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Chairman: Mr. Piero VINCI (Italy).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Galindo Pohl (El Salvador) took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEMS 27, 28, 29, 94 and 96

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (continued) (A/7189-DC/231; A/C.1/L.443, L.444 and Add.1, L.445)

Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (continued) (A/7189-DC/231)

Elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (continued) (A/7189-DC/231)

Memorandum of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament (continued) (A/7134 and A/7223; A/C.1/L.443)

Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Final Document of the Conference (continued) (A/7224 and Add.1, A/7277, A/7327)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*translated from Spanish*): Before giving the floor to the first speaker on my list for this afternoon I should like to draw the attention of members

of the Committee to the fact that an amendment by the delegation of Malta to the draft resolution sponsored by Canada, Denmark and other States [A/C.1/L.444 and Add.1] has been circulated in document A/C.1/L.445.

2. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, as I am speaking in this Committee for the first time, I should like to take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to yourself and the other officers on your election to your posts. I sincerely wish you success in presiding over the work of this important Committee.

3. My Government's position on disarmament and related problems has been repeatedly stated in this Committee, so that I need not enlarge on the fact that the question of disarmament concerns the vital interests of all mankind, and that the achievement of disarmament is the best way of ensuring a lasting peace and saving the present and succeeding generations from a devastating thermonuclear war.

4. There is also no need for me to dwell on the economic benefits which disarmament could bring with it to all peoples.

5. I would, however, cite one interesting fact in this connexion.

"Economists have calculated that during the first half of the twentieth century \$4 million million was spent on military needs. If this colossal sum had been used for the needs of peaceful construction, it would have been sufficient to feed the entire population of the globe free of charge during that half century and to eliminate the housing crisis everywhere".¹

6. According to UNESCO data, world military expenditure in 1967 amounted to roughly \$225 thousand million. If we take into account the recent rapid growth of appropriations for military purposes, the \$4 million million I mentioned would probably fall far short of covering such expenditure for just the first two decades of the second half of our century.

7. Thus we see that disarmament would release vast funds, which could be used to combat hunger, poverty and illiteracy and to accelerate the development of backward regions.

8. Since the Genoa Conference of 1922, when the Soviet Union first raised the question of general disarmament in

¹ O. Grinev and B. Pavlov, "Twenty-Third Session of the United Nations: Problems and Prospects", *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn'*, 1968, No. 10, p. 93.

practical terms, with the intention of actually achieving it, this problem—for nearly half a century—has been discussed at different international gatherings, and in an increasingly concerned and specific manner. This reflects the fact that mankind is vitally interested in disarmament and that the socialist countries and all other peace-loving States, undeterred by the difficulties involved, have been making a mighty effort to achieve this ardently wished-for goal.

9. The struggle for peace and disarmament has always collided with the aggressive designs of imperialist forces. The accelerating arms race in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other NATO members and the military psychosis they are now fostering, the very essence of which will be found in the communiqué issued by the NATO Council's Brussels Session, are calculated further to heighten international tension and to set up new obstacles in the way of disarmament. The peace-loving forces must therefore make a maximum effort if they are to prevent a frenzied arms race on a world scale and avert the threat of another world war.

10. In its long and arduous struggle for general and complete disarmament, mankind has nevertheless been able to make its first important gains in recent times, or, more precisely, in the course of the last five years.

11. The Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was signed in 1963, and it was followed by the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*].

12. The opening for signature in July 1968 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] was yet another important step towards restraining the nuclear arms race and towards nuclear disarmament.

13. My Government was among the first to sign these important documents. It did so in the firm belief that disarmament must begin with the limitation and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons, as the most dangerous means of mass destruction known to man. Naturally, that does not mean that we underestimate the importance of measures to reduce conventional armaments or of such questions as the elimination of foreign military bases and the creation of nuclear-free zones.

14. The above-mentioned treaties strengthen the peoples' belief that, despite great objective and subjective difficulties, it is nevertheless possible, step by step, to reach agreement on measures to limit the arms race and to come closer to the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons.

15. More than eighty States, in signing the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, have now undertaken "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament and on a treaty of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control". Solid gains have thus been made which furnish a sound reason for increasing our efforts to achieve the above-mentioned goals.

