

**SPEECH BY HUANG HUA,  
CHAIRMAN OF  
THE CHINESE DELEGATION,  
AT A PLENARY MEETING  
OF THE TENTH  
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**Speech by Huang Hua,  
Chairman of the Chinese Delegation,  
at a Plenary Meeting of the Tenth  
Special Session of the United Nations  
General Assembly**

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FOREIGN MINISTER, AT A PLENARY MEETING  
OF THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
ON DISARMAMENT**

(May 29, 1978)

Mr. President,

The present special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament has been called on the proposal of the non-aligned and other small and medium-sized countries. Its convocation is a reflection of the strong dissatisfaction of the third world and the many small and medium-sized countries with the intensified arms race between the superpowers and with their fierce rivalry for hegemony, as well as a reflection of the eager desire of these countries to eliminate the danger of war. The Chinese delegation is ready to join the representatives of other countries in discussing disarmament, which is a question of common concern to all countries of the world, and hopes that this session will make a positive contribution to the peoples' cause of unity against hegemonism in defence of world peace.

In recent years, there has been an upsurge in the anti-hegemonist struggle in which the third world plays the role of the main force. The people of all countries, and the countries and peoples of the third world in particular, have waged an unre-

mitting struggle against the policies of aggression and war of the superpowers and have dealt heavy blows at them. Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia expelled Soviet experts or resolutely abrogated their treaties with the Soviet Union in defence of their sovereignty and national dignity. The people of Zaire, after successfully repelling last year an invasion engineered by the Soviet Union and executed by a force of mercenaries, are now valiantly repulsing a new invasion of mercenaries engineered by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The African countries are strong in their demand for an end to superpower interference in the Horn of Africa. The Panamanian people have won a new victory in regaining sovereignty over the canal. There is a mounting struggle by the people in and around the Indian Ocean against the military presence of the superpowers in that region. The struggle of the third world countries in defence of their maritime rights and their struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order have continued to make headway. The Japanese people are putting up a strong opposition to Soviet hegemonist behaviour and insisting on the recovery of their northern territories. There is a growing tendency among the second world countries in Western Europe and other regions towards unity against hegemonism. All these developments amply show that the main trend in the international arena is the joining of all forces for an intensified fight against superpower hegemonism.

Meanwhile, the two superpowers, each with its immense military capabilities, are locked in an intense struggle on a global scale in which social-imperialism, that late-comer in the race, is pertinaciously taking the offensive. It is rapidly expanding its armaments of all kinds with a view to achieving military supremacy over its rival; at the same time, it is seizing spheres of influence and expanding on a world-wide scale. One superpower is bent on expansion; the other has its vested interests to protect. As the struggle intensifies, they are bound to fight it out some day. The

tense confrontation in Europe, the turmoil in the Middle East, and the gathering storm in Africa are all visible indications of the growth of factors for war. It is in face of the ever-growing menace of war and with a view to safeguarding their independence and security that the third world and the many small and medium-sized countries are opposing the superpowers' contention for hegemony and at the same time strongly demanding that the superpowers stop their arms race and disarm. This is a fully just demand which deserves wide support.

Mr. President,

There is an old Chinese saying, "Review the past and you'll know better the present." So it may not be unprofitable to review the history of disarmament as we discuss the question today.

Hundreds of meetings relating to disarmament have been held since the end of World War II. And from the start of the disarmament decade of the 1970s, disarmament negotiations under a host of names have run on almost without letup, from which there have come out quite a number of disarmament statements, declarations, agreements, resolutions and treaties of one sort or another. Yet, the arms race gets more heated, and the danger of war keeps growing. Why?

As everyone knows the third world and other small and medium-sized countries have put forward many reasonable proposals and suggestions for disarmament. These include the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the destruction of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, the prohibition of all chemical and biological weapons, the prohibition of the establishment of military bases and stationing of troops on foreign soil, etc. If these proposals and suggestions were put into effect, they would undoubtedly help consolidate international peace and security. But on the issue of disarmament the superpowers have always shown duplicity, saying one thing but doing quite another. They preach disarma-

