

UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/4374  
2 June 1960  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

---

QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT

Letter dated 2 June 1960 from the Permanent Representative of  
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

On the instructions of the Government of the USSR I have the honour to send you herewith the "Proposals by the Soviet Government concerning the basic clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament".

Kindly circulate this text as an official United Nations document.

(Signed) A. SOBOLEV  
Permanent Representative of the USSR  
to the United Nations

Proposals by the Soviet Government concerning the basic  
clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament

On 18 September 1959 the Soviet Government submitted to the United Nations, for its consideration, a proposal on general and complete disarmament. It presented this proposal in the firm conviction that the complete disarmament of all States and the destruction of all means of waging war are the most effective and, in the present circumstances, the most realistic means of preventing the outbreak of a disastrous nuclear-rocket war and ensuring lasting peace on earth.

The present balance of forces in the world - for no aggressor can now with impunity dare to unleash war against peace-loving States; the unprecedented destructive power of contemporary weapons, which can visit swift annihilation on entire States; the fact that these weapons can be delivered almost instantaneously to any point on the globe - all these factors make any reliance on war as a means of settling international disputes manifest lunacy. The peaceful co-existence of States with differing social systems - a principle which has always been supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist States - is a reality. But the foundations of peaceful co-existence cannot possibly be firm enough, and peace cannot be regarded as reliably ensured, while the armaments race continues and while States have at their command means of lightning attack on other countries and gigantic stockpiles of weapons, including nuclear weapons.

Today truly fantastic sums are being squandered on armaments; suffice it to say that some types of modern bomber aircraft cost more than their weight in gold. Yet it is a fact that many types of armaments grow obsolete and are scrapped before they have even left the factory precincts. The armaments race is becoming a senseless waste of human labour and material resources. The funds now being spent by States for the production and accumulation of weapons would alone suffice to put an end to hunger throughout the world.

We can no longer be content to see the energy of hundreds of millions of people and the values they create spent on preparations for a war the inadmissibility of which is becoming more obvious with every day that passes. Mankind today, with its brilliant achievements in the conquest of nature and the development of spiritual culture, deserves a better fate.

The lofty goal dreamed of by many generations of men - to put an end to war, to eliminate it completely from the life of human society - has now become a real possibility. It can be achieved by the destruction of all types of weapons and the disbandment of armies throughout the world: i.e. by general and complete disarmament. That is the only truly reliable foundation on which a firm, unbreakable peace between all States can rest in the conditions of our time.

General and complete disarmament cannot result in advantage to any side. It will circumvent many of the difficulties which have arisen in the discussion of merely partial measures of disarmament, when some States have feared that such measures might destroy the balance of forces and be prejudicial to their security. In addition, the conclusion of an agreement for general and complete disarmament will greatly facilitate the task of bringing into being a system of international control over disarmament measures; for if complete disarmament is achieved no State will have cause to conceal anything from other States, and complete control will become feasible.

The Soviet Union's proposal for general and complete disarmament was welcomed with enthusiasm in all countries of the world. It gave renewed strength to the efforts of the peoples to free themselves once and for all from the nightmare threat of nuclear-rocket war. Not a single Government opposed the proposal. The United Nations unanimously approved the idea of general and complete disarmament and asserted that such disarmament was the most important question facing the world today. The General Assembly's appeal to Governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution to this problem at the earliest possible date has placed a great moral obligation on all States. If this United Nations appeal is to be translated into reality, and if the hopes of the peoples calling for disarmament are to be justified, it is incumbent on Governments, which bear primary responsibility for achieving international agreement on this question, to take practical steps without further delay for the preparation and conclusion of such an agreement.

/...

The Soviet Government is doing its utmost to ensure that the disarmament negotiations lead as soon as possible to practical results, namely, the drafting and signing of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

As is known, the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 18 September 1959 contain a concrete programme for carrying out general and complete disarmament in three stages, over a total period of four years. It was envisaged in these proposals that during the first stage a substantial reduction would be carried out, under international control, in the conventional armed forces and armaments of States, that during the second stage the disbandment of the remaining contingents of such armed forces and the liquidation of military bases in the territories of foreign States would be completed, and that in the third stage all types of nuclear and rocket weapons would be destroyed and other measures taken for the completion of general and complete disarmament.