16. Like many other delegations, my delegation believes that it is our first duty to bring the new Treaty into effect by rapidly ratifying it. We associate ourselves with the urgent appeals made to those countries which have not yet signed the Treaty to give proof of their wisdom and to discharge their duty to themselves and to the world.

17. The Memorandum of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament [*A/7134*], which is before this Committee for consideration, charts the right course towards further effective measures to achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

18. The Memorandum puts forward a number of constructive proposals aimed at giving effect to provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) calling for an immediate search for effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament.

19. One urgent task set forward in this document is the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. It is difficult to over-estimate the danger of the weapons of mass destruction. The experts' report on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons—a document no one can read without horror and consternation—comes to the conclusion that the sum total of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons is more than sufficient to wipe out the entire human race.

20. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, a measure favoured by the overwhelming majority of States, would therefore be a strong guarantee of national security. It may be said without exaggeration that when a convention on this subject has been concluded, mankind will have gone more than half way towards nuclear disarmament and opened up vast prospects for peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

21. My delegation believes that the idea that virtually the only effective way of minimizing the risk of nuclear war is the possession of means of so-called mutual deterrence is extremely dangerous. Those who take such a position are, to put it mildly, neglectful of the security of mankind.

22. In these circumstances it is vitally necessary to give legal force to the General Assembly's 1961 Declaration, which terms the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons a crime against humanity [*resolution 1653 (XVI)*].

23. For this reason, my delegation became a co-sponsor of the General Assembly resolution of 8 December 1967 [*2289 (XXII)*], which, *inter alia*, urges all States to make new efforts aimed at expediting the solution of the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and of the conclusion of an appropriate international convention.

24. This resolution also recommends that negotiations should be undertaken concerning the conclusion of an appropriate convention through the convening of an international conference, in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, or directly between States.

25. As may be deduced from our experience of working out the treaties on banning nuclear-weapon tests in three

media and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the main preparatory work leading to the conclusion of a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons would no doubt be done by negotiations among States, primarily among the nuclear Powers, and also in the debates of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Nevertheless, my delegation attaches great importance to the provision contained in the above-mentioned resolution concerning the convening of an international conference.

26. Such a conference, we feel, would be of great practical importance in expediting the preparation of an agreed draft of a convention. We therefore believe that the General Assembly should decide to convene an international conference on the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons at an early date, or not later than 1970.

27. Another important question relating to a limitation of the arms race is the prohibition of underground nuclear testing. My delegation shares the view that it would be less difficult to reach agreement on this matter than on a number of other questions relating to disarmament. In fact, all that is necessary is for the parties concerned to show their goodwill and to agree to prohibit underground nuclear-weapon tests in the interests of general security.

28. In my delegation's opinion, disquisitions on the need for on-the-spot international inspection to control the observance of a treaty on the subject are motivated by political rather than technical considerations.

29. We all know from experience that the nationally available seismological devices are fully capable of detecting underground nuclear explosions. At unofficial meetings held in Sweden this year, experts from ten countries reached the conclusion that it is possible to detect and identify underground nuclear explosions and distinguish them from earthquakes without on-the-spot inspection. It is stated in an official communiqué on these meetings that the improvement of seismological installations and of the exchange of seismological data and methods of processing them have brought about a new situation as regards control of testing.

30. A number of representatives, including the representative of Sweden, both in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and here in the First Committee, have advanced some interesting considerations about control of underground testing without on-the-spot inspection.

31. Bearing all this in mind, the General Assembly should once again urgently invite the Eighteen-Nation Committee to undertake forthwith an active examination of the question of banning underground nuclear-weapon tests with a view to overcoming the obstacles in the way of agreement, and to search for a generally acceptable formula settling the question of control. The solution proposed must, of course, be in the interests of limiting the nuclear arms race and safeguarding the security of mankind.

32. In speaking of the important measures leading to disarmament, I must not forget the means of delivery of nuclear weapons. The danger of a world nuclear catastrophe is directly proportional to the technical capabilities of missiles and other means of delivery of nuclear warheads,

primarily the strategic means of delivery. In contrast, the limitation and, above all, elimination of such means of delivery would make the nuclear warheads virtually unusable.