ment but are actually carrying on arms expansion on a massive scale. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union and the United States issued a joint statement in 1961 listing eight principles as a basis for negotiations on disarmament, in which they spoke of "general and complete disarmament," peddling it in the most fascinating terms. Now, 17 years have passed. Have they put into practice the principles advertised in their joint statement? No, not even a single one. Facts are the superpowers are not at all working for general and complete disarmament, but for general and complete arms expansion. Suffice it to point out that the military expenditures of both the Soviet Union and the United States have shot up. These were respectively 20 billion and 40 billion dollars in 1961, but reached more than 120 billion and 100 billion in 1977. Their spendings roughly equal the sum total of the military expenditures of all the 150-odd other countries. Social-imperialism, that most ardent preacher of disarmament, has made the biggest strides in the arms race. Over this period, the Soviet Union increased its strategic missiles more than 14 fold, nearly doubled its naval tonnage, and augmented its military force by nearly 10,000 tanks, several thousand military aircraft and more than a million men. A Soviet leader even said boastfully that with its powerful armed forces, "the Soviet Union is ready to wage an all-out war employing each and every kind of weapon." In terms of the momentum of arms expansion, even the other superpower pales in comparison.

Last year the Soviet Foreign Minister thought it very smart to claim that the Soviet Union had advanced more than 70 disarmament proposals in recent years, attempting thereby to show its sincere desire for disarmament. But what sort of proposals were these? They were either hollow talk about the "non-use of force" and the "deepening and consolidation of international detente," or illusory bubbles about "banning environmental warfare" and "prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of

weapons of mass destruction," or schemes with glaring loopholes calculated to evade the real issue such as the proposal "to prohibit the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed," which excludes nuclear submarines, or strategems to restrict others and serve its own ends such as those stressing "nuclear non-proliferation" and a "nuclear test ban." They are all worthless proposals designed out of sinister motives and totally alien to the purpose of genuine disarmament. The more proposals of this kind the Soviet Union puts forward, the more its hypocrisy and treachery show up.

What are the lessons of history to be drawn from the long struggle around disarmament? They are as follows:

1) Lack of sincere desire on the part of the superpowers is the key reason why there has been no progress in disarmament over such a long period. The superpowers invariably camouflage their arms expansion with rhetoric about disarmament. We should not give credence to their fine-sounding words but should call on them to take practical measures of disarmament.

2) The people of the world want genuine and not sham disarmament. The superpowers, however, cook up all sorts of disarmament hoaxes to lull the people of the world, to tie the hands of other countries, and by these each of them wants to restrain the other party. It is necessary to constantly expose these hoaxes so that they do not confuse the issue.

3) The superpowers will not accept in good faith any proposal for genuine disarmament. Even if some agreements are reached, the superpowers will refuse to be bound by their terms. Hence, one should by no means entertain illusions about disarmament.

Mr. President,

The superpowers obviously anticipated that the representatives of small and medium-sized countries would voice a strong demand for genuine disarmament at this forum. So they have continued to play tricks to evade the pressure of world opinion, divert public

attention and stall progress at this session. On the question of nuclear disarmament in particular, they deliberately dwell on side issues to obstruct the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They vigorously advocate the "complete prohibition of nuclear tests" and "consolidation of the system of nuclear non-proliferation" as "major steps" to reduce the danger of a nuclear war. But who will be taken in by them? The Soviet Union and the United States have conducted hundreds of nuclear tests, both in the atmosphere and underground, which constitute about 90 per cent of all the nuclear explosions carried out in the world. A complete test ban now would not in the least touch their nuclear arsenals or restrict their continuing the production, development, stockpiling of nuclear weapons or their use of them. How can it reduce the danger of a nuclear war? Even more fraudulent is their claim that non-proliferation will reduce the threat of a nuclear war. Can it be asserted that this threat comes from the non-nuclear small and medium-sized countries and not from the two superpowers whose nuclear weapons are deployed for instant attack? As we all know, the Soviet Union and the United States contrived the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" and the "Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation" in the 1960s. As a result, the many non-nuclear countries have been hampered, and even their right to the peaceful use of atomic energy has been restricted, while the Soviet Union and the United States have continued the expansion of their nuclear armaments at full steam. The Soviet Union in particular has made a dash and caught up. The ruse of the two superpowers in contriving these treaties has become obvious to more and more people. Can it become more credible by extending the test ban and consolidating the nuclear non-proliferation system? Recently the Soviet Union came up in seeming earnest with a proposal for so-called "cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction." This is but a new trick which likewise cannot

eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. Let's leave aside the problem of verification. Even if the two superpowers do stop producing nuclear weapons, they can fight a nuclear war all the same with the numerous atom bombs and hydrogen bombs already in their possession. In a word, their proposals in various guises serve the single purpose of consolidating their positions as nuclear overlords, so that they may freely subject other countries to nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail.

