

" ... unless persistent and resolute efforts are made to achieve general and complete disarmament there can be no guarantee that tomorrow other States too will not begin testing their own nuclear weapons, even if a treaty for the cessation of tests has, in fact, been concluded between the three Powers ...

"If States carry out general and complete disarmament under effective international control, if all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, are abolished and armies disbanded, then the incentive for the development of nuclear weapons will disappear too, and with it the incentive for testing them. There will then be no temptation for anyone to test nuclear weapons on the ground, underground, in the atmosphere or in outer space ..."
(A/4893, Pages 9 and 10)

At our meeting on 17 October the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Zorin, had the following to say:

"If there is a real desire to put an end to all tests, that desire can be met in present conditions only if the United States, the Soviet Union and other interested Powers sit down at a table and elaborate a programme of general and complete disarmament ..."
(A/C.1/PV.1168, Page 82)

He went on:

" ... an isolated solution of the problem is impossible in present conditions. Of course, a resolution can be adopted. But in present conditions we do not see that such a resolution would have much meaning." (Ibid.)

The results of the resolution that we passed last Friday show that Mr. Zorin certainly knew what he was talking about.

Now we have the position of the two great Powers. The United States is not prepared to promise not to recommence nuclear testing unless there is an effective treaty preventing it; and the Soviet Union says that nuclear testing can disappear only if there is general and complete disarmament. Is it possible to reconcile these two positions? The Canadian delegation believes that it may be. The key is that both the Soviet Union and the United States have related the cessation of nuclear testing to their respective plans or programmes for general and complete disarmament. The United States programme, announced by President Kennedy on 25 September to the General Assembly, provides that in its first stage:

"States that have not acceded to a treaty effectively prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons shall do so."

When this was written into the programme, the United States still hoped that the Geneva negotiators would finally agree on a treaty.

The Soviet Union, in numerous statements besides the quotations I have given, says that nuclear testing will cease only if there is an agreement on general and complete disarmament. What exactly does this mean? It has argued, and I have quoted the arguments, that a separate treaty on the cessation of nuclear testing would be ineffective. It must, therefore, be presumed that it thinks a simple declaration