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For more than fifty years prior to the first decade of this century, the United States pursued a world order based on rules and international treaties that permitted the expansion of democracy, the strengthening of the world economy and the enlargement of international security. The United States must again fully establish itself as the leading advocate of the international rule of law and supporter of international treaties designed to promote this goal. If the United States effectively does this it will faithful to its ideals and regain and deserve its historic role. In recent years progress has been made in this direction but much more needs to be done. Multilateral cooperation is the way to accomplish these goals. In the world in which we live today poverty, disease, cultural misunderstandings, and machine - gun societies are central national security threats and the principle cause of international terrorism. In this world the United States simply cannot do it alone.

Treaties mean something but they don't happen without supporters and advocates. An example of this is the Chemical Weapons Convention, the CWC, of such importance recently in the attempts of the world community to at least to begin to reduce the horrible carnage of the Syrian civil war. The CWC took many years to advocate and to negotiate. Advocates worked to complete the job of the Geneva Protocol of 1926, which banned the use of chemical weapons in war in reaction to the horrors of World War I, by prohibiting the possession of chemical weapons stockpiles outright. The Convention, which accomplishes this, was finally signed in 1993 and entered into force in 1997. Very important to this success was the support of the business community. The Chemical Manufacturers Association strongly supported for years the negotiation and implementation of the Convention.

Nuclear Weapons have long been recognized as an existential threat to humanity and world civilization. President John F. Kennedy feared that nuclear weapons might spread widely around the world which he regarded as "the greatest possible danger and hazard." This did not

happen or at least has not yet happened. The principal reason for this was the negotiation and entry into force of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the NPT, which was signed in 1968 and entered into force in 1970. The fundamental tenet of this Treaty-the most important security instrument of the world community-was that nuclear weapons not spread beyond the five nations that possessed these weapons in 1968. As part of the basic bargain permitting this Treaty to be adopted by the nations of the world was the commitment in the Treaty of those countries that then possessed nuclear weapons to negotiate the elimination of their nuclear weapon stockpiles. But while it was recognized that this would take a very long time, at least, the non-nuclear weapon states believed that at least, there could be a termination of the testing of these weapons. Hence there was recognition in the preamble to the NPT of the importance of accomplishing a treaty establishing a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapon tests. Such a treaty was signed in 1996 but this Treaty, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the CTBT - the principle quid for the quo of non-proliferation in the NPT basic bargain - has not yet come into force, thereby bringing into question the long term viability of the NPT. This is so because while in the range of 80 percent of the world's states have ratified the CTBT a small number of states, notably including the United States, of the 46 states whose ratification is required to bring the Treaty into force have not yet adopted it.

And even though there has been a significant shift in public opinion world-wide in favor of the adoption of measures leading toward complete nuclear weapon disarmament, there appears to be little possibility that the CTBT - will enter into force in the coming years. This is the case because of the recalcitrance of those states whose ratification is required. This raises the possibility of the continuing weakening of the NPT and the risk of the eventual realization of President Kennedy's nightmare vision. Something needs to be done soon. One possible interim step could be for the United Nations Security Council to adopt a resolution declaring that any nuclear weapon test anywhere at any time would be a threat to international peace and security, thereby establishing that such testing is an international crime. This would firmly put the world-wide prohibition on nuclear weapon tests in place and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Office in Vienna, Austria has already to a large degree established the verification system. Hopefully all or nearly all of the current membership of the Council would support such a resolution and three of the five permanent members of the Council have already ratified the CTBT. I urge the consideration of such a measure.

The NPT which protects the world community from the specter of a highly proliferated world is not a gift from the non-nuclear weapon states; it was and is a political and strategic bargain. The Test Ban is an integral part of that bargain. If nuclear disarmament in the fact is to be achieved one day the NPT must be strong and viable. The line must stay where it is. The Test Ban is an important part of doing that.