

UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/4990  
27 November 1961  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

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Sixteenth session

LETTER DATED 27 NOVEMBER 1961 FROM THE PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST  
REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I enclose herewith the Statement of the Soviet Government dated  
27 November 1961 concerning the resumption of negotiations on the discontinuance  
of nuclear weapons tests, and a draft Agreement on discontinuance of nuclear  
and thermonuclear weapons tests.

I should be glad if you would have this Statement and draft Agreement  
circulated as a General Assembly document.

(Signed) V. ZORIN  
Permanent Representative of the USSR  
to the United Nations

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE RESUMPTION OF  
NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

The Soviet Government is a firm and consistent advocate of general and complete disarmament. This is a problem which has faced the peoples of our planet throughout their historical development. In our time, when States possess monstrous means of destruction and annihilation, concern for the life and welfare of present and future generations is indissolubly bound up with the fight for general and complete disarmament. Mankind has now no way out but to scrap all munitions of war and make peace without armies and armaments. Otherwise the peoples will be overwhelmed by the destructive maelstrom of a nuclear missile war, a war in which, in a matter of minutes, not only will separate towns and cities disappear from the face of the earth, but whole countries may be devastated.

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, after analysing every aspect of the present international situation, stated its full conviction that the preservation of peace in our time is a real and feasible task. The sure and reliable way to that end is to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Soviet Union believes in the force of ideas, not of weapons. That is the reason why the Soviet Government proposes that all armaments, conventional and thermonuclear, should be consigned to the remotest depths of the ocean.

It is certain that if the decision depended on the Soviet Union alone, the disarmament problem would have been solved long ago. Armies would have been disbanded, stockpiles of weapons would have been eliminated and their production would have been stopped. Obviously, however, the Soviet Government cannot solve this problem by itself, in isolation from the actual international situation, with the aggressive NATO bloc feverishly building up its armed forces, improving its armaments, and openly threatening us with war. In such circumstances the Soviet Government could not and cannot ignore the needs of its security and that of all peace-loving States.

The Soviet Union is compelled to seek a solution of the disarmament problem through agreement with the Western Powers, who unhappily still do not really desire this. The Soviet Government considers, however, that this state of affairs cannot go on forever. Sooner or later the Western Powers - if, that is, they are not bent on self-destruction - will have to consent to general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Government is gratified to note that the idea of general and complete disarmament propounded by Mr. Khrushchev at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly enjoys wide support throughout the world, even though the Western Powers are evading the conclusion of an agreement on the subject. The presentation by the Soviet Union and the United States of America of a Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations for consideration at the present session gives ground for some hope. The Soviet Government assumed, and hopes, that the General Assembly will at its present session adopt on the basis of this Statement a resolution on the resumption of negotiations on every aspect of general and complete disarmament and the establishment of the body within which these negotiations will take place.

Agreement on general and complete disarmament will also remove the difficulties surrounding the establishment of a system of international control. The Soviet Government has often stated that it is prepared to accept any kind of control proposed by the Western Powers if they will agree to general and complete disarmament. Once armaments or armies cease to exist, States will have no ground for fear that control may be used for espionage and intelligence purposes. In a fully disarmed world, control will become a means of verification alone, and will be really effective and comprehensive.

With the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the problem of the discontinuance of nuclear tests will solve itself, since nuclear weapons themselves will have been destroyed and consequently States will have no reason for testing and, indeed, nothing to test.

The Soviet Government is convinced that this policy offers the most reliable solution of the problem of the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests for all time.

The Soviet Government, untiring in its efforts to achieve the primary goal - that of general and complete disarmament - considers that the greatest possible use must be made of all means and opportunities which might bring the attainment of that goal nearer. For that reason, it has agreed to resume negotiations on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and has sent its representative to Geneva with instructions to try yet again to reach agreement on this question with the representatives of the Western Powers.

The Soviet Government has given careful study to the question of resuming talks at Geneva, and in particular, to the means of making them succeed. Do the peoples really need yet another fruitless conference? They rightly expect and justly demand practical and positive results.

It may be asked whether there is a way out of the present situation. Yes: there is. The Soviet Government has concluded that a new approach to the cessation of nuclear tests is now necessary, one which would avoid the difficulties and obstacles which have hindered agreement in the past.