In proposing this sequence of disarmament measures, the Soviet Union gave due consideration to the point of view of the Western Powers, which in the course of the preceding disarmament negotiations had cited the USSR's superiority in armed forces and conventional armaments and had argued that nuclear disarmament measures should be deferred to the last stage. The Soviet Government, for its part, had always taken the position that war waged with weapons of mass destruction should be made impossible; and it considers that the sooner this is achieved the better.

During the meetings and negotiations between leading statesmen which have taken place in recent months, and in the deliberations of the ten-nation disarmament committee which was assigned the task of elaborating measures for the implementation of the resolution on general and complete disarmament adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the views and proposals of the parties concerned on questions of disarmament were set forth exhaustively and in precise terms.

The Soviet Government, while consistently defending its proposal for general and complete disarmament as being in line with the lofty goal of ensuring lasting peace on earth - which would be in the interest of all peoples without exception - is at the same time prepared to take into consideration any constructive ideas or desires of other participants in the negotiations which will contribute to the achievement of agreement on the practical implementation of disarmament.

In the course of the negotiations, some Powers, among them France, expressed the view that disarmament should begin with the prohibition and destruction of vehicles for the delivery of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, such as military rockets, military aircraft, warships and the like, due regard being had to the need for the simultaneous liquidation by States of such military bases as they may possess in foreign territories.

The Government of the USSR still considers that the sequence of disarmament measures contemplated in its proposal of 18 September 1959 is fully consistent with the aim of giving practical effect to general and complete disarmament. Nevertheless, desirous as it is of facilitating in every possible way the achievement at the earliest date of an agreement on this question, in order to ensure stable and inviolable peace among all States, the Soviet Government is once again prepared to meet the Western Powers half way and agree on a different sequence of disarmament measures, if this sequence is more acceptable to the Western Powers.

The Soviet Government, since it fervently believes that mankind must be freed as quickly as possible from the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear-rocket war, proposes that agreement should be reached to begin the process of general and complete disarmament with the prohibition and destruction under international control, from the very first stage, of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, and the simultaneous liquidation of military bases in the territories of other States.

Once military rockets of all ranges, military aircraft, submarines and surface warships, artillery capable of firing nuclear shells and all other means of delivering weapons of mass destruction to their targets have been destroyed and States no longer maintain armed forces and military installations outside their own frontiers, it will become a practical impossibility for one country to attack another with atomic and hydrogen weapons.

With this purpose in mind, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to begin disarmament with the destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, despite the fact that it has a generally recognized superiority in the most modern and effective means of this kind, namely, intercontinental ballistic missiles.

That being done, such measures as the prohibition of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons and the cessation of their manufacture could be carried out during the succeeding, second stage of the disarmament programme. The threat of nuclear war in any form would be removed for ever. At the same time, a substantial reduction in the armed forces and conventional armaments of States would be carried out.

The third stage would be marked by the completion of general and complete disarmament, the disbanding of all armies, war ministries and general staffs, the abolition of compulsory military service and of the military training of young people, and the complete discontinuance of expenditure for military purposes.

It is proposed that this entire programme of disarmament should be carried out under effective international control, on the basis of an international treaty and within a specified period of time - four years or some other agreed term.

In discussions on the question of general and complete disarmament in international bodies, much attention has been given to the problem of what measures should be taken to ensure peace and the maintenance of international law and order in relations between States in conditions of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government proposes that the States parties to the treaty should jointly carry out a detailed study of this question, so that during the third, concluding, stage the necessary measures could be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter for the purpose of maintaining peace in conditions of general and complete disarmament; such measures could include an undertaking by States to make police (militia) units available to the Security Council, whenever necessary, in order to ensure the maintenance of peace. Needless to say, such police (militia) units would be available solely for the purpose of maintaining peace between peoples, and not for the purpose of suppressing peoples fighting for independence and social progress or for the purpose of intervention in the internal affairs of States.