The superpowers are playing up the prospect that a new agreement will be reached at their "strategic arms limitation talks," and describing it as a "major contribution" to the strengthening of international peace. This is a deliberate falsehood. For anyone willing to face up to realities, the history of SALT since they began in 1969 has been a history of strategic arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States, no more and no less. The previous SALT agreement reached after hot bargaining provides neither for reduction in quantity nor restriction on quality, but was designed to ensure expansion and improvement of their strategic arms to a higher level. In recent years, they have vied with each other in improving their strategic arms and rapidly developing MIRVs and, what is more, they have worked hard to develop new types of strategic weapons such as the Backfire bomber, the cruise missile and mobile multiple-warhead missiles. In the eight years of SALT, the Soviet Union has brought its once backward nuclear arsenal up to a par with that of the other superpower. How can this be described as an effort to limit the nuclear arms race? Any forthcoming agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States will at best be one with quantitative but no qualitative limits and envisaging continued "upward equilibrium" in respect of MIRVs. A U.S. leader is more frank in admitting that the Soviet Union and the United States have just been "working out new game rules" for the nuclear arms race. What is there to boast about in such agreements?

Mr. President,

It is only natural that an increasing number of small and medium-sized countries should demand that disarmament begin with the reduction of the arms of the two superpowers, whose nuclear as well as conventional arsenals far exceed any other country in the world. Each of them possesses thousands of strategic nuclear weapons, tens of thousands of tanks and military aircraft, hundreds of principal warships and huge stocks of other conventional weapons. What is more, in order to gain military supremacy, they are both stepping up the development and commissioning of more sophisticated nuclear and conventional weapons, constantly augmenting and strengthening their ground, sea and air forces, energetically expanding and grabbing military bases abroad and reinforcing their troops stationed overseas. While engaging in the arms race themselves, the superpowers are seeking to put the blame on other countries. The Soviet propaganda machine has even slandered the third world as being the "source of the arms race" and called for "vigilance" against the "extent the arms drive has reached in the 'third world.'" This is the trick of a thief crying "Stop thief." Have not the superpowers advocated the principle of "equal security" in disarmament? Since the hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, claim that their security can be assured only through a military equilibrium between themselves, the small and medium-sized countries are all the more justified to demand that these powers be the first to reduce their super-arsenals, for they are threatened by the superpowers' superior military strength.

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are deliberately confusing the issue by advocating disarmament by all. Their armaments already far exceed their defence needs and are being used as tools of aggression and expansion and tools in the struggle for hegemony. They are subjecting countries in all parts of the world to threats of force, military control and even

armed aggression and they are busily preparing to unleash a new world war. Their armaments should certainly be cut drastically. As for the many small and medium-sized countries, armaments are their means of defence to safeguard their independence and security against aggression. Many third world countries still lack adequate defence capabilities, they need to strengthen their national defence. So what arms do they have to reduce? Even the second world countries in Western Europe and elsewhere, which are faced with the grave threat of annexation and invasion by Soviet social-imperialism, have the need to strengthen their defence capabilities. Disarmament must start with the two superpowers. This is a fundamental principle on the question of disarmament today. It is also the chief yardstick of real progress in disarmament. The superpowers are trying to use "general disarmament" as an excuse for their refusal to cut their own armaments. This will never do.

Mr. President,

The Chinese people and the people of all other countries firmly demand peace. It has been the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that China will live in peace with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We do not threaten anyone, much less commit aggression against anyone. China is a developing country as well as a socialist country and belongs to the third world. Like other third world countries, we eagerly desire to lift our country from economic backwardness and are resolutely opposed to a world war. The Chinese people badly need an enduring peaceful international environment for the great task of developing China into a modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century. China will never commit aggression against other countries even when it becomes a powerful socialist country. This is

dictated by China's socialist system and by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But being confronted with imperialist, and especially social-imperialist aggression and threats, we cannot but strengthen our preparedness against war while carrying on construction. How can we afford to relax and go to sleep when a superpower has deployed a million troops along our border? Our war preparedness is not intended for aggression but for defence against aggression. Some people make the slanderous charge that we are warlike and want to provoke a world war. This is truly preposterous. Is China stationing hundreds of thousands of troops on other countries' territories? Has China sent out fleets to all oceans to make a show of force? Has China staged one offensive military manoeuvre after another in different parts of the world? The absurd slanders against China do not merit refutation.

