



Fourteenth session

DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

An agreement among States to limit and destroy the means of waging war has long been the cherished dream of mankind. Long before it experienced the horrors of world wars, disarmament had been proposed and urged by public figures, statesmen and the parties most closely connected with the working people.

The adoption of effective measures to achieve disarmament is in the interest of every State, large or small, irrespective of its social system and way of life. There is not a nation today that does not view with a deep sense of alarm the present rivalry among States in the production of armaments, a rivalry that has taken on unprecedented proportions, particularly in the development of ever more destructive and lethal weapons of war. There is nothing the nations desire more earnestly than to end such rivalry, fraught as it is with dire consequences for the fate of the world.

General and complete disarmament is the way
to save mankind from the scourge of war

People have come to think of the armaments race as a spectre always marching a step ahead of war. That was the case when Europe, arming feverishly, moved step by step towards the First World War. The same pattern was repeated in the thirties when "guns instead of butter" became the keyword in a number of countries and the flow of armaments again began to fill the arsenals to capacity. Everyone knows how that ended. The nations were plunged into the Second World War which brought them disasters and hardships beside which those mankind had experienced in the darkest periods of its history paled into insignificance.

The war ended and yet men and women were still unable to find peace. Almost the very day after the last battles had been fought, the world was again gripped by the armaments fever, but on this occasion the danger to mankind was greater, because preparations for nuclear warfare were involved.

Never before has the armaments race been fraught with so much danger as it is today in the era of the atom, electronics and the conquest of outer space.

However horrible may have been such means of extermination as rapid-firing automatic weapons, tanks, long-range artillery and aerial bombs, they cannot in any way be compared with atomic and hydrogen weapons and missiles. All the means of destruction available to mankind throughout the centuries, taken together, would constitute but a small fraction of those now at the disposal of the two or three Powers which possess nuclear weapons.

In fact, it is common knowledge that the discharge of a single large modern hydrogen bomb releases destructive energy greater than that of all the explosives manufactured throughout the world during the four years of the Second World War.

The introduction of atomic weapons and missiles into the armaments of military forces, the training of military personnel in their use and the adaptation of military strategy and tactics to the new types of weapons have already reached such an advanced stage that any future military conflict between the Powers may well become a way in which every weapon of destruction now available to the belligerents will be employed. Outer space, which was inaccessible to mankind only a year or two ago, can now be used, just as the sea and the air were used before it, to deliver a nuclear attack against any point on the globe.

Generally speaking, both world wars broke out between neighbouring countries with a common frontier. Today war can break out between States which are several thousands of kilometres apart and may involve whole continents.

In such a war, if it cannot be averted in time, distances would be measured in thousands and tens of thousands of kilometres, time in minutes and seconds and losses in millions, tens of millions, and hundreds of millions of human lives. It would be a war in which there would be no distinction between front and rear, between armies in the field and the civilian populations, between soldiers and children.

The emergence of military alliances that virtually cover the whole globe and are heavily armed against each other has produced a situation in which a small spark, an incident seemingly of local significance, would be enough to unleash the holocaust of war. Although the general system of military commitments has so far not been set in motion and the brakes have held, there neither is nor can be any guarantee, that this will continue to be the case in future.

Never before have so many States and individuals been involved in military preparations as at the present time. Today tens of millions of persons are in the armed forces. If we add to the number of those in military service the men and women connected directly or indirectly with the production of armaments, military research and other activities relating to the provision of supplies and services for the armed forces, we find that hundreds of millions of men and women have been diverted from peaceful employment. A vast amount of human energy, knowledge, ingenuity and skill is, so to speak, being sunk in a bottomless pit, is being swallowed up by expanding armaments.

The armaments race has also spread to States economically unable to support the burden of armaments, a burden which, from the military standpoint, is jeopardizing their very existence. Military bases in the territories of foreign States and armed forces stationed thousands of kilometres from their own frontiers provide clear proof of this.