It is proposed that all disarmament measures, from beginning to end, should be carried out under strict international control. For that purpose, the parties to the treaty would have to set up an international control organization, whose jurisdiction would cover all measures carried out in the field of disarmament and would be enlarged as those measures became broader and more far-reaching in character.

In conformity with the above, the Soviet Government submits the following draft basic clauses of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

#### BASIC CLAUSES OF A TREATY ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

The Governments of the States members of the ten-nation Disarmament Committee set up in 1959, guided by the resolution on "General and complete disarmament" adopted on 20 November 1959 at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, deem it necessary, in order to liberate mankind from the threat of a new war and to ensure lasting and inviolable peace on earth, to begin forthwith the task of finding a practical solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, and for that purpose have decided to draft a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which shall include the basic clauses set forth below.

I. General and complete disarmament shall provide for:

- Disbandment of all armed forces maintained by States and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form;
- Prohibition of stockpiling, destruction of all stockpiles and cessation of production of all types of armaments, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction;
- Destruction of all vehicles for the delivery of weapons of mass destruction;
- Elimination of military bases of all kinds, the withdrawal and disbandment of all foreign troops situated in the territory of any State;
- Abolition of all types of compulsory military service;
- Termination of military training of the population and the closing of all military educational institutions;
- Abolition of war ministries and general staffs and their local organs, and of all other military and para-military establishments and organizations;

- Discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes, whether from State budgets or from public organizations and private individuals.

After general and complete disarmament has been achieved, States shall remain in possession only of strictly limited police (militia) contingents of agreed size for each country, such contingents to be armed with light infantry weapons and used for the purpose of maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

II. General and complete disarmament shall be carried out by all States simultaneously over an agreed and strictly defined period of time; the process of disarmament shall proceed gradually in three successive stages, in such a manner that no State shall at any stage obtain military advantages over other States as a result of the progress of disarmament.

A conference of all countries shall be convened to consider the matter of the accession of other States to the agreement on general and complete disarmament.

III. All disarmament measures, from beginning to end, shall be carried out under strict and effective international control, as follows:

(a) Immediately after the signing of the treaty there shall be set up a preparatory commission, whose task it shall be to take practical steps for the establishment of an international organization for the control of general and complete disarmament.

(b) The control organization shall be established within the framework of the United Nations at the moment of entry into force of the treaty. It shall consist of all States parties to the treaty, whose representatives shall meet periodically in conference in order to consider questions connected with the effective control of disarmament. The conference shall elect a Control Council composed of permanent and non-permanent members, which shall establish local organs. The Control Council shall consist of representatives of the socialist countries, representatives of States at present members of the Western military and political alliances, and representatives of neutral States. Except in specially provided cases, decisions of the Control Council on questions of substance shall be taken by a two-thirds majority, and decisions on questions of procedure by simple majority.

(c) The Control Council shall be responsible for the practical direction of the control system, shall prepare instructions and shall analyse and process the reports reaching it as and when they are received. States shall furnish the Control Council with information regarding their armed forces and armaments.

(d) The control organization shall have its staff in all countries parties to the agreement, such staff being recruited on an international basis with due regard to the principle of equitable geographical distribution and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. The control organization shall post its inspectors in the territories of States in such a way that they can proceed to carry out their functions as soon as States begin to put their disarmament measures into force. Each party to the treaty shall be required to allow the control officers and inspection teams in their territories prompt and free access to any place where disarmament measures subject to control are being carried out or to any area in which on-the-spot inspection of such measures is to take place. To this end the parties to the treaty shall provide, at the expense of the control organization, all necessary means of transport for the movement of control organization staff in their territories.

(e) The staff of the control organization shall enjoy, in the territory of each party to the treaty, such privileges and immunities as are necessary for its independent and unimpeded control of the execution of the disarmament agreement.

