Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr. Speaking at the

"African and American Perspectives on the NPT" Luncheon Cosponsored by the African-American Institute and the Campaign for the NPT January 23, 1995

I would like to thank the Campaign for the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the African-American Institute for organizing this forum on "African and American Perspectives on the NPT." The exchange facilitated by this meeting is particularly important to the future of nonproliferation because the United States views the indefinite extension of the NPT as crucial to global security and because Africa, with its legal commitment to be a nuclear weapon free continent nearly codified in the impending African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty, is in a uniquely important position to act decisively to promote this major foreign policy objective of unusual importance to the United States Government.

In less than four months, the 1995 NPT Conference will convene in New York to take a decision that will affect profoundly not only the future of the NPT, but the future of the entire international arms control and nonproliferation regime. The United States is committed to make every effort to secure the indefinite extension of the Treaty in 1995, which would make this irreplaceable agreement permanent like all other international arms control treaties. Achieving indefinite extension is a major national security and foreign policy objective for the United States. We believe strongly that this is the outcome which will

African and American Perspectives on the NPT / Page 1 of 5

best ensure that the important benefits the NPT makes to preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons and to regional and international security will remain strong.

The NPT has played an important role in promoting nuclear nonproliferation in Africa, which in turn has enhanced regional security. One need only look at the dramatic steps undertaken by South Africa in dismantling its nuclear weapon capability and joining the NPT, steps which greatly reduced the threat of nuclear proliferation in Africa and enhanced the security of all African nations. A strong NPT regime will help ensure that the risk of proliferation in the region remains low. A permanent NPT will also act as a complement to the nearly-complete African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone agreement. A limited extension of the NPT, however, could negatively impact efforts to strengthen the broader international nonproliferation regime. If the NPT's global nonproliferation norm is eroded, it could even undermine the objective of full implementation the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone agreement.

The United States Government has been on record since 1964 in support of the denuclearization of Africa and supports the concept of this being achieved through a nuclear weapon free zone treaty. The text of this treaty is not yet final, but we hope to be in a position to become a protocol party to the final treaty soon, as we are with the Latin American Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty, the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The United States supports the

establishment of regional nuclear weapon free zones, and encourages Africa's progress toward this goal.

The NPT is also the key to cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We know that many African states are interested in enhancing cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Over the life of the NPT, we have worked closely with many African countries in their efforts to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In addition to providing a quarter of the total funding for the International Atomic Energy Agency's Technical Assistance and Cooperation Fund, the United States supports numerous other projects in Africa that are outside the hardcore project schedule covered by this fund but are deemed technically worthwhile by the IAEA. Known as Footnote A Projects, these projects include the establishment of a nuclear instrumentation center in Ghana; strengthening the capabilities of local institutions in Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania to provide effective cancer treatments in a variety of fields by providing equipment, experts, and training; increasing the reliability of radioimmunoassay kits for improvement of hospital diagnostic services in Zimbabwe; and using nuclear techniques in Kenya and Nigeria to examine the effects of pesticides in the African ecosystem. An indefinite extension of the NPT will ensure that the important basis the NPT provides for world-wide cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy remains dependable. A limited extension of the NPT could

African and American Perspectives on the NPT / Page 3 of 5

undermine countries' willingness to provide such assistance and would not serve states interests in enhancing international cooperation in peaceful nuclear development.

By making the NPT permanent, we will ensure that it will continue to serve as a stable foundation upon which other vitally needed measures of nuclear disarmament can be built. The United States takes its Article VI commitments very seriously, as the accomplishments to date in arms control demonstrate. In the last ten years, we have seen the successful negotiation on numerous treaties, agreements, and conventions (INF, CFE, CSEM, Open Skies, CWC, and START). The nuclear arms race between the United States and Russia is over. The United States is destroying about 2,000 nuclear weapons per year, which is the fastest rate that is technically feasible. Russia is undertaking a similar dismantlement effort. We believe strongly that a permanent NPT will provide the best security environment in which to undertake further arms control and disarmament measures.

If the NPT's future is limited, it could undermine efforts to make further progress in arms control and disarmament. For states to commit themselves to undertake further steps towards disarmament they need to be assured that nuclear weapons will not spread. A limited extension of the NPT beyond 1995 could create an uncertain future for the Treaty and could result in states preparing for the possible collapse of the only global political and legal barrier to nuclear weapons proliferation that currently

exists.

1995 offers a one-time opportunity to ensure that a vast majority of countries are bound to the same lasting commitment to nuclear nonproliferation and to the enhancement of international and regional security and stability. Africa is in a position to contribute decisively to the effort to make the NPT permanent, an issue of unusually great importance to the United States. United States is very serious about achieving indefinite extension and we will be looking to each of our friends in the international community for their support at the Extension Conference in April. We understand and support Africa's commitment to be a continent free of nuclear weapons and hope we can count on the support of all of our African friends as we seek to make permanent this Treaty which commits the vast majority of the rest of the world to the ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons. We strongly encourage you to consider seriously these issues in examining the NPT extension question, and urge your governments to join the United States in supporting the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995.