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REGULATION, LIMITATION AND BALANCED REDUCTION OF ALL
ARMED FORCES AND ALL ARMAMENTS. CONCLUSION OF AN
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION (TREATY) ON THE REDUCTION OF
ARMAMENTS AND THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC, HYDROGEN AND
OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Letter dated 22 September 1955 from the Vice-Chairman of
the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
addressed to the Secretary-General

New York, 22 September 1955

Will you kindly give instructions for the distribution of the following
as General Assembly documents: the proposal submitted by the Soviet delegation
in the United Nations Sub-Committee on Disarmament on 10 May and the
Soviet Union's proposal put forward by Mr. N.A. Bulganin, President of the
Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the Conference of the Heads of Government of
the Four Powers on 21 July. I enclose the text of both documents.

(Signed) V. KUZNETSOV,

Deputy Chairman of the
Delegation of the USSR

ANNEX I

PROPOSAL BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE
REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS, THE PROHIBITION OF
ATOMIC WEAPONS AND THE ELIMINATION OF THE
THREAT OF A NEW WAR

DECLARATION

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the great responsibility which rests with the United Nations for the maintenance of peace among the peoples, considers it its duty to draw the attention of all States to the situation which is at present developing in relations between States.

More than ever before, the peoples, which so recently experienced the Second World War with the heavy loss of life and the vast material destruction that war inflicted, are displaying an unflinching will for peace.

As a result of this deep-rooted desire of the peoples for peace, it has already proved possible to bring the bloodshed in Korea and Indo-China to an end and thereby to create more favourable conditions for the settlement of other outstanding international problems.

At the same time, the peoples are displaying a legitimate concern for the fate of peace, especially in view of the situation that is developing in Europe and Asia. This concern has found expression, in particular, in the resolutions adopted at the Conference of Asian and African countries held recently in Bandung, which was of great importance in the struggle for peace, freedom and the independence of peoples.

So far from improving, the situation in some areas of the world is at present deteriorating, and mutual distrust between States is becoming intensified. The absence of the necessary confidence in relations between States is the main reason preventing the settlement of outstanding problems both in Europe and in Asia.

This applies pre-eminently to relations between the great Powers, which bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of universal peace and the security of peoples.

Despite the obligations assumed by the great Powers, together with the other States Members of the United Nations, to co-operate in the maintenance of peace and international security, the relations between them do not correspond with the requirements. Mistrust in relations between the Powers led, after the end of the Second World War, to the rise of the threat of a new war still more terrible in its consequences.

As a result of this mistrust, particularly in the relations between the permanent members of the Security Council, the armaments race is assuming ever-increasing proportions, and land, naval and air forces are steadily increasing. The supreme achievements of science and technique are being used to produce the most destructive means for exterminating human beings. The armaments race has assumed particularly large proportions in the production of such dangerous weapons as atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Large numbers of foreign military bases are being established on the territory of other States, a fact which is causing legitimate anxiety to the States in whose vicinity these bases are being established. The creation of such bases also increases the threat to the security of the States on whose territory they are established. The existence of these bases, many of which are being used for the preparations for atomic war that are being carried out by certain Powers, is still further intensifying mistrust in relations between States and increasing international tension.

As a result of all this, the world has for many years been in a state of so-called "cold war", and the military preparations of States are laying a constantly increasing burden on the shoulders of the peoples.

Despite the fact that as long ago as 1947 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a decision condemning all forms of propaganda "either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression", open propaganda for a new war is being carried on in a number of States. Calls to war, far from being brought to a stop, have become increasingly frequent in the press, on the radio and in public statements. Moreover, calls for atomic war have been especially frequent in recent times.

The former traditional economic and trade links between numerous States, developed over many years, have been broken, with all the resulting adverse consequences for international economic co-operation.

The situation that has arisen requires that immediate and effective action should be taken to ease international tension and to strengthen mutual confidence in relations between States. This can only be achieved if an end is put to the "cold war" and if the propaganda for a new war which is being carried on in certain States with its accompanying incitement of enmity and hatred between peoples and its inflaming of certain peoples against others, is brought to a stop.

Continuance of the propaganda which is being carried on in certain countries with a view to fanning war hysteria, as also incitement to war, can only intensify international tension and mutual distrust between States and thereby increase the threat of a new world war.

On the other hand, the cessation of the "cold war" between States would help to bring about a relaxation of international tension, the creation of the necessary confidence in international relations, the removal of the threat of a new war and the establishment of conditions permitting a peaceful and tranquil life of the peoples. This, in turn, would create the requisite conditions for the execution of a broad disarmament programme, with the establishment of the necessary international control over its implementation.

