BASIC PROVISIONS OF A TREATY ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Proposals by the Soviet Government submitted
to the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament on 7 June 1960

On 18 September 1959 the Soviet Government put forward for consideration by the United Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament. In submitting this proposal, it proceeded from the firm conviction that the complete disarmament of all States, the elimination of all means of waging war, constitutes the most effective and, in the present circumstances, the most practicable way to prevent the outbreak of a rocket and nuclear war, which would bring disaster upon the nations, and to ensure lasting peace on earth.

The balance of power prevailing in the world at present, when an aggressor could not be able to venture to unleash war against peaceloving States with impunity; the destructive power, unprecedented in the history of mankind, of modern weapons, which are capable of swiftly annihilating entire States; the feasibility of almost instantaneous delivery of such weapons to any point on the globe -- all these factors make any reliance on war as a means of settling international disputes sheer madness. The peaceful co-existence of States with different social systems, which the Soviet Union, as well as other socialist countries has always been advocating is a real fact. Peaceful co-existence, however, cannot be sufficiently stable, peace cannot be considered to be reliably safeguarded as long as the arms race is being continued, as long as States have at their disposal the means for making a lightning attack on other countries and gigantic stockpiles of weapons, including nuclear weapons.

To-day truly fantastic sums of money are being spent on armaments. Suffice it to say, that certain types of modern bombers cost more than their weight in gold. And is it not a fact that many types of armaments become obsolete and are scrapped, even before they have left the factories? The arms race is becoming a senseless waste of human labour and of material resources. The sums now being spent by States on the production and stockpiling of weapons would alone suffice to put an end to hunger throughout the world.

*Revised translation of the original Russian text.*
The fact that the energy of hundreds of millions of people and the values they create are being spent on preparations for war, the inadmissibility of which is becoming every day more obvious, cannot be tolerated any longer. Mankind to-day with its wonderful achievements in the conquest of nature and the development of spiritual culture deserves a better fate.

The great goal, about which many generations of men have dreamed, namely, to put an end to war, to eliminate war altogether from the life of human society, has now become something that can really be achieved. This goal can be achieved by eliminating all types of weapons and disbanding all the armies in the world, that is, by general and complete disarmament. This is the only genuinely reliable basis on which, in the present conditions, a lasting, unbreakable peace among all States can rest.

General and complete disarmament cannot result in advantages to any of the parties. This makes it possible to do away with many of the obstacles which arose whenever there was talk of only partial disarmament measures and when some States feared that the implementation of such measures might upset the balance of power and prove detrimental to their security. The conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament would also make it much easier to carry out international control over disarmament measures for, if complete disarmament is achieved, States will have no reasons to conceal anything from one another and it will be possible to carry out complete control.

The proposal of the Soviet Union on general and complete disarmament met with enthusiastic approval in all the countries of the world. It gave new strength to the endeavours of the peoples to rid themselves forever of the nightmare threat of a rocket and nuclear war. No government opposed that proposal. The United Nations unanimously approved the idea of general and complete disarmament and confirmed the fact that such disarmament is the most important question facing the world today. The appeal of the United Nations General Assembly to Governments to do their utmost to reach a constructive solution of this problem in the shortest possible time has placed a great moral obligation upon all States.

To give effect to that appeal of the United Nations and to justify the hopes of the peoples calling for disarmament, it is necessary that the Governments on whom rests the main responsibility for reaching an international agreement on this question should take, without any further delay, concrete measures for the preparation and conclusion of such an agreement.
The Soviet Government is making every effort in the disarmament negotiations to achieve practical results as soon as possible, namely, the preparation and signing of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

As is known, the Soviet Union's proposals of 18 September 1959, contain a concrete programme for carrying out general and complete disarmament in three stages within a period of four years. It was proposed that during the first stage a substantial reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments of States would be carried out under international control; that during the second stage the disbandment of the remaining contingents of these armed forces would be completed and military bases on foreign territories would be liquidated, and that in the third stage all types of nuclear and rocket weapons would be destroyed and other measures for the completion of general and complete disarmament would be carried out.

In proposing this sequence of disarmament measures the Soviet Union took into account the views of the Western Powers which in the course of the previous disarmament negotiations had referred to the USSR's superiority in armed forces and conventional armaments and had argued that measures in the field of nuclear disarmament should be deferred to the last stage. So far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it has always been in favour of making a war with weapons of mass destruction impossible, and it considers that the sooner this is done, the better.

During the meetings and talks between leading statesmen that have taken place in recent months, as well as in the course of the work of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament which was assigned the task of working out measures for the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament, the views and proposals of the parties concerned on questions of disarmament were set forth in detail and stated with greater precision.