On the other hand, the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction in the arsenals of some Powers and the establishment of air, naval and missile bases increasingly close to the borders of other States compel the States against which these military preparations are directed to take the necessary steps to strengthen their own security and safeguard the peaceful life of their peoples. The Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and many other peace-loving States would like to undertake a complete conversion of their economy and resources to peaceful purposes so that they can provide the people with ample food, clothing and housing. However, they cannot devote their entire efforts to peaceful construction without mortally endangering the vital interests of their peoples and their own very existence. When one side arms, the other side must do likewise. The quantity of weapons of mass destruction is steadily increasing and, at the same time, the danger of a military explosion is growing.

/...

Today atomic and hydrogen bombs are not only being stored in ultra-secret depots. They are being fitted on bombers which make flights over the territory of many Western European countries. We are nearing the stage when extremely powerful and long-range weapons can be launched not only on the orders of Governments, but at the will of individuals posted at the control panel of these weapons. But it is unlikely that a State on whose territory a nuclear cargo is dropped as a result of evil intent, technical failure or accident, will investigate the cause of such action; it will be compelled to react as it would against a military attack, against an act of war. Can we allow the issue of peace or war to be settled by blind chance? Do all these facts not provide further proof that we can go no further along the road of armaments? The Soviet Union by no means considers that an armaments contest is completely inevitable and that it must at all times be a concomitant of relations between States. The Soviet Union has based and still bases its foreign policy on the assumption that it is possible to prevent the future development of human society from taking the course which has led to two world wars and to ensure that the history of human society ceases to be a chronicle of sanguinary wars.

Weapons are created by the hands of man. The same hands can also destroy them.

The problem of disarmament has already been under discussion in the United Nations for almost fourteen years. It had previously been considered for many years by the League of Nations and by the Disarmament Conference convened by the League. However, no practical results have so far been achieved in terms of agreed decisions among States.

Much could be said about the causes of this gloomy situation that prevails with respect to disarmament. But what we need to do now is not to delve into the past and become further embroiled in controversy but to remove the chief obstacles on which all previous attempts to reach an agreement on disarmament have foundered.

The whole course of the negotiations on disarmament, which have lasted for many years, shows that the problems of organizing control over disarmament has been advanced as one of the chief obstacles to the attainment of such an agreement.

The Soviet Government has always stood, and still stands, for the establishment of strict international control over the fulfilment of agreements on disarmament measures when such agreements have been reached. Every Soviet proposal on the prohibition of atomic weapons and of the testing of such weapons, as well as on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, has invariably been accompanied by specific proposals for the establishment of effective international control. The Soviet Government has, however, been consistently opposed to the control system being converted into a programme of measures unrelated to the actual implementation of disarmament, and more particularly to the control organs becoming organs for the collection of intelligence data on the armaments of States under conditions in which disarmament would not in fact be taking place.

In present circumstances however, the organization of control does involve real difficulties quite apart from the complications which have been artificially injected into the problem. These difficulties will become quite clear on reference to a problem such as that of the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

As we know, the same fissionable materials can be used at the plants concerned both for the production of nuclear weapons and for peaceful needs. This means that in present circumstances, when atomic energy is being increasingly used in the economy, some of the fissionable materials may be surreptitiously diverted to the production of weapons.

To avoid, in the present atmosphere of distrust, all suspicion that some State or other was concealing its use of atomic materials for military purposes, foreign controllers would have to be granted access to a very large number of plants in each country, and that would in fact amount to establishing a sort of foreign trusteeship over a large sector of the country's economy. At the same time and for precisely the same reason - distrust among States - not one State is prepared to admit foreign controllers and inspectors to its enterprises, particularly those engaged in military production.

Clearly, in the present circumstances, with the continuance of the armaments race, international tension and lack of confidence, the essential conditions for the establishment of over-all control are absent.

So long as distrust prevails between States, the opponents of disarmament can easily make any disarmament measure subject to control conditions which other States cannot accept. Indeed those States which for that or any other reason raise such far-reaching demands regarding the powers of control organs have themselves no inclination whatever to accept such control terms if ever they are put into effect.

In such circumstances any deliberate attempt to advance inflated control requirements and especially to put the establishment of control before disarmament as a prerequisite for any disarmament measures, is tantamount to blocking all approaches to the solution of the problem.

