for various reasons, the Western countries do not agree to general and complete disarmament.

5. The Bulgarian people and their Government have supported and will support all measures for the creation of a control and inspection zone and for the reduction of foreign troops on the territories of the West European countries concerned, the creation of an "atom-free" zone in central Europe, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of the European countries and the abolition of the military bases on foreign territories, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO States and the Warsaw Treaty countries, an agreement on the prevention of a surprise attack by one State upon another. There is no people which does not work for peace and which does not strive for its preservation. This is fully comprehensible because there is no people which has not, in one way or another, experienced the horrors of war. The Balkans have time and again been an area of conflagration, bloodshed and devastation. Within the life-span of only one generation, the Balkan people were plunged, against their will, into the abyss of several fratricidal wars, which took the lives of and maimed hundreds of thousands of the sons of the people and brought unhappiness to their mothers and fathers, their wives and children. One can hardly find a community in Bulgaria and in the other Balkan countries which has not been torn by war in human life. Wars have inflicted the heaviest of disasters on the economies of the Balkan countries; they have wasted huge funds and the wealth of the people. With the modern nuclear and missile weapons, the consequences of a new war would be incomparably more dreadful, as is noted in the declaration of the Soviet Government. The peoples of the Balkans have renounced this past. This past should be renounced by their Governments; not only the socialist but also the non-socialist Balkan countries should resolutely take the path to a reduction of world tension and a consolidation of world peace. The historical ties and traditions which have been created among the Balkan peoples over the centuries are a valuable capital to which their Governments should turn in order to find a common language and possibilities for co-operation in the name of peace. General and complete disarmament would relieve the peoples of the heavy burden of the military budgets. The abolition of foreign military bases, the discontinuance of the preparations for setting up missile-launching pads on the territory of some countries would scatter the stormy clouds of war hanging over the Balkans and initiate the elimination of mutual suspicions among the Balkan peoples.

6. True to its peaceful policy, the Bulgarian Government has undertaken numerous steps to improve relations with the non-socialist countries in the Balkans, to strengthen peace in that area. It has proposed the conclusion of collective or bilateral treaties among the Balkan countries.

7. Not long ago our country proposed the signing of a non-aggression pact between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Greece. We have twice reduced our armed forces, thereby giving a new and real expression to our peaceful policy. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people have unanimously supported the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, for the creation of an "atom-free" and rocket-free zone in the Balkans and the Adriatic because it serves the cause of peace. The proposal for a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan States has the same aim. If these measures are carried out, they will open the road to new agreements among the Balkan countries and will provide new possibilities for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace.

8. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to believe that the proposal of the Soviet Government for general and complete disarmament will meet with the support and good will of all Balkan Governments, of the Governments of all countries, big or small. Only then will it be possible to save mankind and civilization from the horrors of a nuclear and missile war, which, if it should break out, will devastate not only whole countries, but entire continents. Now it is the supreme duty of all Governments to act prudently and to listen to the voice of their peoples. For this reason, the Bulgarian Government and people express their complete solidarity with, and give their unreserved support to, the proposals of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament, which is in the interests of all mankind and in the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence among nations.

DOCUMENT A/C.1/820

United Kingdom declaration on comprehensive disarmament, made by Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly at its 798th plenary meeting, on 17 September 1959

[Original text: English]
[16 October 1959]

First stage

In the first stage the following matters should be dealt with:

(a) Nuclear tests. If, as we very much hope, agreement is reached at the present conference between the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom (Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests), that agreement should be endorsed by other nations.
We believe that that is an important step towards dealing with the vexed question of the spread of nuclear armaments;

(b) There should be a technical conference on the feasibility of controlling what is called the "cut-off", in other words, ceasing to use fissionable material to make weapons. That is an even more important step if we are indeed to stop the spread of the manufacture of nuclear weapons;

(c) The great Powers should agree to maximum limits for their forces. There should be the establishment of an international body charged with the task of collecting information on present levels of forces and conventional armaments. The object of this would be to try to establish some basis for limiting conventional armaments. In this context armaments are even more important than the levels of forces;

(d) We should pursue the idea of the handing over of specific quantities of designated types of armaments to the custody of an international control organization;

(e) If these other ideas are acceptable I think we should follow up the not very successful Conference of Experts for the study of possible measures which might be helpful in preventing surprise attack with a further conference to consider the political as well as the technical aspects of this particular problem;

(f) There should be a study of the problems involved in the use of outer space. It is true that some work has been done on this in the United Nations, but the Soviet Union has not taken part in that work. I would hope that their attitude will change on that point and recent remarkable events make that hope not unreasonable;

(g) Finally, in this stage, we should study between us the nature and functions of the international control organ which will not only have to control disarmament measures, but also will have increasing responsibilities within the framework of the United Nations to preserve world peace as purely national armaments diminish. In 1954 in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission we did spend considerable time studying the problems of the control organization. The United States paper submitted on that occasion might provide a basis for this further study. We have also gained considerable experience as a result of the discussions at the nuclear tests Conference in Geneva.

All this would be the beginning, the first stage.


Second stage

At the second stage, or intermediate stage, the following steps should be taken:

(a) There should be progressive reduction of conventional armaments and military manpower under proper control;

(b) There should be the introduction of the cut-off of production of fissile material for weapons purposes;

(c) We should begin to reduce stocks of nuclear weapons by successive transfers, under international supervision, of existing military stocks of fissile material, whether fabricated into weapons or not, to non-weapons uses;

(d) There should be the establishment of a system of inspection against surprise attack;

(e) There should be agreement on a system to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes;

(f) We should begin to develop the capacity of the international control organ to take measures to keep the peace.

That would be the second or intermediate stage at which real progress was actually being made with real disarmament.

Third stage

The ultimate objective or the third stage should be comprehensive disarmament by all Powers under effective international control including the following matters:

(a) There should be a ban on the manufacture of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction;

(b) There should be a ban on the use of such weapons;

(c) There should be a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes;

(d) There should be a re-examination of the possibility of controlling and then eliminating the remaining stocks of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction;

(e) There should be the establishment of effective international control of military budgets;

(f) As progress is made in dealing with remaining stocks of nuclear weapons, there would be the final reductions of conventional armaments and military manpower to the levels required for internal security purposes only;

(g) The international control organ should reach its final form and attain its full capability for keeping peace.

DOCUMENT A/C.1/821

Suggestions of the French delegation (extract from the statement made by the representative of France at the 1030th meeting of the First Committee, on 22 October 1959)

[Original text: French]
[27 October 1959]

1. I should like to describe the three principles which we must bear in mind in our present studies, before making some remarks about the plans already proposed.

2. The first subject we must consider is that of the new technological situation. Since the interruption of the talks on disarmament in 1957, the speeding up of scientific progress has created new risks and made old dangers more acute. The rate at which devices with thermo-nuclear warheads are being hurled into the stratosphere is proving even more dangerous than the former race in aircraft bombs. It is spreading the danger of almost universal destruction by monstrous robots travelling at thousands of miles an hour. The way is being opened to the tragic possibility of a total war unleashed by accident, by error or through a misunderstanding.

3. The number of projectiles travelling in the stratosphere is increasing so rapidly that it will soon be