Geneva A-Talks: The Second Step?

By Anatole Shub Washington Post Foreign Service

GENEVA, Feb. 18-"A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step," President Kennedy, quoting a Chinese proverb, told the American people upon the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty of Aug. 5, 1963, that banned nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space.

In the Palais des Nations at Geneva next week, there are high hopes that a second step-perhaps more important than the limited test ban-may soon be taken.

The step under consideration by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and other members of the 18-nation disarmament conference that reconvenes Tuesday is a treaty to ban the spread of atomic weapons. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty would endeavor to close the nuclear club at its present five members: the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and Communist China.

Some Reservations

The Geneva sessions may center not on a conventional East-West propaganda battle-since the U.S. and the Soviet Union are in "general understanding" on a treaty-but on efforts by Washington, London and Moscow together to satisfy the non-nuclear nations of the world. Although the interest and attitudes of the non-nuclear states vary considerably, they appear to share (as does nuclear France) a common reservation: a feeling that, while the treaty may prevent other nations from becoming atomic powers, it does nothing to slow down the dangerous arms race between the two atomic giants-America and Russia-or bring the world much closer to actual disarmament.

[The Washington Post's Waverley Root reported from Paris that the French definitely will not sign the treaty. The French position is that pact would simply freeze arms, and that this would not be beneficial to Paris. China is not expected to sign any agreement, either.

Sweden and other nations are urging that the treaty be coupled with some sort of American-Soviet arms freezeincluding, if possible, agreement not to embark on a costly competition in building antiballistic missile systems. Poland is likely to urge renewed consideration for its Rapacki and Gomulka Plans, proposing troop reductions and "de-nuclearization" in central Europe. Other non-nuclear states would like to see at least a token start by Moscow and Washington in reducing nuclear weapons stocks.

Seek a Solution

William C. Foster of the U.S., Alexey Roshchin of the Soviet Union and Britain's Lord Chalfont will attempt to deal with these and other proposals either in the preamble to the treaty, through separate agreements, or both.

Another source of possible controversy is the so-called "control clause," reportedly contained in Article 3 of the U.S. draft treaty to be unveiled Tues-According to reports, the clause day. calls for the supervision of all peaceful nuclear research in the non-nuclear states and nuclear transactions between states by The International Atomic Energy Agency, a United Nations afwith headquarters in Vienna. U.S. diplomats are said to believe such controls necessary in order to obtain Senate ratification of the treaty. The Soviet attitude toward the controls is not vet certain.

The clause has drawn heavy fire in West Germany from conservative leaders previously active in the quest of a multilateral nuclear force. They charge that IAEA inspection would mean "Soviet control of German industry," and thus "a super-Yalta of cosmic proportions."

West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, in an interview with the Hamburg daily Die Welt, suggested that existing nuclear powers be excluded from inspecting non-nuclear states under any control system with the treaty, Reuters reported from Bonn.

["It is obvious that only inspectors should be permitted from those countries which allow themselves to be inspected," he said.]

Soviet Premier Kosygin is not alone





Foster Chalfont ... hope for treaty agreement

in believing that West Germany will ultimately ratify the treaty, whether all of its leaders now wish to or not. However, the prospect of Soviet-American agreement may well stain the unity of Bonn's "Grand Coalition" government, and provide harsh background accompaniment to the quite formal negotiations at Geneva.

Five-Year Search

The search for a nonproliferation treaty began more than five years ago, with unanimous passage by the U.N. General Assembly of an Irish resolution calling for a world agreement that the nuclear powers refuse to give away atomic weapons and non-nuclear states refuse to make or accept them.

For years, in negotiations both at the U.N. and at disarmament conferences. agreement between Washington and Moscow appeared impossible. The main obstacle was the U.S. project to grant West Germany and other interested allies "co-possession" of a multilateral or allied nuclear force. The Soviet Union held any such force to be incompatible with a treaty.

Between December, 1964, and October, 1966, President Johnson slowly smothered Bonn's hopes for a joint force. During the same period, China's nuclear progress and increasingly anti-Soviet policy heightened Soviet interest

in agreement with the U.S.
Thus, despite the Vietnam war, the way was cleared last fall for a series of closed-door American-Soviet talks which are said to have produced "general understanding" on the main lines of a treaty. In the past fortnight, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, British Prime Minister Wilson and Soviet Premier Kosygin have all publicly expressed hope that agreement on a precise text is near.

Sato Casts Doubts on Japan Joining A-Pact

armament.

washington Post Foreign Service | to the conclusion of a non-purposes. Earlier, a spokes-of Japanese opposed to nuclear TOKYO, Feb. 18-Japanese proliferation treaty, which will man for the Japanese Foreign armament, for the country. Premier Eisaku Sato cast doubt today on whether Japan would agree to a nuclear non-would nece next week. But he said nuclear devices for peaceful nuclear weapon and a medium-range rocket delivery sysproliferation treaty if it only he opposed such a pact if the purposes. the nuclear powers and was attention to the interests of not a step toward total dis-

Sato told a press conference non-nuclear nations to contain to nuclear problems. Increas of keeping U.S. nuclear arms that he agreed "in principle" duct atomic tests for peaceful ing debate shows the majority out of the country.

tem within two years of a de-

non-nuclear nations.

nuclear war, Japan is the Japan's basic policy of not de-World's most sensitive nation veloping nuclear weapons and