The Soviet Government considers that the time has come to make a sober assessment of the situation that has developed and to admit that since the approach used so far in seeking a solution of the problem of disarmament has failed to produce the necessary results, the proper conclusions should be drawn from that fact. The Soviet Government believes there can be but one conclusion: that it is the duty of all States and of the United Nations urgently to seek a new way of solving the problem of disarmament, which is the burning problem of our time.

What is this new way? How can an end be put to a situation in which great wealth extracted by man from nature, and transformed by scientific genius, by the skill of engineers and the efforts of many millions of workers, is wasted on producing means of destruction and extermination? How is it possible to prevent tens of millions of people who are at the peak of their creative force and energy from being torn away from useful work to serve in the armed forces and to train for a war of devastation?

The majority of statesmen and public figures as well as the broad masses of the population of all countries already recognize that another world war would be a fearful tragedy for everybody, and for some countries whose area is not large but whose population density is high it would be a disaster threatening their very existence.

The task now is to find some means of preventing mankind from being engulfed in a nuclear missile war.

In the present state of international relations and at the present level of military technology when any military conflict may lead to a nuclear missile war, the only way to ensure the security of all States is to exclude the very possibility of war. As long as large armies, air forces and navies exist, as long as there are nuclear and missile weapons, as long as young men on the threshold of life are trained first of all in the arts of war, and general staffs work out the plans for future military operations, there is and can be no guarantee of peace between peoples. The most effective and solid guarantee of peace, in keeping not only with the loftiest ideals but also with the urgent demands of the people, is not the balance of armaments, which every State endeavours to interpret in such a way as to turn it to its own advantage, but the inability of States to wage a war for lack of material means.

After carefully considering the present international situation and the experience of earlier disarmament negotiations the Government of the Soviet Union has come to the conclusion that the best means of solving the disarmament problem, which is the chief international problem of our time, is complete and general disarmament by all States.

By complete and general disarmament the Soviet Government means the renunciation by all States without exception of the maintenance of any kind of armed force apart from minimum contingents for internal security (militia, police) equipped with small arms and designed to maintain order in each country.

This means that land armies, navies and air forces will cease to exist; general staffs and war ministries will be abolished, and military training establishments will be closed. Tens of millions of people will return to peaceful, constructive work.

Foreign military bases now established in a number of States, which are detrimental to sovereignty and security of those States and extremely harmful to the cause of international confidence and co-operation, will be abolished.

All atomic and hydrogen bombs in the possession of States will be destroyed and their further production discontinued. Energy derived from fissionable materials will be used exclusively for peaceful economic and scientific purposes.

Military missiles of all ranges will be eliminated, and missiles will remain only as a means of transport and for the exploration of outer space for the benefit of all mankind.

Guns, tanks, shells, and torpedoes will be melted down to provide metal for the needs of peaceful construction work. Warships and military aircraft will be scrapped.

Stockpiles of chemical and bacteriological weapons accumulated by some States, asphyxiating and poisonous substances, and cultures of lethal bacteria which are potential sources of severe epidemic disease will all be finally and irretrievably destroyed.

Such is the disarmament programme which the Soviet Government submits to all States for their consideration and firstly to the Members of the United Nations, proposing that it should be put into effect without delay.

This is a radical programme, but that is precisely what guarantees that it can be carried out in the present circumstances. The existence of blocks of Powers, opposed to one another, in which dozens of States are committed to mutual military obligations, together with the dizzy pace at which military technology is developing, demands bold and far-reaching decisions if peace is to be ensured.

The proposal for complete and general disarmament is to be distinguished from all other disarmament proposals, since its realization would completely exclude any inequality and would rule out the possibility that military advantages of any kind would be created for any State.

Hardly anyone would deny that if a radical decision was taken to bring about the general and complete disarmament of all States within a short firmly established time-limit and if that decision was put into effect, the entire international situation would change completely. Relations between States, including countries belonging to different social systems and to opposing military and political blocks, would be put on a completely new basis.