33. Accordingly, world opinion welcomed the news that the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the United States have agreed to exchange views regarding mutual limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons.

34. My delegation is pleased at the U.S.S.R. Government's readiness to begin forthwith a serious exchange of views on the subject. This readiness was reaffirmed by the U.S.S.R. representative in our Committee last week [*1606th meeting*].

35. We trust that the United States Government will keep its promise in this regard, as made in President Johnson's communication to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.²

36. My delegation feels that the question of ensuring strict compliance by all States with the Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons is raised most opportunely in the U.S.S.R. Memorandum. The matter is certainly of topical interest at a time when the United States continues to use poison gases and other toxic chemical substances in South Viet-Nam, killing many thousands of people and poisoning the entire environment—vegetation, water, air, food-stuffs, etc. There is also evidence that the South African colonialists are using toxic chemical substances against African patriots.

37. According to reports in the world press, the chemical and bacteriological arms race in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and certain other Western countries has been greatly accelerated. In the United States, for example, direct expenditure on research and production of these deadly weapons has nearly tripled between 1960 and 1964, and continues to rise every year.

38. There is some danger that chemical and bacteriological weapons, which can be produced with relatively simple techniques and installations and are therefore less costly, may spread everywhere without hindrance. Even now, for these and various other reasons, certain quarters in the West are showing great interest in expanding the production of mass-destruction weapons of this type.

39. My delegation therefore believes that the question of compliance with the provisions of the 1925 Geneva Protocol is of considerable topical interest. It welcomed Poland's initiative, which formed the basis of the recommendation of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that the General Assembly at this session should set up a group of experts to prepare a report for the Secretary-General on the effects of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

40. We fully support draft resolution A/C.1/L.444 submitted by Poland and nine other countries, as it would

² See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1967 and 1968*, document DC/231, annex I, part 4.

initiate practical action by the United Nations in preventing the use of such weapons of mass destruction. My delegation is ready to associate itself with this draft resolution.

41. Discussion of the experts' report at international gatherings and its broad dissemination through various information media would do much to mobilize public opinion against chemical and bacteriological weapons.

42. The Mongolian delegation has followed with great interest the debates in this Committee on the question of the peaceful exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction of coastal States.

43. Among this complex of problems my delegation, like many other delegations, regards as most important the timely elaboration of principles and rules of law governing the activities of States in these vast reaches, which cover five sevenths of the entire surface of the globe. These principles and rules of law must be so phrased as to leave no loopholes for military utilization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of existing territorial waters.

44. My delegation supports the proposal made by many other delegations that in the course of the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor special account should be taken of the interests of developing countries and also of land-locked States.

45. My delegation will vote for the draft resolution calling for a decade of oceanographic exploration [*A/C.1/L.429/Rev.2 and Add.1*], to begin in 1970, and for the draft resolution calling for a study of the question of preventing possible pollution of the seas and oceans as a result of the exploration and exploitation of marine resources [*A/C.1/L.431/Rev.1*].

46. My delegation will explain its Government's position with regard to the other disarmament questions included in our agenda at the appropriate time.

47. The CHAIRMAN (*translated from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Mongolia for his congratulations addressed to the Chairman of the Committee and the other officers.

48. Mr. KOLO (Nigeria): As this is the first opportunity that I have had to do so, I should like to extend to Mr. Vinci of Italy the sincere felicitations of the Nigerian delegation on his election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. Although, at the beginning of our work, he requested that delegations should dispense with expressions of well-deserved tribute to the members of the Bureau, my delegation cannot but place on record our appreciation of the skilful and brilliant manner in which the business of this Committee is being conducted under the able chairmanship of an eminent personage. We should also like to extend to you, Sir, and other members of the Bureau our sincere acknowledgement of the good work which you have carried out so far and to offer you our support. The Nigerian delegation will continue to co-operate fully with the Chairman and the Bureau in the course of our proceedings in this Committee.