(f) All expenditures of the international control organization shall be financed from funds allocated by the States parties to the treaty. The scale of contributions of States shall be specified in the text of the treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The control organization shall at each stage have powers commensurate with the scale and nature of the disarmament measures.

The basic disarmament measures shall be spread over the three stages of the programme for general and complete disarmament, as follows:

First stage

1. Nuclear weapons shall be eliminated from the arsenals of States, their manufacture shall be discontinued and all means of delivering such weapons shall be destroyed, including:

/...

strategic and operational-tactical rockets, self-propelled missiles of all types, all military aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons; surface warships capable of being used to carry nuclear weapons; submarines of all classes and types; all artillery systems and other means which may be used as carriers of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

2. All foreign troops shall be withdrawn from the territories of other States to within their own national boundaries. Foreign military bases and stores of all kinds, both those released after the troop withdrawals and those held in reserve, shall be eliminated.

3. From the very beginning of the first stage until the final destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the launching into orbit or the placing in outer space of special devices, the penetration of warships beyond the limits of territorial waters and the flight beyond the limits of their national territory of military aircraft capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction shall be prohibited.

4. Rockets shall be launched exclusively for peaceful purposes in accordance with predetermined and agreed criteria and subject to agreed verification measures, including on-the-spot inspection of the launching sites for such rockets.

5. States possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake not to transmit such weapons or information necessary for their manufacture to States which do not possess such weapons. At the same time, States which do not possess nuclear weapons shall undertake to refrain from manufacturing them.

6. States shall correspondingly reduce their expenditures for military purposes.

7. During the first stage, the following control measures shall be carried out:

International on-the-spot control shall be established over the destruction of missiles, military aircraft, surface warships, submarines and other devices which may be used to carry atomic and hydrogen weapons.

International inspection teams shall be sent to places where military bases and foreign troops are situated in foreign territory, in order to supervise the abolition of the aforesaid bases and the withdrawal of troops and military personnel to within their own national frontiers; control shall also be established at airports and harbours, to ensure that they are not used for military purposes. At the same time, under the supervision of the International Control Organization, missile-launching installations shall be destroyed, with the exception of those retained for the launching of rockets for peaceful purposes.

The control organization shall have the right freely to inspect all undertakings, plants, factories and dockyards which were formerly wholly or partially engaged in the manufacture of missiles, aircraft, surface warships, submarines and any other means of delivery of nuclear weapons, in order to prevent the organization of clandestine manufacture of armaments which could be used as carriers of atomic and hydrogen weapons. By mutual agreement, permanent control groups may be set up at certain plants and installations.

The international inspection teams sent out by the control organization shall have the right to make a complete inspection of rocket devices to be launched for peaceful purposes and to be present at their launching.

The control officers and the Control Council shall communicate with one another through the existing channels, and shall enjoy such privileges as will ensure the rapid delivery of reports and instructions.

8. During the first stage, a joint study shall be made of measures to effect the cessation of the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons, such measures to be carried out during the second stage.

9. The first stage shall be completed in approximately one year to eighteen months. The International Control Organization shall ascertain to what extent the first-stage measures have been carried out, with a view to reporting thereon to States parties to the treaty and also to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations.

Second stage

1. Complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, and also cessation of the production and destruction of all stockpiles of weapons of these types.

2. Reduction of the armed forces of all States to agreed levels, the armed forces of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being reduced to not more than 1,700,000 men. The conventional weapons and ammunition thus released shall be destroyed, and the military equipment destroyed or used for peaceful uses. The military expenditures of States shall be reduced correspondingly.

3. During the second stage, the following control measures shall be carried out:

Representatives of the control organization shall verify on the spot the destruction of all existing stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The control organization shall have the right to inspect all undertakings which extract atomic raw materials or which produce or use atomic materials or atomic energy. By mutual agreement, permanent control groups may be set up at certain undertakings and installations.

International on-the-spot control shall be effected over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments.