Fear of possible aggression by any State would in fact be removed. The readiness of States to undertake complete general disarmament would be convincing factual confirmation of the absence of any aggressive intentions on their part and of their sincere desire to base relations with other countries on the principle

of peaceful co-existence. Furthermore, with the destruction of armaments and the abolition of armed forces no physical possibility whatsoever would remain that States could pursue any policy but that of peace. The abolition of the means of waging war would provide an even more solid basis for co-existence between States as relations between States could no longer develop along any other lines.

General and complete disarmament would remove the distinction between the victors and the vanquished in the last war. The significance and international prestige of Powers would be determined not by their military might but by the extent to which they participated in creating the material and spiritual riches of mankind. The prestige of individual States and the importance of their contribution to the history of mankind would be measured not by the number of their divisions, bombers or rockets, the tonnage of their warships and submarines, or their stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs, but by their achievements in the production of material wealth, in the improvement of the working and living conditions of the people and in the struggle for the prolongation of life.

Naturally even after the completion of a general disarmament programme, contradictions between States will remain, particularly between States with different social and economic systems. These contradictions will not, however, be resolved through military clashes but by peaceful economic competition, by the struggle of ideas, and with the help of other peaceful means as prescribed in the United Nations Charter.

General and complete disarmament will remove also the difficulties connected with control. In such circumstances States will have nothing to hide from each other, and there will be every opportunity to carry out checks or inspections if there is any doubt about the good faith of any State in fulfilling its disarmament obligations.

In other words, the decision in favour of general and complete disarmament would at last make it possible to break the vicious circle of distrust between States, which now fetters them in their negotiations on partial disarmament measures and prevents them from making any progress whatever.

/...

When general and complete disarmament has been achieved, a new and much more favourable atmosphere will be created for the solution of many complex political problems still outstanding, including those in Europe.

Lastly, the achievement of general and complete disarmament would offer all countries new prospects of economic development. There would be unprecedented opportunities for a rapid improvement in the living standards of all nations, since funds could be put to good use that are now being spent by States on the maintenance of armed forces and the manufacture of armaments.

The opponents of disarmaments not infrequently try to discredit the very concept of disarmament asserting that the cessation of armaments manufacture would inevitably cause economic difficulties and bring unemployment to many people now engaged in the armament industries. But this is a specious argument.

Surely, current production of lethal weapons consumes vast sums of public money, which could be used for building houses for the population, new schools for children and free hospitals for those needing medical treatment, and for providing or increasing old-age and disability pensions. Surely the use of these funds for peaceful purposes offers the fullest opportunities for employment.

There can be no doubt that general and complete disarmament would create conditions for the material and intellectual development of all countries at a rate many times in excess of the present one. The thousands of millions that would flow like a torrent into the civil economies as a result of the cessation of military expenditure would be used in far more favourable circumstances than those prevailing at present. The artificial barriers with which States isolate themselves and jealously guard their scientific and technological achievements for military and strategic reasons would gradually fall away. Scientists in all countries would be able to devote their work exclusively to the service of society and the improvement of living conditions. The unimpeded exchange of information would give new impetus to scientific, technical and economic progress in all States, at the individual and at the collective level.

If all States pooled their efforts and provided the funds needed for waging an all-out offensive against such enemies of mankind as cancer and other serious diseases which still resist treatment, these diseases could soon be defeated. General disarmament would furnish the prerequisites for such a concerted effort to improve the health of mankind.

/...

The greater mutual confidence between States resulting from general and complete disarmament would favour the extensive development of international trade. The artificial barriers in the form of discriminatory restrictions, lists of prohibited goods, etc., employed by certain Powers to prevent the extension of this trade, would disappear. The industries of such countries as the United States, the United Kingdom, Western Germany and France would at last be able to avail themselves of the existing wide opportunities for securing large foreign orders. Mutually-beneficial trade would have a favourable influence on the economies of trading States.