49. Since our last meeting, at the resumed session of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly in the

spring of 1968, the Assembly has, by a large majority, commended the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This Treaty has now been signed by eighty countries, in spite of criticisms of a number of its provisions. No delegation, I believe, has doubted that the Treaty adequately prevents non-nuclear-weapon States from acquiring nuclear weapons, and the bulk of the criticism has been related mainly to the inadequacy of the restraint and obligations expected of the nuclear Powers.

50. My delegation fully sympathizes with and shares the view that improvements could be made, and in fact should be made, to strengthen the security guarantees and the obligations expected of the nuclear Powers in the sphere of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy. That is why my delegation participated actively in the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States held recently in Geneva. That Conference went a long way towards clearing our minds about the issues involved in nuclear disarmament and ended in a number of important resolutions which are before the present session of the General Assembly. It was also clear, during the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, that very little progress can be made in the field of nuclear disarmament without the co-operation and active participation of the nuclear Powers.

51. This Committee must, of course, now seriously consider the measures that need to be adopted in the light of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States as contained in the Final Document of that Conference [*A/7277 and Corr.1*]. It is important, and even imperative, that the positive results of the Conference should be translated urgently into a meaningful programme of action. My delegation appreciates the fact that views are likely to vary about the best method of following up the various ideas and proposals which emanated from the Conference. We, for our part, would take the view that what is most vital is that this follow-up action should be organized in such a manner as to concentrate efforts on increased action and the attainment of results rather than complicate the procedures for achieving progress.

52. It is of fundamental importance that any decisions now reached regarding the process for continuing the work of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States should be geared mainly to articulating the clear decisions and conclusions reached by the Conference. In our view, the conclusions of the Conference, in different respects, can best be pursued within the framework of existing appropriate bodies and institutions within the international family of the United Nations.

53. It should also be borne in mind that the further definition of arrangements regarding guarantees of security for non-nuclear-weapon countries, as well as assurances of unimpeded access by them to nuclear technology for peaceful uses, can hardly be isolated now—somewhat artificially—from the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, especially article V of the Treaty.

54. During the past eighteen months my Government, through its delegation at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, has consistently held the view that the Treaty on the Non-Prolifera-

tion of Nuclear Weapons is a contribution which the non-nuclear-weapon States were called upon to make towards nuclear disarmament. Thus our aim has always been that this step would be followed rapidly by further steps towards general and complete disarmament with complete nuclear disarmament as a priority measure in view of the grave danger to all Powers, nuclear or non-nuclear, of atomic warfare. It was for that reason that we welcomed the agreement, announced on 1 July of this year, on bilateral discussions to be held between the two super-Powers on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles.

55. Although this step, if and when it materializes, is an admirable one, we still feel that this is not enough in view of the seriousness and urgency of the matter. The report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, however, has given some general indication, both in the nuclear and the non-nuclear field, of subjects that could form the basis of its future work. It is the view of my delegation that the broadness of this agenda, whilst having its good points, has the disadvantage of not focusing attention on the more urgent matters that need to be actively pursued in the field of nuclear disarmament.

56. In this connexion, my delegation, along with the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Arab Republic, have stressed their deep concern that it has not so far been possible to reach agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The General Assembly has, as far back as 1965, adopted resolutions on this issue. The latest resolution—2343 (XXII) of 19 December 1967—not only urges adherence to the partial test-ban Treaty by States which have so far not done so, but specifically requests that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should take up the question of the elaboration of a comprehensive test-ban treaty “as a matter of urgency”.

57. My delegation feels that this is a subject of the highest priority that should be undertaken by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We are grateful to the Government of Sweden for its interest and for the work it has done, particularly in connexion with seismic methods of monitoring underground explosions, an important subject for the success of any comprehensive test-ban treaty. But other means exist to overcome this problem of verification and the United Kingdom proposal³ is also worthy of consideration. We feel that what is lacking is the will to pursue the matter seriously, and my delegation will lend its support to any proposal that would lead to an early elaboration and conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

58. We are aware that a comprehensive test-ban treaty alone would not resolve the issues connected with nuclear disarmament. As long as nuclear Powers continue to retain large stocks of these weapons, the danger of a nuclear war will continue to exist. We do not share the view that an international convention prohibiting the use of these weapons alone provides any security, because so long as these weapons exist the danger of their use will still remain.