To these ends, the General Assembly:

1. Recommends all States to take the necessary measures to ensure scrupulous compliance with the General Assembly resolution condemning all forms of propaganda for a new war, to put an end to all calls for war and for the kindling of hostility between peoples in the press, on the radio, in the cinema and in public statements. Non-compliance with this recommendation shall be regarded as a violation by a State of its international duty and of its obligations to the United Nations, namely, to abstain in its international relations from the threat or the use of force and not to permit violations of the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

2. Notes with satisfaction the successes achieved in the talks between the interested States on the Korean question - which led to the termination of the war in Korea - and also on the question of the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China. Two dangerous hotbeds of war in the Far East were thereby eliminated.

As a result of negotiations between interested States it has also become possible to settle the question of the conclusion of a Treaty of State with Austria, ensuring the restoration of an independent Austria. The settlement of the Austrian question constitutes a new and important contribution to the consolidation of peace in Europe and promotes the creation of conditions for the successful settlement of other outstanding post-war problems.

All this testifies to the fact that the possibilities of settling outstanding international problems by means of negotiations between States in the interests of peace, freedom and the national independence of peoples have by no means been exhausted.

3. Considers that the reduction of international tension and the creation of the requisite confidence between States would be promoted if the Four Powers - the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France - would immediately withdraw their armies of occupation from the territory of Germany inside their national frontiers, with the exception of strictly limited contingents of forces left temporarily in German territory pending the conclusion of an agreement for their complete withdrawal. These ends would also be served by the formation of strictly limited contingents of local police forces in both parts of Germany and the establishment of joint control by the Four Powers over the execution of the relevant agreement.

The General Assembly will welcome any other steps which the Four Powers may take with a view to withdrawing their forces from German territory, and also with a view to facilitating the settlement of the German problem in the interest of European security and the national unification of Germany as a single peace-loving and democratic State.

4. Considers it necessary that the States which are permanent members of the Security Council should reach agreement on the liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of other States and inform the Security Council and the General Assembly of the results. Such an agreement would be of great importance for the reduction of international tension and the removal of mistrust in relations between States, and would help to create the necessary conditions for ending the armaments race.

5. Calls upon States having experience in the production of atomic materials and atomic energy to render extensive industrial and scientific and technical assistance to other countries in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy, without making such assistance conditional upon any demands of a political or military nature.

6. Calls upon the States concerned to settle outstanding questions in the Far East in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, since the existing situation of tension in certain areas of the Far East is fraught with the danger of a new war and constitutes a serious threat to the maintenance of universal peace.

7. Considers it necessary that States, in their economic relations, should remove every form of discrimination impeding the development of broad economic co-operation between them, first of all in the field of trade. Both private and State interests are prejudiced by a situation in which long-established trade ties between States are severed. The elimination of such discrimination and the broad development of international trade relations based on the principle of mutual benefit will help to consolidate friendly relations between States and will promote the improvement of the well-being of peoples. Without the elimination of these obstacles to the development of international trade no genuine relaxation of tension in international relations can be anticipated.

A further important means for the improvement of mutual understanding and the bringing together of peoples is the extension of international cultural relations, notably through the extensive interchange of delegations, through mutual visits by representatives of industry, agriculture, trade, science, culture and art and by student delegations, and through the development of tourism.

8. Decides to place on the agenda of its next session the question of the results achieved through the implementation by States of the provisions of this Declaration, having regard to the fact that the implementation of these provisions will correspond to the desire of the peoples for peace, will promote the creation of the necessary confidence between States and will thereby facilitate the carrying into effect of a broad disarmament programme, with the establishment of effective international control over its execution.

CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF AN INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND
THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

The General Assembly (Security Council),

Seeking to save mankind from a new and destructive war, to reduce the tension in relations between States, and to relieve the peoples of the heavy burden of taxation they bear as a result of the continuing armaments race,

Desirous of ensuring the possibility of resources thus released being used to improve the well-being of the peoples and to afford extensive assistance to the economically under-developed countries,

Instructs the United Nations Disarmament Commission to draw up and submit for the approval of the Security Council a draft "international convention (treaty) on the question of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction".

Such a convention, having as its purpose the strengthening of peace and international security, shall provide for:

- (a) the complete prohibition of the use and production both of nuclear and of all other weapons of mass destruction, and the conversion of existing stocks of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes;
- (b) a major reduction in all armed forces and all conventional armaments;
- (c) the establishment of a control organ with rights and powers and functions adequate to guarantee in the case of all States alike the effective observance of the agreed prohibitions and reductions.