The duties of control officers shall include: supervision of the precise and punctual implementation of decisions regarding the disbanding of military units and formations, and the removal and destruction of a substantial proportion of conventional armaments, military equipment and ammunition; submission of reports to the Control Council and to the Government of the country in which they are stationed.

The international control groups shall include specialists in the type of military units to be disbanded and the types of weapons to be destroyed.

The control organization shall have free access to all material relating to the budgetary allocations of States for military purposes, including all decisions on the subject taken by the legislative and executive organs of States.

4. During the second stage a joint study shall be undertaken of the following measures, which are to be carried out during the third stage:

- (a) Measures to ensure compliance with the treaty on general and complete disarmament after all the measures provided for in that treaty have been completed;
- (b) Measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations under conditions of general and complete disarmament.

5. As upon the transition from the first to the second stage, the International Control Organization shall ascertain to what extent the second-stage measures have been carried out with a view to reporting thereon to the States parties to the treaty and to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations.

### Third stage

1. The completion of the disbandment of the armed forces of all States. States shall retain at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which shall be agreed upon for each country and which shall be equipped with small arms and be used for the maintenance of internal order and the protection of the personal security of citizens.

2. All remaining types of conventional armaments and ammunition, whether held by the armed forces or in stockpiles, and military equipment shall be destroyed or used for peaceful purposes.

3. Military production shall be wound up at all factories; this measure shall include cessation of the production of conventional armaments with the exception of a strictly limited output of small arms intended for the contingents of police (militia) which States are to retain after completion of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

4. War ministries, general staffs and all military and para-military establishments and organizations shall be abolished. All military courses for reservists shall be terminated. In accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, States shall enact legislation prohibiting the military education of young people and abolishing military service in all its forms.

5. The appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether by State authorities or by private individuals and public organizations, shall be discontinued. The funds made available as a result of the implementation of general and complete disarmament shall be used to reduce or abolish taxation of the population, to subsidize national economies and to furnish economic and technical assistance to under-developed countries.

6. During the third stage the following additional control measures shall be carried out:

The International Control Organization shall send control officers to verify on the spot the abolition of war ministries, general staffs and all military and para-military establishments and organizations and the termination of military education and all other forms of military activity.

Control shall be instituted to ensure discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes.

The control organization may, as necessary, institute a system of aerial observation and aerial photography over the territories of States.

7. After completion of the programme of general and complete disarmament, the control organization shall be kept in being and shall exercise permanent surveillance over the fulfilment by States of the obligations they have assumed. The Control Council shall have the right to send mobile inspection teams to any point and to any facility in the territories of States.

States shall communicate to the control organization particulars of the points at which contingents of police (militia) are stationed, their strength at each point (in each district) and all transfers of large contingents of police (militia) near the State frontiers. International inspection teams shall exercise comprehensive control to ensure that the strength of the police (militia) and its armament correspond to the standards agreed for each country.

8. The further measures worked out to ensure compliance with the treaty on complete disarmament shall take effect.

9. Measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations shall be carried out. States shall undertake to place at the disposal of the Security Council as necessary formations from the contingents of police (militia) retained by them.

While the programme of disarmament and reduction of the military expenditures of States is being carried into effect, part of the funds made available as a result thereof shall be used to furnish economic assistance to under-developed countries.

The above is the Soviet Union's proposal on the procedure for carrying out general and complete disarmament, taking into account the considerations advanced by the Western Powers.

In introducing this proposal, the Soviet Government expresses its readiness to reach agreement on the implementation of disarmament on the basis of the present proposals, which represent a development of the programme put forward on 18 September 1959. The essential point is to conclude an agreement and proceed, at last, to the general and complete disarmament for which the peoples are waiting and which is called for by the United Nations. The Soviet Government is prepared to do this forthwith, without loss of time, and expresses the sincere hope that other States will act in the same way, in full awareness of the responsibility for the cause of disarmament which is borne by the Governments of all States and especially by the Governments of the great Powers.

2 June 1960

-----