The Chinese Government and people have always stood for genuine disarmament and have made positive efforts for it. We have not only supported all rational proposals of disarmament and put forward a number of suggestions of our own, but also taken a series of concrete measures which accord with the wishes of the people of all countries.

We have always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and have on many occasions stated that we will at no time and in no circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

We have always firmly supported the demands of small and medium-sized countries for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones, and have undertaken a due commitment towards the Latin American nuclear-free zone.

We have always stood for the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of all armed forces stationed abroad. We have no military bases and no troops abroad, and we will never ask any country for military bases or station our troops on the territory of any other country.

We have always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of biological and chemical weapons, and we firmly uphold the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

We have always held that all countries have the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and we are firmly opposed to the attempt of the superpowers to hamper on the pretext of nuclear non-proliferation the development by other countries of their own nuclear industry.

We have always been opposed to the practice of using military aid to extort privileges, pose armed threats or make exorbitant profits, and we ourselves have never resorted to it.

We have solemnly declared that we will not seek hegemony in any part of the world. Our Constitution includes the explicit provision that China "will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower." And we have publicly declared to the people of the whole world that if one day China should play the tyrant in the world, they should work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.

The principled position of the Chinese Government and people on the question of disarmament is open and aboveboard. Our deeds and words are in accord, and we always live up to our words. We firmly support all the rational proposals put forward by the small and medium-sized countries; but we must thoroughly expose the disarmament hoaxes of the superpowers. That is what we did in the past and what we will continue to do in the future.

Mr. President,

People call for disarmament in the hope that it will reduce the danger of war. Hence the worth of a disarmament measure lies not in its face value but in its real effect. Any measure that helps to safeguard international peace and security and postpone the outbreak of a war should be supported; conversely, any measure

that serves the interests of either superpower in seeking hegemony and preparing for war must be opposed. Here is the difference between genuine disarmament and sham disarmament.

The people of the whole world eagerly demand nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war. We do not believe in the horror story spread by the superpowers that a nuclear war will destroy all mankind, but like the people of other countries, we Chinese are firmly opposed to a nuclear war. Everyone knows that the only way truly to free mankind from the threat of nuclear war is through the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Over the years we have repeatedly called on all countries to declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely, that is, no use, no export, no import, no manufacture, no testing, no stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all existing nuclear weapons. And we have proposed the holding of a conference of the heads of all countries to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and first of all to conclude an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons. But the superpowers have not responded to our proposals, and the talks on nuclear disarmament have been going on for more than a dozen years without any substantive progress. We believe that, in order to reduce the threat of nuclear war to the small and medium-sized countries in the absence of an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons, a measure of urgency is for all nuclear countries to undertake not to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones. This is a reasonable and practical measure. Non-nuclear countries pose no threat to nuclear powers, why shouldn't the nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons against them? If the superpowers even refuse to take this minimum action, it will only prove that their statements about

desiring to see nuclear weapons prohibited and the danger of a nuclear war removed are sheer lies.

Important though nuclear disarmament is, it cannot by itself eliminate the danger of war. Thus the reduction of conventional armaments has become a matter of increasing urgency. Both world wars broke out before the invention of nuclear weapons. The reality today is that the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, are making an all-out effort to expand their conventional arsenals. The amount of conventional weapons produced by the Soviet Union alone already equals the sum total of those produced by the United States and the West European countries. In face of the rapid growth in Soviet conventional military strength, the United States has also noted the need to shift the emphasis in arms expansion to conventional weapons. When the two superpowers, which are the only countries capable of launching a world war, come into conflict, they may fight a nuclear war, but it is more likely that they will fight a conventional war. When the two sides use large quantities of new types of sophisticated conventional weapons which are highly lethal and destructive to fight a war over vast areas, it will spell disaster for the people of many countries. In Europe, which is the focus of contention between the two hegemonist powers, it is plain that the Soviet Union, using as a smokescreen the conference on mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe, has in recent years greatly strengthened its conventional military deployments, expanded its military manpower and renovated its weapons and equipment. The number of its ground forces stationed in Eastern Europe has exceeded 600,000. It has moved up more and more tanks, armoured transport cars and artillery pieces, and upgraded the attack capability of its air force. It has also deployed huge fleets in the Barents Sea, the North Sea, the Baltic and the Mediterranean to form a naval encirclement of Western Europe. In short, it has positioned and readied its conventional military forces for a