Accordingly, the convention (treaty) shall contain the basic provisions set forth hereunder relating to the execution of measures for the reduction of the conventional armaments of States, the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and the procedure for the carrying out of these measures in two stages:

FIRST STAGE - MEASURES TO BE CARRIED OUT IN 1956

The following measures shall be carried out in 1956:

1. The States Parties to the convention (treaty) shall undertake, as a first step towards the reduction of armaments and armed forces, not to increase their armed forces and conventional armaments above the level obtaining

on 31 December 1954. They shall also undertake not to increase their appropriations for armed forces and armaments, including atomic weapons, above the level of the expenditures effected for those purposes during the year ended 31 December 1954.

The above-mentioned measures shall be carried out within two months of the entry into force of the corresponding agreement.

The United States, the USSR, China, the United Kingdom and France shall furnish the Disarmament Commission, within one month after the entry into force of the convention (treaty), with full official figures of their armed forces, conventional armaments and expenditures for military requirements.

2. An agreed level shall be established to which armed forces of all States in excess of that level shall be reduced, in order that no State may possess armed forces capable of constituting a serious threat to international peace. A substantial reduction of armed forces shall be effected by the United States, the USSR, China, the United Kingdom and France. To these ends the above-mentioned five Powers shall undertake to reduce the strength of their armed forces so that they do not exceed the following figures:

United States	1,000,000 to 1,500,000
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1,000,000 to 1,500,000
China	1,000,000 to 1,500,000
United Kingdom	650,000
France	650,000

The five Powers shall undertake also to reduce their conventional armaments correspondingly.

The above-mentioned five Powers shall in the course of one year effect a reduction in their armed forces and armaments by 50 per cent of the difference between the level of their armed forces and armaments obtaining on 31 December 1954 and the reduced level of the armed forces and armaments of each of these States established in accordance with the obligations assumed by them as set forth hereinabove.

Appropriations by States for armed forces and conventional armaments shall be reduced correspondingly.

3. There shall be convened, not later than during the first half of 1956, a World Conference on the general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, with the participation of States both Members and non-Members of the United Nations, with a view to determining the size of the reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the other States and to prohibiting atomic weapons.

The strength of the armed forces which other States shall be authorized to retain, shall in all cases be considerably lower than the levels established for the five permanent members of the Security Council.

In establishing the size of the reduction in the armaments of States, including those of the permanent members of the Security Council, simple agreed criteria including demographic, geographic, economic and political factors shall be taken into account, with a view to the strengthening of world peace and international security and the diminution of the threat of aggression.

4. As one of the first measures for the execution of the programme for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, States possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons shall undertake to discontinue tests of these weapons.

With a view to supervision of the fulfilment by States of the aforementioned obligation, an International Commission shall be set up which shall submit reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

5. Simultaneously with the initiation of measures for the reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the five Powers by the first 50 per cent of the agreed reduction to the prescribed levels and before the entry into force of the agreement on the complete prohibition of atomic weapons, States shall assume a solemn obligation not to use nuclear weapons, which they shall regard as prohibited to them. Exceptions to this rule may be permitted for purposes of defence against aggression, when a decision to that effect is taken by the Security Council.

6. States possessing military, naval and air bases in the territories of other States shall undertake to liquidate such bases.

The question of the bases to be liquidated during the first stage shall be additionally agreed upon.

The carrying out of these measures must promote the strengthening of the necessary trust between States and facilitate the execution of the measures for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons envisaged for the second stage.

SECOND STAGE - MEASURES TO BE CARRIED OUT IN 1957

The following measures shall be carried out in 1957:

1. The production of atomic and hydrogen weapons shall be discontinued immediately, and budgetary appropriations of States for military requirements shall be reduced correspondingly.

2. The United States, the USSR, China, the United Kingdom and France shall, in the course of one year, reduce their armed forces and armaments by the remaining 50 per cent of the difference between the level of the armed forces and armaments of each of these five States obtaining on 31 December 1954 and the reduced level of the armed forces and armaments of each of these States established in accordance with the obligations assumed by them under the convention. These States shall correspondingly reduce their appropriations for armed forces and conventional armaments.

During this stage, measures with a view to the reduction of the armaments and armed forces of other States to the extent established for them at the World Conference shall also be completed.

