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October 30, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR: Members of the Committee on Nuclear Weapons

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of the Committee

Attached is a paper entitled "Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons" setting out our general tactical line on this subject at the forthcoming UN General Assembly. It represents a revision of the papers discussed two weeks ago, and after our Committee has had an opportunity to review and approve it I propose that it be submitted to the Committee of Principals. I propose that we meet in my conference room on Friday, November 6, at 10:00 a.m., to discuss it.

Also attached are the informal minutes of our seventh meeting, held on October 27.

*RC Thompson*  
Llewellyn E. Thompson  
Acting Deputy Under Secretary

## Attachment.

1. Minutes of October 27 meeting
2. Paper entitled "Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons"

## Distribution To:

ACDA	- Mr. Fisher	S/P	- Mr. Owen
ACDA	- Mr. Scoville	NEA	- Mr. Talbot
White House	- Mr. Keeny	INR	- Mr. Baraz
Defense	- Mr. Barber	S/MF	- Amb. Smith
JCS	- Gen. Powers	L	- Mr. Meeker
AEC	- Mr. Labowitz	IO	- Mr. Gardner
USIA	- Mr. Sorenson	AF	- Amb. Trimble
CIA	- Mr. Marengo	SCI	- Mr. Pardee
EUR	- Mr. Spiers	FE	- Mr. Mendenhall
M	- Mr. White		

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LIMITED DISTRIBUTIONMEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Informal Minutes of the Seventh Meeting  
of the Committee on Nuclear Weapons  
Capabilities

The seventh meeting of the Committee on Nuclear Weapons Capabilities met, under Ambassador Thompson's chairmanship, at 11:15 a.m., on October 27, 1964. A list of those attending is appended.

Ambassador Thompson opened the meeting by noting that the Secretary was disappointed at the lack of opprobrium in world reactions to the Chinese Communists' nuclear explosion. He circulated a draft telegram prepared by ACDA calling for actions to stimulate comments adverse to the Chinese test, and after general discussion the draft telegram was remanded for subsequent clearance and dispatch. Mr. Gardner noted the danger of going too far in downplaying the significance of the Chinese test. He remarked the real problem was not the possible Chinese first use, but their use of an atomic capability as a counterdeterrent neutralizing (or believed by some to be neutralizing) our deterrent power. Mr. Johnson urged that we not place too much strength on the limits imposed by Chinese delivery vehicles, noting that even with some delivery capability the Chinese would be severely constrained from using their atomic weapons. He also noted that we could point out to others the considerable vulnerability of Communist China to nuclear weapons. Ambassador Thompson agreed that we should stress the overwhelming power of our deterrent and counterdeterrent. He noted that the main negative impact so far was on the Chinese Nationalists, which is of course a special case. Mr. Barber noted that certain briefings are now underway on the basis of existing guidelines.

Mr. Keeny noted Japanese and Indian interest in finding some way to demonstrate their own technological achievements, not necessarily in the military field, in order to offset the Chinese test. Mr. Kretzmann inquired whether USIA is offsetting the Chinese achievement by attention to Indian and Japanese peaceful atomic energy progress. Mr. Hanson replied that they have been doing so. Commissioner Palfrey read a telegram received from the Indian Atomic Energy chief, Dr. Bhaba, asking for data on fallout from the Chinese test. It was agreed that unclassified data should be provided promptly, if available. Mr. Gardner inquired whether we expect additional Chinese tests soon. Ambassador Thompson and Mr. Marengo replied there would probably not be for some time. Mr. Marengo remarked that there were limits

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on what we could do in exploiting the fallout issue, because the fallout is in fact slight. He suggested that we attempt to play up adverse reactions on the basis of varying local concerns. He questioned the value of pushing for ratification of the test ban. Mr. Fisher pointed out that additional ratification, particularly following the test, helps to build a climate against atmospheric testing or against those who nonetheless test. Ambassador Thompson agreed that this could be useful. Mr. White remarked that by taking the sting out of the Chinese test we had also necessarily reduced the intensity of reaction against it. Mr. Fisher pointed out that even though the military consequences are not great the Chinese can still be castigated for testing in the atmosphere.

Ambassador Thompson emphasized the problem which we have in dealing with calls for ChiCom participation in disarmament talks.

Ambassador Thompson inquired whether we should let the Indians know that we would not object to their obtaining assurances from the Soviets. General Powers drew attention to a report that Admiral Gorshkov, the Soviet naval chief, has just told the Indians that they ought to get nuclear weapons. Mr. Meeker raised the question whether we should concert assurances with the Soviets. Ambassador Thompson stated that, at most, we should sound out the Soviets on their view of the non-proliferation question in the light of the Chinese Communists' nuclear explosion. Mr. Barber suggested we should take the next thirty days for soundings of the positions of others, and then in December decide on courses of action in this field. He noted that the Chiefs are now preparing a paper with a December first deadline on military implications of the Chinese test. Ambassador Thompson noted that there are a number of things we can do in this field which can't wait, though of course we can review positions on the basis of new information. For example, we should proceed with the Indian paper and the paper on UNGA tactics. Mr. Keeny asked whether we should consider assurances to specific countries. Ambassador Thompson stated that he believed we should stick with the general Presidential assurance. Mr. Barber hoped we could take steps to prepare for the possible need to make additional specific assurances. There was general agreement that additional assurances are not needed at the present time, with the possible exception of Taiwan. Ambassador Thompson suggested we should clarify our thinking on possible assurances in the future to the extent that we can in advance of the contingencies. Mr. Keeny asked whether it would be possible and useful to interpret the Presidential assurance to the Indians and others. Mr. Read noted that we could in a circular ask our Missions in the main countries what the effect of the Presidential assurance was, and whether any spelling out were necessary.

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In concluding the meeting, Ambassador Thompson noted that this Committee is handling only the non-proliferation aspects of the consequences of the Chinese nuclear explosion. Nonetheless, he noted again the rising problem of pressure for Chinese Communist participation in disarmament talks. He also noted that the Soviets may have lost interest, or may come to lose interest, in an uninspected ban on the bomb.

G/PM:RLGarthoff:pep  
10-30-64

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## SEVENTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITIES

Tuesday, October 27, 1964, at 11:15 a.m.  
Ambassador Thompson's Conference Room

The following persons attended the meeting:

Department of State

Ambassador Thompson (Chairman)  
 Mr. Raymond L. Garthoff, G/PM  
 Mr. Vincent Baker, S/MF  
 Mr. Wreatham E. Gathright, S/P  
 Mr. Robert H. Johnson, S/P  
 Mr. Lindsay Grant, FE  
 Mr. Turner C. Cameron, Jr., NEA  
 Amb. William C. Trimble, AF  
 Mr. Leonard C. Meeker, L  
 Mr. Richard N. Gardner, IO  
 Mr. William G. Jones, IO  
 Mr. Edwin M. J. Kretzmann, SCI  
 Mr. Rollie White, M  
 Mr. Benjamin H. Read, S/S

United States Information Agency

Mr. Joseph O. Hanson

Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. Louis Marengo

ACDA

Mr. Adrian S. Fisher  
 Mr. Herbert Scoville, Jr.  
 Mr. Jacob D. Beam

White House

Mr. Spurgeon Keeny

Department of Defense

Mr. Arthur Barber, ISA  
 Col. Jack Wagstaff, ISA

Joint Chief of Staff

Gen. G. T. Powers, Joint Staff  
 Col. H. R. Greenlee, Joint Staff

Atomic Energy Commission

Commissioner John G. Palfrey  
 Mr. Allan M. Labowitz

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