUTION SHOULD
INCLUDE SOME LANGUAGE ON THIS SUBJECT THAT WOULD GIVE
BRAZIL SOMETHING. (COMMENT: BRAZIL IS PUSHING TO
ATTEND THE PREPCOMS AS AN OBSERVER. END COMMENT.)
MASON AGREED, SAYING THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO THINK
ABOUT THE SIGNAL WE WANTED TO SEND TO STATES NOT PARTY
TO THE NPT. GORDON RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. BELIEVED
IT WAS PREMATURE TO MAKE A DECISION ON THIS ISSUE AT
THE CAUCUS.

14. ON THE ISSUE OF VENUE FOR THE CONFERENCE, ERRERA
EXPRESSED ITS STRONG PREFERENCE FOR GENEVA AS THE
CONFERENCE SITE AS THE KEY ISSUES FOR THE NPT ARE
THOSE DEALT WITH BY THE CD. MASON SAID NEW YORK MAY
OFFER BETTER PARTICIPATION. O'SULLIVAN VOICED
AUSTRALIA'S PREFERENCE TO HAVE ONE PREPCOM IN GENEVA
AND ONE IN VIENNA AS A WAY TO DRAW IN A WIDER GROUP OF
PARTICIPANTS INTO THE PREPARATORY PROCESS.

15. COMMENT: IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE ARE MANY ISSUES
THAT REQUIRE FURTHER WESTERN GROUP CONSULTATION AND
COORDINATION IN THE RUN-UP TO THE FIRST PREPCOM AND
BEYOND. THIS INITIAL GATHERING WAS A CONSTRUCTIVE AND
SUBSTANTIVE START TO THIS CONSULTATIVE PROCESS. END
COMMENT.

16. ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GORDON HAS CLEARED THIS CABLE.
PERKINS

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