3. After the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments has been carried out to the extent of 75 per cent of the total reduction laid down in the convention, a complete prohibition on the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction shall enter into force. The elimination of these weapons from the armaments of States and their destruction, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments by the final 25 per cent of the agreed reductions shall begin simultaneously; and both these processes shall be completed within the time-limits in 1957. All atomic materials shall thereafter be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

States shall undertake to promote extensive international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This co-operation shall include the free exchange exchange of information concerning the use of atomic energy in industry, agriculture and medicine and in other fields of economics and science. In this

connexion, special attention shall be given to assistance to economically under-developed countries. Such assistance shall not be made conditional upon any demands of a political or military nature.

States shall endeavour to devote a part of the savings resulting from world-wide disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons to the extensive use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

4. Measures for the liquidation of all foreign military, naval and air bases on the territories of other States shall be completed.

* * *

On the completion of all the measures enumerated above, it would be desirable that the Powers should further reduce their armaments and armed forces to the levels strictly necessary for the maintenance of internal security and the fulfilment of the obligations of signatory States under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

The question of the obligations of China, as one of the permanent members of the Security Council, under the convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass destruction shall be examined with the participation of the People's Republic of China.

CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OVER THE
REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE PROHIBITION
OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the great importance and the necessity of instituting effective international control over the fulfilment by States of their obligations under the convention on the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons,

Notes that the necessary conditions for the institution of a control system which would enjoy the trust of all States and would fully meet the requirements of international security do not at present exist.

It is impossible to disregard the fact that there exists at present considerable international tension and mistrust in relations between States.

It is this that accounts for the fact that, in the conditions of mistrust among States which have come into being, barriers of every sort are being erected even in regard to the interchange of industrial, agricultural, scientific, cultural and other delegations. Such a situation makes difficult the attainment of agreement regarding the admission by States to their enterprises, particularly those engaged in military production, of foreign control officials who might carry out the inspection of such enterprises.

In the existing situation, when many States are displaying legitimate anxiety for their security, it is difficult to expect that these States would trustingly provide other States with facilities for access to industrial and other resources of theirs which are vital to their security.

In so far as the necessary trust does not at the present time exist between States, a situation may arise in which the adoption of decisions on international control will in reality be reduced to a mere formality which does not achieve the objective. This is all the more inadmissible because, in present conditions, the greatest apprehensions exist among peace-loving peoples in connexion with the existence of atomic and hydrogen weapons, in regard to which the institution of international control is particularly difficult.

This danger is inherent in the very nature of atomic production. It is well known that the production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes can be used for the accumulation of stocks of explosive atomic materials, and moreover, in ever greater quantities. This means that States having establishments for the production of atomic energy can accumulate, in violation of the relevant agreements, large quantities of explosive materials for the production of atomic weapons. The danger of this state of affairs becomes still more understandable if account is taken of the fact that where the corresponding quantities of explosive atomic materials exist production of actual atomic and hydrogen bombs is technically fully feasible and can be effected on a large scale.

Thus, there are possibilities beyond the reach of international control for evading this control and for organizing the clandestine manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons, even if there is a formal agreement on international control. In such a situation, the security of the States signatories to the

international convention cannot be guaranteed, since the possibility would be open to a potential aggressor to accumulate stocks of atomic and hydrogen weapons for a surprise atomic attack on peace-loving States.

Until an atmosphere of trust has been created in relations between States, any agreement on the institution of international control can only serve to lull the vigilance of the peoples. It will create a false sense of security, while in reality there will be a danger of the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons and, hence the threat of surprise attack and the unleashing of an atomic war with all its appalling consequences for the peoples.

It must also be borne in mind that preparations for a new war, the danger of which has been greatly increased by the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons, inevitably necessitate the concentration of large military formations at certain points together with large quantities of conventional armaments - aircraft, artillery, tanks, warships and so forth. Such concentration and the movement of large formations of land, sea and air forces cannot be effected except through important communication centres, ports and airfields. Under conditions of modern military technique, the importance of such points in the preparation of an aggressive war has not diminished, but is on the contrary increasing.

In addition to atomic and hydrogen weapons, for all their destructive capacity, armies of many millions and vast quantities of conventional armaments, which are of decisive importance to the outcome of any major war, would inevitably be involved in military operations in the event of the outbreak of war.