surprise attack on Western Europe. Having done all the above, this superpower, which had all along refused to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, suddenly turned benevolent by proposing at the recent European security conference that all participants sign an agreement on mutual renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons. As some discerning observers in the West have pointed out, this Soviet proposal was aimed at facilitating its blackmail and eventual invasion of Western Europe by means of its predominant conventional forces. It is thus unrealistic to assume that nuclear disarmament alone will lessen the danger of a world war, and it is even more so to believe that it will prevent local wars. Conventional forces are being used by the two superpowers in the struggle for world hegemony to carry out aggression and expansion everywhere, posing an ever greater threat to the independence and security of all peoples. Social-imperialism, in particular, has been using tanks, aeroplanes, guns and warships, and not strategic nuclear weapons, in its many armed threats or military adventures in the Middle East, in Africa and in Asia. It can thus be seen that for the purpose of lowering the war danger, it is no less urgent to reduce the conventional armaments of the superpowers than to reduce their nuclear armaments. The non-aligned countries have stressed that "conventional weapons which give cause for grave concern should also be the object of disarmament agreements." This view is perfectly correct. Equal importance should be attached to the reduction of conventional armaments and that of nuclear armaments, and the two should proceed in conjunction. The superpowers must not be allowed to exploit the peoples' urgent desire for nuclear disarmament in their attempt to delay the reduction of their conventional arms, or even to intensify their race in conventional arms.

The war machines of the two superpowers have reached unprecedented proportions in peace-time history and have become swords of Damocles hanging over the heads of the people of

the world. It is imperative that the superpowers take effective disarmament measures, cut down their huge arsenals and reduce their military threats to other countries. The Soviet Union and the United States must first of all take the following action:

(1) Declare that at no time and in no circumstances will they resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones;

(2) Withdraw all their armed forces stationed abroad and undertake not to dispatch armed forces of any description to other countries; dismantle all their military bases and para-military bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek any new ones;

(3) Stop their nuclear and conventional arms race and set out to destroy by stages their nuclear weapons and drastically reduce their conventional weapons;

(4) Undertake not to station massive forces or stage military exercises near the borders of other countries, and undertake not to launch military attacks, including surprise attacks, against other countries on any pretext;

(5) Undertake not to export weapons to other countries for the purpose of bringing them under control or fomenting war or abetting threats of war.

When major progress has been made in the destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons and in the reduction of their conventional weapons, the other nuclear countries should join the Soviet Union and the United States in destroying all nuclear weapons. It is high time that the superpowers demonstrated their sincerity for disarmament with actual deeds instead of hollow words.

It is understandable that many small and medium-sized countries should have proposed that funds released through the reduction of military expenditures under disarmament measures be channelled towards the economic development of the developing countries. Some third world countries have explicitly de-

manded that the two leading nuclear countries undertake to be the first to do so. This demand is well-founded. The two superpowers, which are sharply increasing their military expenditures for arms expansion and war preparations, have obtained funds through plundering the developing countries as well as through exploiting the people in their own countries. For the development of their national economy, the developing countries rely mainly on their own efforts; they have also to strive for the establishment of a new international economic order. It is fully justifiable that they demand the channelling towards their economic development of the resources released through reduction of the military expenditures of the superpowers, for they are only asking for the return of a part of the superpowers' ill-gotten wealth. Nevertheless, it would not be so easy to make the superpowers do so. Take the case of the Soviet Union, it has been talking for many years about "aiding the developing countries with funds released by disarmament," but this has been mere lip service designed for demagogic effect. It has proposed a 10 per cent cut in military expenditures, yet each year it increases its military expenditures by 4 or 5 per cent. If it really wants to be generous, why does it not begin by cancelling the debts incurred by some developing countries through their arms purchases from it? Some second world countries have already reduced or exempted debts of developing countries, why can't the Soviet Union do the same?

