Tenth special session
AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE
TENTH SPECIAL SESSION
Agenda items 9, 10, 11
and 12


ADOPTION OF A DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT

ADOPTION OF A PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON DISARMAMENT

REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN DISARMAMENT AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION OF CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Letter dated 7 June 1978 from the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I am transmitting to you herewith the text of a working paper on disarmament submitted by the delegation of the People's Republic of China.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this working paper to be circulated as an official document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly under agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12.

(Signed) CHEN Chu
Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations
ANNEX

Working paper on disarmament

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 super-Powers are pursuing policies of aggression and expansion everywhere and stepping up the arms race in their contention for world hegemony. The late-coming super-Power, in particular, takes the offensive in the strategic manoeuvring for world hegemony. It is expanding its armaments at a faster rate 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 hegemonic practices of the super-Powers and their policies of aggression and war and to 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 super-Powers' 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 super-Power aggression, interference, subversion and control. But historical experience and current realities tell us that so long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, it will 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers have a special responsibility for disarmament. These are all reasonable propositions for the realization of genuine disarmament. The super-Powers 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 super-Powers' frauds of sham disarmament must be exposed.

5. At present, the super-Powers 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 super-Powers. 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 super-Powers 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:

(a) 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;

(b) 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 paramilitary bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek any new ones;

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

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

(e) 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 United States nuclear

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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 super-Powers, 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers 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 super-Powers towards their economic development, they are but demanding the return of a part of their wealth the super-Powers 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 super-Powers. 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 super-Powers should be given priority for consideration. The negotiating body for disarmament should truly be free of super-Power control and it should be organised through consultations by the above-mentioned deliberative organ and should 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.