59. My delegation believes that a ban on tests should be followed by measures to liquidate existing nuclear arsenals and, in areas where these do not exist, the creation of nuclear-free zones. But until complete nuclear disarmament is achieved, nuclear-free zones can only exist if nuclear Powers respect their status. The Tlatelolco Treaty, establishing the area of Latin America as a nuclear-free zone, may be an encouraging start but obviously its effectiveness will be determined by the attitudes of the nuclear Powers. We in Africa have always advocated the establishment of a nuclear-free zone and, as far back as 1963, the Summit Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa in its resolution D resolved: “to affirm and respect the principle of declaring Africa a denuclearized zone”.

60. But in disregard of this solemn declaration of African States to preserve their continent from the menace of nuclear weapons, we find that the territorial integrity and political independence of African countries continue to come under the heavy pressure of Powers which can wield the strength of nuclear capability. In many cases today in Africa, many countries find their existence being undermined and subjected to the dangers of those who possess the nuclear threat. For example, South Africa, which has not appended its signature to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, has openly threatened the security of some African States. The whole situation in southern Africa, which has been characterized as a threat to international peace and security, is bound to be further complicated by the attendant danger of South Africa as a potential nuclear State. We would want to be reassured that the far-reaching desire of African countries to maintain their continent as a nuclear-free area will not be exploited by those neo-colonialist forces which are seeking a twentieth century re-enactment of colonial domination and imperial enterprise.

61. I now turn to the proposals relating to the non-nuclear disarmament measures. A number of proposals have been made, including the elaboration of a treaty for the prevention of chemical and bacteriological warfare and regional arms limitation measures. We believe that these are very important subjects that require our attention, but we cannot place them in the same priority category as nuclear disarmament. We believe that the other half, that is, the non-nuclear Powers, have gone a long way, where they accept the non-proliferation Treaty, in contributing to progress towards world disarmament. Some evidence of political will from the nuclear Powers is necessary if only to reassure us of their seriousness on the important issue of disarmament. The non-nuclear States cannot be blamed if they appear cynical about pursuing the problem of biological weapons immediately after a non-proliferation Treaty which, as I mentioned earlier, was principally one of restricting horizontal proliferation. If we agree that the threat of nuclear warfare is the greatest danger to humanity, our priorities must relate to urgent steps to conclude a convention that would prevent the danger of nuclear warfare. Other issues relating to regional arms limitations may be of importance but certainly not on the same level as the limitation and consequent elimination of the potential danger of nuclear warfare.

62. In the speech made by the representative of the U.S.S.R. [1606th meeting], he mentioned the Soviet

³ *Ibid.*, sect. 8.

Union's draft resolution [A/C.1/L.443] referring to his Government's memorandum concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament [A/7134]. This is broadly in line with the views we have already expressed both here and at Geneva. We however consider that the priorities, if the list is in that order, are not such as we would consider ideal in present circumstances. We of course agree with the importance of all the items mentioned, provided, for reasons we have already stated here, the priorities are adjusted to meet the more pressing and urgent needs on the issue.

63. I have endeavoured in this statement to restate the general views of my Government on the disarmament issues of which this Committee is now seized. We of course will continue to follow this debate with the keenest interest and seriously to consider and discuss with others the various proposals which will be put before us at this session on the several items. My delegation firmly believes that disarmament is the crucial issue of international relations today and we cannot afford to relax our common efforts towards its early attainment. We have all expressed our united determination under the Charter to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. By accelerating our endeavours towards general and complete disarmament in our lifetime, we shall be preserving this generation to enable it to fulfil its commitment to posterity. This is certainly not a task on which we can afford to be complacent.

64. The CHAIRMAN (*translated from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Nigeria for his congratulations addressed to the Chairman of the Committee and the other officers.

65. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Since I am speaking in the Committee for the first time, allow me to express my felicitations to the Chairman and to the other members of the Bureau on their unanimous and well-deserved elections to the positions that they now hold. The other members of delegations who have spoken before me have paid you well-earned tributes and at this late hour I can only complement the remarks which they have made in this regard.