The strong demand of the small and medium-sized countries for a reform in the machinery for disarmament is fully legitimate. Machinery such as the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has long been under the control of the two superpowers and has become a forum where they talk sham disarmament and obstruct genuine disarmament. This state of affairs must be thoroughly changed. Questions of disarmament and international security, which concern the interests of all countries, should be deliberated by an international organ with the

participation of all countries under the auspices of the United Nations. The items and procedures of disarmament negotiations should be decided on by this organ, while machinery responsible for disarmament negotiations should be truly free of superpower control and should be set up through consultations by the above-mentioned deliberative organ. Only in this way can the views of every country be fully expressed. The one or two superpowers must not be allowed to manipulate the negotiating machinery and to impose their will on other countries. It is also necessary to point out that, unless the superpowers change their stubborn attitude of obstructing disarmament, it would be very difficult to achieve success no matter what kind of negotiating machinery there may be.

Mr. President,

The danger of war stemming from Soviet-U.S. rivalry is a growing menace to the people of the world. To put off a new world war is the common task of the people of all countries. True, the struggle for disarmament is aimed at making it more difficult for the superpowers to carry out their plans of arms expansion and war preparations. But historical experience as well as present-day realities tell us that the imperialists always divide the world in proportion to strength, and that the arms race is an indispensable means of their rivalry for hegemony. They are contending for world hegemony; they will not readily agree to reduce their armaments and weaken their war machines. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, general and complete disarmament is an even more impossible goal. Hence, we must not pin our hopes for the maintenance of world peace on disarmament. There are many other things we can do to delay the outbreak of a war.

First. Tell the people of the world about the danger of war and its root cause and urge them to get prepared materially and organizationally to resist a war of aggression. The better their

preparations, the less the chance that the warmongers will dare to unleash a war. Conversely, if the superpowers are allowed to spread illusions of peace with the result that the people lower their guard, fail to perceive the real threat of war, put blind faith in peaceful negotiations and the so-called "balance of terror" or pin their hopes on general and complete disarmament, opportunities will open up before the warmongers and the danger of a new world war will grow. Therefore, the struggle for disarmament can help to put off a war only if it is accompanied by full exposure of the superpowers' plot of sham disarmament and real arms expansion, and if the people of the world are alerted to the danger of war. The lesson must never be forgotten that both world wars broke out amidst a chorus of "peace" and "disarmament."

Second. Strengthen the anti-hegemonist struggle in all spheres. The struggle of the people of the world against the hegemonism of the two superpowers and their struggle against the latter's policy of war are the two sides of a coin. The superpowers want to grab world hegemony by launching a world war and, in preparing for this war, they are committing acts of hegemonism in all parts of the world. Everywhere they are engaged in aggression and expansion, seizing resources and areas and routes of strategic importance and stepping up their deployments for a global war. The people of the world can upset the war plans and deployments of the two hegemonist powers and put off a new world war by waging a sustained struggle to frustrate their acts of aggression and expansion, that is, to stop their infringement on the sovereignty and encroachment on the territories and territorial seas of other countries, prevent their interference in the internal affairs of other countries by the threat or use of force or any other means, and thwart their attempts to set or redivide spheres of influence in any part of the world. Therefore, the people's struggle for disarmament must be linked up with the struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and

against superpower aggression, interference, subversion and control. The struggle against the superpowers must be waged not only in the realm of disarmament but in all other fields as well. Recently, some countries have got rid of the Soviet military installations in their territories and territorial seas, others have sternly rejected Soviet bids to lease bases, and still others have denied overflight to Soviet aeroplanes transporting arms. These are effective steps against social-imperialism's war plans, and they are admirable steps.