All this must be taken into account in resolving the problem of instituting international control over the fulfilment by States of their obligations under the convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The problem of instituting International Control and of the rights and powers of the international control organ must therefore be considered in close connexion with the execution of the above-mentioned measures for the lessening of international tension, the strengthening of trust between States and the

carrying out of other measures relating to the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

In view of the foregoing,
the General Assembly institutes an International Control Organ having
the following rights and powers:

1. DURING THE FIRST STAGE of execution of the measures for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons

(a) In order to prevent a surprise attack by one State upon another, the International Control Organ shall establish on the territory of all the States concerned, on a basis of reciprocity, control posts at large ports, at railway junctions, on main motor highways and in aerodromes. The task of these posts shall be to see to it that there is no dangerous concentration of military land forces or of air or naval forces.

(b) The International Control Organ shall have the right to require from States any necessary information on the execution of measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces.

(c) The Control Organ shall have unimpeded access to records relating to the budgetary appropriations of States for military needs, including all decisions of their legislative and executive organs on the subject. States shall periodically, within specified time-limits, furnish the control organ with information on the execution of the measures provided for in the convention (treaty).

2. DURING THE SECOND STAGE of execution of measures for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons

The carrying out of the measures provided for in the Declaration set forth above and of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons envisaged for the first stage will create the necessary atmosphere of trust between States, thereby ensuring the appropriate conditions for the extension of the functions of the International Control Organ.

In these conditions, the International Control Organ shall have the following rights and powers:

(a) To exercise control, including inspection on a continuing basis, to the extent necessary to ensure implementation of the above-mentioned convention by all States. The international control organ shall exercise these functions, while also enjoying the right to require from States the necessary information on the execution of measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces.

Staff recruited to carry out the work of inspection shall be selected on an international basis.

(b) To have permanently in all States signatories to the convention its own staff of inspectors having, within the bounds of the control functions they exercise, unimpeded access at all times to all objects of control.

In order to prevent a surprise attack by one State upon another, the International Control Organ shall in particular have on the territory of all the States concerned, on a basis of reciprocity, control posts at large ports, at railway junctions, on main motor highways and in aerodromes.

(c) The Control Organ shall have unimpeded access to records relating to the budgetary appropriations of States for military needs, including all decisions of their legislative and executive organs on the subject. States shall periodically, within specified time-limits, furnish the control organ with information on the execution of the measures provided for in the convention (treaty).

3. The Control Organ shall make recommendations to the Security Council on measures of prevention and suppression with regard to violators of the convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

4. The functions and powers of the permanent international control organ shall be defined on the basis of the foregoing principles, and appropriate instructions shall be prepared for this purpose.

ANNEX II

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED BY MR. N.A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR, AT THE MEETING OF THE
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS HELD ON 21 JULY 1955

DECISION OF THE MEETING OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT
OF THE FOUR POWERS ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE
REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE PROHIBITION OF
ATOMIC WEAPONS

I

With a view to the reduction of tension in the relations between States, the strengthening of mutual confidence among them and the removal of the threat of a new war, the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France consider it necessary to endeavour to secure as soon as possible the conclusion of an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

Following an exchange of views on the question of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, they have agreed on the following:

1. The levels of the armed forces of the United States of America, the USSR and China shall be fixed at 1 to 1.5 million men for each of these Powers; the levels for the United Kingdom and France shall be 650 thousand men each, and the question of the level to be fixed for China, with other related questions concerning the armed forces of China, shall be examined with the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The levels of armed forces for all other States shall not exceed 150-200 thousand men, and shall be subject to agreement at the appropriate international conference.

2. The complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons shall enter into force when conventional armaments and armed forces have been reduced to the extent of 75 per cent of the agreed reductions. The elimination of these weapons from the armaments of States and their destruction shall be completed during the

process of the reduction of armaments by the final 25 per cent of the agreed reductions. All atomic materials shall thereafter be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

3. Simultaneously with the initiation of measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the four Powers, before the entry into force of the agreement on the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, shall assume a solemn obligation not to use nuclear weapons, which they shall regard as prohibited to them. Exceptions to this rule may be permitted for purposes of defence against aggression, when a decision to that effect is taken by the Security Council.

4. As one of the first measures for the execution of the programme for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, States possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons shall undertake to discontinue tests of these weapons.

5. Effective international control shall be instituted over the execution of measures for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

6. The heads of government of the four Powers have instructed their Ministers of Foreign Affairs to make every effort to achieve the necessary agreement on any yet unsettled points of the convention referred to above, which shall be subject to examination in the United Nations.

II

At the same time, the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France, determined to prevent the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, which are weapons of mass destruction of human beings, and to liberate the peoples from the threat of devastating atomic war, solemnly declare:

Pending the conclusion of the international convention for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France assume the obligation not to be the first to use atomic or hydrogen weapons against any country, and call on all other States to associate themselves with this declaration.