66. The Charter of our Organization declares in no uncertain terms that the aim of the United Nations is to seek peace on earth; thereafter, the Charter goes on to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to seek ways of creating human conditions in which peace, freedom and progress can reign supreme. These words were in no way intended to form part of a fairy tale, but hopes which should motivate all human endeavours for peace here on earth.

67. My Government foreswore to uphold these aspirations of nations on joining the United Nations in 1964. There should be no doubt, therefore, in the mind of anybody as to the position of the Zambian Government on the all-important question of general and complete disarmament.

68. My delegation takes comfort in the feeling that in the Charter of our Organization we can find a common factor for more positive action towards disarmament. I must, however, express my delegation's concern that in spite of

these common factors and the obligations that all Member States have under the Charter the world today is regrettably torn along ideological lines and that the nuclear giants, the Soviet Union and the United States, have their war machines precariously balanced in Asia, the Middle East and Europe.

69. The position seems to be fixed since the end of the Second World War, the horrors of which prompted the birth of our Organization. We are told that henceforth peace would depend on mutual deterrence between East and West. What kind of peace is this, one may ask, and what do we think of it?

70. I would be making an understatement if I said that the world is concerned at the state of affairs today. The world seems to reject nuclear deterrence as a basis of permanent peace. If the answer does not allow any nuclear deterrence—and my delegation does not believe in this rather negative arrangement—then we have to look elsewhere for an answer which will ensure the total absence of these deadly weapons of mass destruction. Peaceful countries in the world today look at general and complete disarmament as a positive step towards lasting peace.

71. My delegation believes that any meaningful search for peace through disarmament must begin with universal heart searching. This will obviously necessitate full participation of the People's Republic of China in the deliberations of the United Nations. The People's Republic of China is a nuclear Power; it happens to be the most populous nation on earth; it also happens to be an Asian Power. As such the United Nations cannot afford to ignore its presence in the world as a whole. This fact became even more permanent in our deliberations on the non-proliferation Treaty which stands undermined as long as the People's Republic of China remains outside the framework of the world body.

72. Zambia's position vis-à-vis the non-proliferation Treaty is of course well-known. It is not my intention to rehearse my Government's stand on the Treaty because our views were made very clear during the general debate in the United Nations which preceded the Treaty, but I will not be the first to draw parallels between the subject of disarmament and the existing provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty. We cannot discuss disarmament without making direct reference to the existing provisions of the Treaty. I must make it quite clear that in Zambia's opinion, far from being an adequate instrument of reducing nuclear proliferation on the vertical plane, where the subject is most lively, the non-proliferation Treaty forestalls the development of nuclear capabilities in those countries where the subject is still merely academic. In other words the Treaty's effect is to curb the proliferation of nuclear States, but not to curb the nuclear weapons themselves. We must not forget or lose sight of the fact that it is failure to achieve general and complete disarmament rather than non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which today undermines the security of our nations, nuclear as well as non-nuclear, big or small, rich or poor States.

73. When Zambia speaks of disarmament it speaks as a country in the front line of one of the most potentially explosive areas of confrontation in international politics. We in Zambia are surrounded by reactionary and racist

minority régimes which have stationed their occupation forces on our borders with a clear intention of committing acts of aggression. The danger to Zambia is therefore not academic; it is a real danger. We could quite easily have appended our signature to the non-proliferation Treaty and pretended that our security was assured, but the fact is that a signature appended to the non-proliferation Treaty as it now stands does not in our opinion guarantee the security of Zambia nor of any other country, nuclear or non-nuclear. It is, therefore, imperative to find a formula, and I sincerely hope we do find one which will inspire confidence in all States seeking protection under it.

74. Article III of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency provides that the Agency shall

“... encourage and assist research on, and development and practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful uses...”.

I wish to register my delegation's disquiet and concern at the apparent abrogation of this provision by articles III, IV and V of the non-proliferation Treaty which confine these benefits to “parties to the Treaty”. We feel that the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty should not prejudice the application of the provisions of the Statute in this field. To date certain principles have guided the Agency in channelling assistance for economic development to developing countries. These are that assistance shall be rendered according to the agreements with the Governments concerned on the basis of requests received from them, that the assistance furnished shall not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and that this assistance shall be provided as far as possible in the form in which that particular country desires it. My delegation hopes that these important principles will continue to guide the International Atomic Energy Agency and that the non-proliferation Treaty provisions, and those of supplementary agreements, will not prejudice their application by allowing nuclear strategy politics to influence decisions on technical assistance to developing countries like my own which are not a party to the non-proliferation Treaty.