The whole experience of the three-year negotiations at Geneva shows that they were bound to become deadlocked because our colleagues were trying to secure unilateral advantages for themselves to the detriment of the security of the other side. In the end that attitude blocked any solution of the problem of the cessation of nuclear tests. It is impossible, of course, to achieve the cessation of nuclear tests on that completely discredited basis, especially now that the States members of the NATO bloc are working all out at their military preparations and are threatening to reply to the conclusion of a German peace treaty by resort to war.

The question arises whether in the present situation the problem of the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests can be solved nevertheless, so that a real step can be made towards the achievement of the paramount task, general and complete disarmament. Yes; it can.

With this end in view, the Soviet Government is presenting for examination by the Governments of the Western Powers the following proposal: to conclude immediately a suitable agreement prohibiting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space: that is, in environments where control would not encounter any serious technical difficulties.

The fulfilment of these obligations could be verified mutually with success and sufficient reliability by existing national technical devices. It is well known that national detection devices have been satisfactory hitherto, and in practice the nuclear weapons tests that have been carried out, whether by the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom or France, have not passed unrecorded or undetected by them.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan spoke of this real possibility of exercising control in their joint statement of 3 September 1961, in which, as

everyone knows, they proposed the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere in reliance on "existing means of detection", which in their opinion were quite adequate and needed no supplementary international machinery. This approach, proposed by the leading statesmen of the United States and the United Kingdom, could also be extended to nuclear weapons tests under water and in outer space, since the possibilities of control over those tests are also technically unlimited and could certainly be realized by the existing national detection devices. Moreover, the whole world would watch vigilantly to see that the Powers fulfilled their agreement not to conduct nuclear tests; and that, too, would be a very powerful restraining factor.

In regard to underground nuclear weapons tests, the Soviet Government considers that States ought to undertake not to carry out these tests until agreement is reached on a system of control over underground explosions as an integral part of an international system of control over implementation of a programme of general and complete disarmament.

The method proposed by the Soviet Union for solving the problem of discontinuance of nuclear tests would make it possible forthwith to save mankind from all nuclear explosions, and at the same time would not place any State in a position of advantage or impair the ability of States to ensure their national security. That approach would completely dispel all the suspicions that have legitimately been aroused in connexion with the wide opportunities for using the eventual control system for intelligence purposes.

It goes without saying that the success of the Geneva negotiations would, without any doubt, be facilitated by agreement between all the nuclear States not to carry out any kind of nuclear testing while the talks continued. The Soviet Government, although it has carried out considerably fewer nuclear weapons tests than the United States, the United Kingdom and France, is nevertheless prepared to give such an undertaking if the other States will do so as well.

The Soviet Government also considers that the time has come to include France in the negotiations on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. It is time to put an end to this double game the Western Powers are playing, in which some members of NATO negotiate on the prohibition of testing while others with the tacit approval of their allies continue to explode and develop nuclear bombs, thereby reinforcing the military potential of the NATO bloc.

Obviously, if any of the Western Powers, including France, start to carry out nuclear tests, then the Soviet Union will again be compelled by the force of circumstances to draw the appropriate inferences.

The Soviet Government, desiring to guide the negotiations that are about to begin in Geneva on a practical course, has drafted an Agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests, which it submits to the Western Powers for examination.

The Soviet Government expresses its confidence that the proposals it is introducing provide a real opportunity for the prompt achievement of agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and will help to create a favourable atmosphere for the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, the relaxation of international tension, and the strengthening of peace.

AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR AND  
THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

Draft Agreement proposed by the USSR Delegation

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the French Republic,

Proclaiming as their primary purpose the speediest possible conclusion of an Agreement on general and complete disarmament which would abolish for all time the threat of an outbreak of war, put an end to the armaments race and remove incentive to the manufacture and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and

Believing that the renunciation by States of the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament,

Have for those purposes agreed as follows:

Article 1

The States Parties to this Agreement solemnly undertake not to conduct tests of any kind of nuclear or thermonuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, or under water.

Article 2

For the purpose of exercising mutual supervision of compliance with the undertaking contained in article 1 of this Agreement, the States Parties to this Agreement shall use their own national systems of detection of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions.

Article 3

The States Parties to this Agreement shall undertake not to conduct any underground tests of nuclear weapons until they have agreed together on a system of control over such tests as an integral part of an international system of control over compliance with an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

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Article 4

This Agreement shall enter into force immediately after its signature by the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the French Republic, and shall be open to accession by all States.

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