

*Recognizing* that the necessity of taking urgent and effective measures to preserve peace calls for a united effort and for agreement, especially between those States which possess the largest armed forces and produce atomic and hydrogen weapons,

*The Soviet Government proposes* that the Governments of the States represented in the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission should reach an agreement on partial disarmament measures.

Proposals for such partial measures, with necessary explanations and comments, are set out hereinafter.

1. The United States proposes that for the present an agreement on conventional armaments shall be limited to an agreement to reduce armed forces to 2.5 million men for the United States and the Soviet Union and to 750,000 men each for the United Kingdom and France, and to reduce armaments and military budgets by 10 per cent; but the United States declines to agree in advance to make a further major reduction in armed forces to the levels, proposed by itself, of 1-1.5 million men for itself and the Soviet Union and 650,000 men for the United Kingdom and France, or to take measures to prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons.

During the last year and a half the Soviet Union has reduced its armed forces by 1,840,000 men, whereas the levels of the armed forces of the Western Powers have remained practically unchanged during that period. The United States proposal to limit reduction of armed forces to 2.5 million men for itself and the Soviet Union, in the absence of an agreement on a comprehensive disarmament programme and regardless of the unequal situation of the two States, gives an advantage to one side at the expense of the other. It cannot be ignored that the Soviet Union has a territory much larger than, for example, that of the United States, and lengthy frontiers the protection of which requires proportionately numerous armed forces. Most particularly, it cannot be ignored that the security of the Soviet Union is threatened in the west by the North Atlantic bloc, in the south by the Baghdad Pact grouping, and in Asia and the Far East by the Baghdad Pact grouping and the SEATO military bloc.

The position of the United States, whose territory is smaller and whose frontiers are shorter than those of the Soviet Union, is entirely different. The crux of the matter is that the frontiers of the United States are in no danger. To the east and the west the United States is separated from other countries by oceans, extending many thousands of kilometres, and to the north and the south it adjoins States from which, according to its own admission, it does not anticipate any danger. There is no need to prove at length that the United States of America has not been and is not now threatened by the Soviet Union.

It appears from the foregoing that, whereas a reduction of armed forces to 2.5 million men would not only give the United States security, but also enable it to maintain large armed forces outside its frontiers in foreign territories, the reduction of the Soviet armed forces to that level would impair the security of the Soviet Union, whose frontiers, unlike those the United States, are not protected by natural obstacles and are also over a considerable length common with those of countries belonging to the aforesaid military groupings.

The situation would be different if the United States, the Soviet Union and China agreed to reduce their armed forces at the second stage to 1-1.5