In order to put off the outbreak of war, it is also necessary to oppose a policy of appeasement. The Soviet Union is increasing its military threat to Western Europe, striving to expand its influence in the Middle East and carrying out a series of military adventures in Africa. From this it is clear that the aims of Soviet global strategy are: to control and monopolize Europe, to weaken and squeeze out the influence of the other superpower in all parts of the world, and to ultimately supplant the other superpower and establish its own hegemony over the whole world. Facts show that this superpower flaunting the label of socialism is more aggressive and adventurous than the other superpower; it is the most dangerous source of a new world war and is sure to be its chief instigator. Yet, there are some people in the West today who are cowed by Soviet military threats and are afraid of war, or who indulge in a false sense of security and deny the existence of a serious danger of war. Politically, they seek peaceful co-operation to accommodate the Soviet hoax of "detente." Economically, they offer big loans and technical equipment to pacify the Soviet Union. Militarily, they seek a respite through compromises and concessions. They even dream of averting the danger threatening themselves by sacrificing the security of others. Whether they do it knowingly or not, to pursue such policies of appeasement will only serve to camouflage and abet social-imperialism's war preparations and bring the war closer. It is precisely to encourage the trend

of appeasement that the Soviet Union has been so diligently selling its fraud of "disarmament" and "detente." Hence, it is necessary to guard against appeasement in the struggle for disarmament.

Mr. President,

While there is the danger of a new world war, the possibility does exist of putting off its outbreak. This depends to a great extent on whether or not the people of all countries can make progress and score victories in their struggle against hegemonism. If the people of the world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union, get united, if all countries subjected to the aggression, interference, control, subversion or bullying of the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, get united to form and broaden to the maximum an international united front against hegemonism, and if they fight with redoubled energy, they will surely be able to frustrate the superpowers' policies of aggression and war and uphold world peace. The world will certainly move in the direction of progress and not retrogression. The future of mankind is infinitely bright.

## WORKING PAPER ON DISARMAMENT

### Delegation of the People's Republic of China

1. At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries. But there is a visible growth of the factors for war, posing an increasing threat to international peace and security, because the two superpowers are pursuing policies of aggression and expansion everywhere and stepping up the arms race in their contention for world hegemony. The late-coming superpower, in particular, takes the offensive in the strategic manoeuvring for world hegemony. It is expanding its armaments at a faster speed and on a bigger scale than its rival, and it has become the most dangerous source of a new world war. As their fierce rivalry develops, they are bound to fight it out some day. It is the urgent common task of the people of the world to combat the hegemonist practices of the superpowers and their policies of aggression and war and strive to put off the outbreak of a world war.

2. The essential way to postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace is for the people of all countries to unite, to heighten their vigilance and to get fully prepared for a war of resistance against aggression; they must constantly frustrate the superpowers' acts of aggression and expansion and upset their war plans and deployments; they must oppose the policy of appeasing the main instigator of war.

3. The numerous third world countries and other small and medium-sized countries are calling for disarmament in the hope that it will lessen the danger of war. This is a wholly just demand. The struggle for disarmament will play a positive role in safeguarding world peace if it is linked with the struggle to defend national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity against superpower aggression, interference, subversion and control. But historical experience and current realities tell us that so long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, it would not be easy to achieve genuine disarmament and it is impossible to have so-called general and complete disarmament.

4. Lack of sincerity for disarmament on the part of the superpowers is the key reason why there has been no progress in disarmament over such a long period. The third world countries have proposed the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases, the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons, the banning of weapons of mass destruction, etc., and they emphasize that the superpowers have a special responsibility for disarmament. These are all reasonable propositions for the realization of genuine disarmament. The superpowers are energetically expanding their armaments while loudly preaching disarmament, and this is especially true of the one which flaunts the banner of socialism. They reject the demands of the third world countries for genuine disarmament. Their numerous proposals are either frauds or proposals designed to restrict other countries or get the better of each other. The recent Soviet proposal on the renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council of the expansion of their armies and the build-up of their conventional armaments is a new fraud designed to consolidate its own supremacy in conventional military strength. The superpowers' frauds of sham disarmament must be exposed.

5. At present, the superpowers possess the biggest arsenals in the world, and they are using armaments as tools for pushing their policies of aggression and expansion, thus posing an ever graver threat to other countries. On the other hand, the many third world and other small and medium-sized countries either lack adequate means of self-defence or have no defence capabilities at all. Therefore, disarmament must start with the two superpowers. This is a fundamental principle on the question of disarmament today and a yardstick of real progress in disarmament. It is unreasonable to call for general disarmament of all countries irrespective of their size and strength and, moreover, it will not serve the interest of safeguarding international peace and security.

