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A COMMUNICATION FROM THE DELEGATE OF HUNGARY

Note by the President

In response to the request made by the Delegate of Hungary in the last paragraph of a letter which he addressed to the President on 27 September, the text of his letter is reproduced below.

"The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency has the honour to inform you that it received on 24 September 1968 from the Government of the German Democratic Republic the following statement on agenda item "General debate and report of the Board of Governors for 1967/68" of the General Conference addressed to you:

'The Government of the German Democratic Republic is following with great attention the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) - the organization in the UN system which, according to its tasks, is to contribute to the world-wide peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

'In statements to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States meeting in Geneva the Government of the German Democratic Republic has set forth its basic standpoint on the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and related problems. It considers it necessary to submit its views on these problems, which affect all mankind, also to the Twelfth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

I.

I.

'The Government of the German Democratic Republic has, from the very beginning and to the best of its abilities, supported the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and was among the first signatories. It has been guided by the basic consideration that, following the treaties on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests in three mediums and the ban on the use of outer space for military purposes, this Treaty constitutes a further, most essential step towards ending the arms race.

'In the view of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, agreement in international law on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons represents a decisive security factor for every Party to the Treaty.

'Since, today, as many as about 20 States would be in a position, owing to their industrial development, to produce nuclear weapons, and since the number of these countries is constantly increasing, atomic armament by yet another non-nuclear-weapon State would set off a chain reaction involving higher risks, greater insecurity and the grave danger of a nuclear world war breaking out.

'The greater the number of States acceding to the Treaty, the greater the benefit flowing from it for the preservation of world peace.

'The Government of the German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will lead to a considerable improvement in the situation in Europe and is indispensable for guaranteeing security on this continent. Europe is not only run through by the dividing line between the two most powerful military alliances, whose collision would entail a thermonuclear world war: it is also this continent that contains most of the States which, due to their technological and scientific level of development and their financial resources, are the most likely to be in a position to produce nuclear weapons. The use of such weapons on this densely populated continent would have the most devastating consequences for all peoples.

'Consequently, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons also corresponds to the real national interests of the people of the German Democratic Republic and the population in West Germany. Therefore, the Government of the German Democratic Republic regards the signing and ratification of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as an exercise of its sovereignty in the interests of the security of its own people and of peace for all peoples.

'If attempts to prevent a nuclear war by means of arms limitation and disarmament were to fail, the physical existence of numerous peoples and States would be threatened.

'As a State of the German nation, the German Democratic Republic is acting in accordance with the obligation for peace in Europe, which the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic have in terms of the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. This legal duty requires both German States to support the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and any other measure promoting disarmament and security in Europe.

II.

'In the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons the security interests of the Parties are closely bound up with the problems of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Treaty represents the most far-reaching agreement of a universal nature so far concluded on the joint utilization of latest scientific and technological knowledge. This is of great benefit to all Parties, but is above all useful for those countries which require particularly urgently the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy in order to rapidly overcome their economic backwardness caused by colonialism.

'If the Treaty is consistently observed, this will lead to a considerable reduction in the distrust which at present, on account of the military and strategic aspects involved in the utilization of nuclear energy, is still hampering peaceful international co-operation, and will give strong impetus to intensive international division of labour.

'The German Democratic Republic attaches maximum importance to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The new Constitution of the German Democratic Republic prohibits any misuse of science directed against peace, international understanding, against the life and the dignity of man. The Law on the Use of Nuclear Energy in the German Democratic Republic of 28 March 1962 says: "All efforts of the scientists and technicians of the German Democratic Republic working in the field of nuclear energy are directed at using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all mankind."

'Like almost all countries the German Democratic Republic also depends on close co-operation with other States for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. It therefore welcomes the provisions contained in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons under which all Parties to the Treaty are entitled and obligated to take part, without discrimination, in comprehensive international co-operation on the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. A leading role is due to the International Atomic Energy Agency in developing this universal international co-operation.

III.

'The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons provides an opportunity for the non-nuclear weapon States to concentrate their efforts on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and to avoid placing the tremendous burden of nuclear-weapon production upon their peoples.

'All examinations on this question, among them the report by UN Secretary-General U Thant of 10 October 1967 (Doc. A/6858), show clearly how vast are the sums which have to be invested to build up such a weapon system. This is especially true with regard to those States which have not yet reached the scientific and technological level of the most advanced States.

'UN calculations which presume an average expenditure of 5600 million dollars for a small nuclear force which would in any case be a negligible military factor, show that this sum overtops the expenditure on entire annual budgets of a great number of States and entails unbearable burdens

on the national economies of most countries. Experience shows that even in some countries with a higher level of economy, the provision of such sums for nuclear-weapon production causes considerable economic and social difficulties. If there is a further increase in these expenditures, it will be less and less possible to solve the common tasks which must be tackled by the States within the next decades. Among these tasks are effective support for developing countries and, above all, the fight against hunger.

'The Government of the German Democratic Republic strives to continuously increase the prosperity of the people on the basis of the speedy development of production, science and technology. For this reason it welcomes any international arrangement allowing to employ as many material and intellectual resources as possible for the peaceful development of the national economy and international economic relations.