General and complete disarmament would also create new opportunities for providing assistance to States whose economies are at present under-developed and need help from the more advanced countries. The allocation of even a small proportion of the resources, released by the cessation of military expenditure by the great Powers, for assistance to such States would inaugurate a new era in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The following example will suffice:

The Aswan High Dam and the hydroelectric installations associated with it, now under construction on the Nile in the Egyptian part of the United Arab Republic, probably constitute the most impressive project now being carried out in any of the under-developed countries of Africa or Asia. If general and complete disarmament is achieved and highly-developed industrial countries set aside say 10 per cent of the resources thus saved for assistance to under-developed countries, such allocations from the budgets of two Powers alone - the United States and the Soviet Union - could finance the construction of several such dams every year.

In 1958 the direct military expenditure alone of Member States of the NATO military bloc totalled 60,000 million dollars. One-tenth of this sum, if used to help under-developed countries, would finance the construction, every year, of more than ten iron and steel plants, similar to those now being built in India.

Such are the opportunities for promoting the economic progress of under-developed countries on the basis of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union is in favour of making the fullest use of these opportunities.

This is not the first time the idea of general and complete disarmament has been put forward. The Soviet Government made proposals to this effect in the period between the two world wars. The interests of rival groupings of Powers attempting to turn the military might of aggressive States against the only socialist State then in existence prevented the adoption of that Soviet proposal, with disastrous consequences for peace.

Opponents of the proposals for general and complete disarmament were then wont to say that the Soviet Union had made the proposals because it was economically and militarily weak. This false argument may have misled some people, but it is obvious to everyone today that to talk of the weakness of the Soviet Union is absurd, and that the new Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament is prompted solely by the desire to promote the establishment of lasting peace between nations.

The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the socialist countries are sharply opposed to war and to the manufacture of weapons of war. It would, however, be incorrect to imagine that States with a different social system have no reason to support sincerely and unreservedly a proposal for general and complete disarmament. Destruction of the means of waging war cannot, and will not, be detrimental to the national interests of any State. No Government with genuine concern for the fate of its country and its people can adopt an unfavourable attitude to a proposal for general and complete disarmament.

There are over a 100 States on the political map of the world. The States are at different levels of economic development, they have different political and social systems and their peoples have different living conditions and levels of culture. But, despite the different circumstances in which the peoples of the various countries live, they have one thing in common: the desire to prevent another war and to secure everlasting peace on earth. When no State is physically able to take military action against other States, the course of international relations will be dominated by genuine mutual confidence.

In the belief that all these lofty aims can and must be attained by the concerted efforts of all States, united in the spirit of the peaceful principles

of the United Nations, the USSR Government submits for the consideration of the United Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament:

Programme for general and complete disarmament

A programme for general and complete disarmament must include the following measures:

The disbanding of all armed forces (land, naval and air forces) and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form;

The destruction of all forms of armaments and military supplies both in the possession of the armed forces and in depots;

The elimination of all warships, military aircraft, and all other types of military equipment;

The complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the cessation of the manufacture of all types of these weapons, their elimination from the armaments of States and the destruction of stockpiles;

The complete cessation of the manufacture, and the destruction of all types of war missiles, irrespective of their range, including military space vehicles;

The prohibition of the production, possession and storage of the means of chemical and bacteriological warfare, and destruction of stockpiles of these types of weapons;

The abolition of military bases of all kinds - army, navy, and air force - in the territories of foreign States and all missile-launching installations;

The cessation of military production at war plants and at war production units in general industrial plants;

The termination of all military courses and training, both in the army and in public organizations, and the enactment of legislation abolishing military service in all its forms - compulsory, voluntary, by recruitment, and so forth;

The abolition of war ministries, general staffs, military educational institutions and military and paramilitary establishments and organizations of all kinds;

The discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether from State budgets or from public organizations and private individuals;

The prohibition by law of war propaganda and the military education of young people, and the enactment of legislation prescribing severe penalties for the infringement of any of the measures enumerated above.

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 exclusively for the maintenance of internal order and the protection of the personal security of citizens.

For the purpose of supervising the timely implementation of the measures of general and complete disarmament, an international control organ composed of all States shall be established. The staff of the control organ shall be recruited on an international basis with due regard to the principle of equitable geographic distribution.

The international control organ shall have at its disposal all the facilities necessary for the exercise of strict control. The functions and powers of this organ shall correspond to the nature of the disarmament measures being implemented.