75. I look forward to a time when the United Nations will succeed in reorienting the world so that war, the armaments race, over-kill and the Power blocs will become terrors of the past.

76. My delegation notes with gratification that the Zorin-Stevenson agreement of 1961—the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations⁴—in subparagraphs 3 (b) and 3 (c) aims at:

“The elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction, and the cessation of the production of such weapons;

“The elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction.”

The agreement goes on to state in paragraph 6 that:

“All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that

all parties are honouring their obligations... [The] international disarmament organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.”

77. Research on the stockpiles of fissile materials produced by the nuclear Powers today has revealed that they amount to about 400,000 million tons of TNT, which works out at roughly 100 tons of explosive for every human being alive. In other words, there is an “over-kill” capacity of something like 100 times. If those fissile materials were converted for use in nuclear power stations, the reduction in the cost of nuclear power would be about 20 per cent, sufficient to make the use of such power feasible in most developing countries and to assist substantially in delaying the exhaustion of the world's supply of fossil fuel.

78. The world-wide use of nuclear fuels, again, necessitates an international inspection organization to keep an inventory of all nuclear violations in order to check on the alarming easy conversion of plutonium from large power reactors into nuclear weapons. In the May 1968 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, page 6, a controversial article implies that the United States agreement with the Soviet Union on a complete nuclear test-ban treaty has been possible for some time, and that conscience pricking by non-nuclear nations might be the most effective way of expediting a formal agreement.

79. It is important, when talking of disarmament, to bear in mind the significance of localized wars and the need to reduce tensions by peaceful means. In that connexion I should like to refer to the Soviet memorandum [A/7134] which lists a number of subjects on which the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament might negotiate treaties. It is clear that the arms race is increasing at an alarming rate, and perhaps we might begin with that and then go on to other, related issues.

80. We also welcome other suggestions made in the Soviet memorandum such as: measures for the cessation of production of nuclear weapons and the reduction and elimination of stockpiles; restriction and subsequent reduction of vehicles for the delivery of strategic weapons; prohibition of flights by bomber aircraft carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers; prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests—a subject that was not included in the Moscow partial test-ban Treaty; prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons; and measures for regional disarmament, such as the denuclearization of all regions, as has been done in Latin America.

81. We believe that those and other measures could go a long way towards reducing tension in the world today and, therefore, bring about the peace that the world so badly needs. In that regard we would also advocate a meaningful method for the elimination of racist and minority régimes in southern Africa and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, because it is clear to us that those régimes, by denying the people their right to self-determination and independence, are certainly opting for a racial conflict which will endanger world peace and security.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

82. The United Nations does not lack ideals of peace or disarmament; rather, the world body lacks a good number of nations determined enough to place peace above everything else. Others have tended to use the United Nations to further their national interests, which are incompatible with the principles enshrined in the Charter. In order that the United Nations may make progress on disarmament we must move deliberately towards the following measures:

(a) A reduction of tensions by peacefully reducing localized war situations, such as the Korean, Viet-Nameese, Middle Eastern and Southern African situations;

(b) The creation of an effective international peace-keeping machinery;

(c) The conclusion of treaties on questions such as those raised in the Soviet memorandum, and on other related subjects; and

(d) The creation of an effective international inspectorate.

83. Those processes have in fact already been set in motion. It is therefore my earnest hope that all Member nations will co-operate to the full with the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in its efforts.

84. I should like to conclude with an ardent appeal, as a representative of a small State with no nuclear weapons or nuclear capabilities, to the major Powers to show more concern for our peace and to abandon policies which undermine our efforts for the realization of lasting peace, which can only come through disarmament.

85. The CHAIRMAN (*translated from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Zambia for his congratulations addressed to the Chairman of the Committee and the other officers.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.