IV.

'The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons drafted by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has by now been signed by more than 70 States, among them military allies of West Germany. But the West German Federal Republic delays signing. West German Federal Chancellor Dr. Kurt Georg Kiesinger formulated the motives behind that behaviour as follows:

"What makes the position of the Federal Republic differ from those of other States is that we must overcome what is called the status quo. That is to say that to overcome the status quo is one of our binding tasks. This is not true of other countries."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 18 July 1968)

'Thus the West German Federal Republic dissociates itself from the policies of all other States. What makes it differ from other States is that it is the only State in Europe which does not recognize the territorial status quo and wants to revise it, by force, if necessary. Therefore it seeks to gain control over nuclear weapons and opposes the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

'The Government of the West German Federal Republic tries to cover up its attitude vis-à-vis the Treaty by saying it renounced nuclear weapons as long ago as 1954. But Federal Chancellor Kiesinger said already on 17 February 1967 that that "renunciation" referred only to "producing nuclear weapons on our own territory". He added:

"This new Treaty renounces much more, thus the somewhat theoretical case of producing nuclear weapons on territories of other countries or with these other countries or this other country; it also renounces the acceptance of nuclear weapons which one of the existing nuclear powers would perhaps be ready to give us. And it is also clear that, legally, the obligation goes far beyond that ..."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 21 February 1967)

'That means that the Government of the West German Federal Republic has never really renounced nuclear weapons and even today does not want to, but seeks access to nuclear weapons and prepares for their production - alone or with other countries.

'Speaking of those "other countries" the West German Government has in mind mainly the Republic of South Africa and Israel, i.e., States with which it has co-operated in the nuclear field for years.

'The West German Federal Republic's resistance to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is especially directed against the Treaty's provisions on the control of fissionable material. The Treaty provides for a uniform and universal control in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and its safeguards system. This system is well-tested and has proved effective. It is applied to quite a number of States to the full satisfaction of the participants.

'But the West German Federal Republic wants to avoid that uniform international control accepted by the majority of States. It insists on the control being exercised in the Federal Republic by the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). EURATOM, however, is nothing but a select group of six NATO members among which the West German Federal Republic strives for domination. So control by EURATOM would finally boil down to self-control by the Federal Republic and the preclusion of a genuine and trustworthy international control.

'This attitude of the Government of the West German Federal Republic is only admitting the conclusion that it wants to continue its preparations - which are already in an advanced stage - for the domestic production of nuclear weapons, undisturbed by genuine and effective control.

'The Government of the West German Federal Republic considers the creation of a so-called European Nuclear Force another way of gaining access to nuclear weapons.

'The West German Government proceeds from the idea that a Western European nuclear force would enable the Federal Republic to give emphasis to its aggressive aims to change the territorial status quo and the frontiers in Europe.

'In all that, the Government of the West German Federal Republic seeks to give a need for "increased security" as one of the reasons for its resistance to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. But nobody threatens the security of the Federal Republic. The peoples of Europe are threatened solely by the Federal Republic and its striving for control over nuclear weapons. The security for the peoples of Europe requires the renunciation by the West German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic of access to nuclear weapons in any form.

'With this policy the West German Federal Republic is violating the principles of peaceful international co-operation as laid down in the United Nations Charter, and also the declared aims of the International Atomic Energy Agency. As a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency it is thus hampering the IAEA in fulfilling its peaceful tasks, which can only be detrimental to the organization, its Member States and the West German people as well.

V.

'The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is causally connected with the aims and the tasks of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

'The coming into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons opens up great prospects for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, thus widening the possible scope of activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency. World-wide and unrestricted international co-operation for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy is in the interest of both the industrialized and the developing States on all continents.

'In this connection the Government of the German Democratic Republic considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Twelfth General Conference once again to the need for universality of the IAEA. The possibilities of fully developing peaceful international research into nuclear energy created by the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons make it even more pressing that all States whose policies are in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter participate in the work of the IAEA and are admitted to membership as equals.

'The control tasks the IAEA has been entrusted with under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons extend the obligations and tasks of the organization. A Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is ready to fulfil the obligations deriving from the Treaty and to conclude the envisaged control arrangements with the International Atomic Energy Agency. It has repeatedly expressed the view, lastly in its Statement to the Tenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency in connection with the "Safeguards System of the Organization (1965)", that a system of controls on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can be an appropriate step to counteract the further spread of nuclear weapons. (Document GC(X)/INF/91).

'Reaffirming this standpoint and in fulfilment of the obligations deriving from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Government of the German Democratic Republic underlines its views that as an international organization the International Atomic Energy Agency enjoys the trust and has the possibilities to fully perform the control duties ensuing from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

'Berlin, 20 September 1968'

"I would like to ask you to instruct the Secretariat to distribute as a conference document the present letter containing the original text of the statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic addressed to you."

(signed) "Prof. Richárd Kolos
Delegate of the Hungarian
People's Republic"