The Soviet Government proposes that the programme of general and complete disarmament should be carried out within as short a time-limit as possible - within a period of four years.

The following measures are proposed for the first stage:

The reduction, under appropriate control of the strength of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China to the level of 1.7 million men, and of those of the United Kingdom and France to the level of 650,000 men;

The reduction of the strength of the armed forces of other States to levels to be agreed upon at a special session of the United Nations General Assembly or at a world conference on general and complete disarmament;

The reduction of the armaments and military equipment at the disposal of the armed forces of States to the extent necessary to ensure that the remaining quantity of armaments corresponds to the level fixed for the armed forces.

The following is proposed for the second stage:

The completion of the disbandment of the armed forces retained by States;

The elimination of all military bases in the territories of foreign States; troops and military personnel shall be withdrawn from the territories of foreign States to within their own national frontiers and shall be disbanded.

The following is proposed for the third stage:

The destruction of all types of nuclear weapons and missiles;

The destruction of air force equipment;

The entry into force of the prohibition on the production, possession and storage of means of chemical and bacteriological warfare. All stockpiles of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the possession of States shall be removed and destroyed under international supervision;

Scientific research for military purposes and the development of weapons and military equipment shall be prohibited;

War ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations shall be abolished;

All military courses and training shall be terminated. States shall prohibit by law the military education of young people.

In accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, States shall enact legislation abolishing military service in all its forms - compulsory, voluntary, by recruitment, and so forth, and prohibiting the re-establishment in overt or covert form of any military or paramilitary establishments and organizations.

The appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether from State budgets or from 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 extensive economic and technical assistance to under-developed countries.

For the purpose of supervising the implementation of the measures of general and complete disarmament, an international control organ shall be established.

The extent of the control and inspection exercised shall correspond to the stage reached in the phased disarmament of States.

Upon the completion of general and complete disarmament, which shall include the disbandment of all services of the armed forces and the destruction of all types of weapons, including weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, rocket, chemical, bacteriological), the international control organ shall have free access to all objects of control.

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

While the programme of general and complete disarmament is being carried into effect and until the final disbandment of all armed forces, States shall maintain the same ratio among the various services of their armed forces as existed at the time of the entry into force of the disarmament agreement.

The programme of general and complete disarmament shall be carried out by States in strict conformity with the time-limit specified in the agreement, and its implementation may not be suspended or be made contingent upon the fulfilment of any conditions not provided for in the agreement.

To anticipate possible attempts on the part of States to circumvent or violate the agreement on general and complete disarmament, the agreement shall contain a provision stipulating that any question of its violation shall be submitted for immediate consideration by the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations, in accordance with their respective sphere of competence.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Government wishes to approach the existing situation realistically, and if at present the Western Powers do not, for one reason or another, express their readiness to embark upon general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Government is prepared, as before, to come to terms with other States on appropriate partial measures relating to disarmament and the strengthening of security. In the view of the Soviet Government, the most important steps are the following:

- (1) Establishment of a control and inspection zone and reduction of foreign troops in the territories of the Western European countries concerned;

/...

- (2) Establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe;
- (3) Withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of European States and abolition of military bases in the territories of foreign States;
- (4) Conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the member States of NATO and the member States of the Warsaw Treaty;
- (5) Conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of surprise attack by one State upon another.

The Soviet Government considers it appropriate to recall its disarmament proposals of 10 May 1955, which outlined a specific scheme for partial measures in the field of disarmament. It is convinced that these proposals constitute a sound basis for agreement on this vitally important issue.

With respect to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, the Soviet Government has been and still is in favour of immediate cessation of such tests for all time.

The Soviet Government expresses its deep conviction that the proposed radical solution of the disarmament problem would ensure a profound change in the course of international relations, would bring into being an atmosphere of confidence among States and would create conditions for the peaceful life of nations. The Soviet Government calls upon the Governments of all countries of the world and, in particular, upon the Governments of the great Powers, which possess the most powerful armed forces, which are permanent members of the Security Council, and which bear a special responsibility towards the nations for universal security, to proceed jointly and without delay to the implementation of general and complete disarmament.