6. For the sake of international peace and security, relations between states must be based on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. No country may seek or establish hegemony in any form in any part of the world or pursue policies of aggression and war. If the superpowers are really sincere about disarmament, they should take concrete measures to reduce their massive arsenals and renounce the use of military threats against other countries, and in the first place they should do the following:

(1) Declare that they will at no time and in no circumstances resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones;

(2) Withdraw all their armed forces stationed abroad and undertake not to dispatch forces of any description to other countries; dismantle all their military bases and para-military bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek any new ones;

(3) Stop their nuclear and conventional arms race and set out to destroy by stages their nuclear weapons and drastically reduce their conventional weapons;

(4) Undertake not to station massive forces or stage military exercises near the borders of other countries, and undertake not to launch military attacks, including surprise attacks, against other countries on any pretext;

(5) Undertake not to export weapons to other countries for the purpose of bringing them under control or for fomenting wars or abetting threats of war.

7. Although nuclear weapons cannot annihilate mankind, they are highly destructive. To truly remove the threat of nuclear war, it is imperative to realize the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. When major progress has been made in the destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals and in the reduction of their conventional armaments, the other nuclear countries should join the Soviet Union and the United States in destroying all nuclear weapons. For the present, all the nuclear countries, particularly the superpowers, which possess nuclear weapons in large quantities, should immediately undertake not to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones. China is not only ready to undertake this commitment but wishes to reiterate that at no time and in no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons. The superpowers are advocating "total prohibition of nuclear tests," "nuclear non-proliferation," and "cessation of production of nuclear weapons," etc. for the purpose of consolidating their nuclear monopoly and their advantageous position for nuclear blackmail or even of restricting or interfering with other countries' right to the peaceful use of atomic energy. This is in no way helpful to the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. While intensifying their nuclear arms expansion, the superpowers are energetically expanding their conventional arms, posing an ever graver threat to the independence and security of other countries and to international peace. A world war the

superpowers unleash may be a nuclear war, but it may also be a conventional war. With both sides using large quantities of new types of sophisticated conventional weapons, the war will also be unprecedentedly destructive. Hence, there is an increasingly urgent need to reduce conventional arms. Equal importance should be attached to the reduction of conventional armaments and that of nuclear armaments, and the two should proceed in conjunction. The superpowers must not be allowed to exploit the peoples' urgent desire for nuclear disarmament in their attempt to delay the reduction of conventional arms or even to intensify their race in these arms.

9. In disregard of the opposition of the people of the world, the superpowers are continuing their development and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. Effective measures should be taken to totally prohibit and thoroughly destroy all chemical and biological weapons, incendiary weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

10. Many developing countries call for the channelling of resources released through disarmament towards their economic development. Some of them also demand that the two superpowers should undertake to be the first to do so. For the development of their national economy, the developing countries rely mainly on their own efforts; they have also to strive for the establishment of a new international economic order. In calling for the channelling of resources released through the reduction of the military expenditures of the superpowers towards their economic development, they are but demanding the return of a part of their wealth the superpowers have plundered. This is fully justifiable. As for social-imperialism which has been harping on this theme and paying lip service, it is doing this for demagogic effect and nothing else.

11. It is fully proper for the many small and medium-sized countries to demand a reform in the machinery for disarmament

and an end to the manipulation of the disarmament negotiations by the superpowers. The questions of disarmament and international security, which concern the interests of all countries, should be deliberated by an international organ with the participation of all countries under the auspices of the United Nations, and the reduction of the armaments of the superpowers should be given priority for consideration. The negotiating body for disarmament should truly be free of superpower control, and it should be organized through consultations by the above-mentioned deliberative organ and shall be responsible to the organ. The negotiating body should be composed on a fair and equitable basis, so that it can be fully representative. The specific items and procedures for negotiations should be determined by the aforesaid deliberative organ.

12. The Chinese Government and people have always been in favour of genuine disarmament. China has supported all rational disarmament proposals and has put forward a number of its own; moreover, it has taken a series of concrete measures which accord with the desire of the people of all countries. China is ready to make continual efforts together with the other third world countries and the small and medium-sized countries to promote genuine disarmament.

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