The Soviet Government, while consistently upholding its proposal for general and complete disarmament as meeting the great goal of ensuring lasting peace on earth, in which all nations without exception are interested, is at the same time prepared to take into account any constructive considerations and desires of other participants in the negotiations, that will contribute to the achievement of an agreement on the practical implementation of disarmament.
In the course of the negotiations some Powers, France in particular, expressed the view that disarmament should begin with the prohibition and destruction of vehicles for the delivery to their target of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, such as war rockets, military aircraft, warships and so on; at the same time due account was taken of the need for the simultaneous liquidation by States of their military bases in foreign territories.

The Government of the USSR still considers that the order of implementation of the disarmament measures, as provided for in its proposal of 18 September 1959, is fully consistent with the aim of bringing about general and complete disarmament in practice. Nevertheless, in the desire to facilitate in every way the speediest possible achievement of agreement on this question in order to ensure stable and lasting peace among all States, the Soviet Government is again prepared to take steps forward to meet the Western powers and to agree on a different order of implementation of disarmament measures, if this order is more acceptable to the Western powers.

Being an ardent advocate of the speediest possible deliverance of mankind from the threat of a rocket and nuclear war, the Soviet Government proposes that agreement should be reached to begin the process of general and complete disarmament with the prohibition and destruction under international control, already during the first stage, of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets and with the simultaneous liquidation of military bases in foreign territories.

When war rockets of all ranges, military aircraft, submarines and surface warships, artillery capable of firing nuclear shells and all other means of delivering weapons of mass destruction to their targets have been destroyed and States no longer maintain armed forces and military installations outside their own frontiers it will be practically impossible for one country to attack another with atomic and hydrogen weapons.

With this object in view, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to begin disarmament with the destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, despite the fact that it has a generally recognized superiority in the most modern and effective means of this kind, namely, intercontinental ballistic missiles.
If that is done, during the next, second, stage of the disarmament programme such measures could be carried out as the prohibition of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons and the cessation of their further manufacture. The threat of a nuclear war in any form would be removed for ever. At the same time a considerable reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments of States would be carried out.

The third stage would be marked by the completion of general and complete disarmament, the disbanding of all armies, war ministries and general staffs, the abolition of compulsory military service and of the military training of youth, and the complete cessation of expenditure for military purposes.

It is proposed that all this disarmament programme should be carried out, on the basis of an international treaty, within a fixed period of time -- four years or some other agreed period under effective international control.

In discussions on the question of general and complete disarmament in international bodies much attention has been given to the question of the measures which must be taken to ensure peace and the maintenance of international law and order in relations between States in conditions of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government proposes that the States parties to the treaty should jointly examine this question in detail so that during the implementation of the third and final stage such measures, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, would be taken as are necessary for the maintenance of peace in conditions of general and complete disarmament, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the Security Council, whenever necessary, police (militia) detachments in order to ensure the maintenance of peace. Of course, such police (militia) detachments may be used solely for the purpose of maintaining peace among nations, not for the suppression of peoples who are struggling for their independence and social progress, and not for interference in the internal affairs of States.

It is proposed that all disarmament measures be carried out under strict international control from beginning to end. For this purpose the parties to the treaty must set up an international control organization whose competence will include all disarmament measures and will be extended as these measures become increasingly comprehensive and far-reaching.

In accordance with the foregoing the Soviet Government submits the draft basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.
BASIC PROVISIONS OF A TREATY ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

The Governments of the States Members of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament set up in 1959, being guided by the resolution on "General and complete disarmament" adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fourteenth session on 20 November 1959, in the interests of saving mankind from the threat of a new war, and in the interests of securing lasting and inviolable peace on earth, recognise the need to proceed forthwith to the practical accomplishment of the task of general and complete disarmament, and have to this end resolved to draw up a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which will include the following basic provisions:

1. General and complete disarmament entails:
   - the disbanding of all armed forces of States and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form whatsoever;
   - the prohibition and destruction of all stockpiles, and the cessation of the manufacture, of all kinds of armaments, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, biological and other types of weapons of mass destruction;
   - the destruction of all means of delivering weapons of mass destruction to their targets;
   - the liquidation of all kinds of military bases, and the withdrawal and disbanding of all foreign troops stationed in the territory of any State;
   - the abolition of any kind of military conscription for citizens;
   - the termination of universal military training and the closure of all military education institutions;
   - the abolition of war ministries, of general staffs and their local agencies, and of all other military and paramilitary establishments and organizations;
   - the discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes whether from State budgets or from public organizations or private individuals.

When general and complete disarmament has been achieved, States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which will be agreed upon for each country and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.
II. General and complete disarmament shall be carried out by all States over one and the same strictly defined period of time to be agreed upon, the process of disarmament being carried out gradually, in three consecutive stages, bearing in mind that at no stage shall any State gain military advantages over other States as a result of the course of disarmament.

To consider the question of the adherence of other States to the agreement on general and complete disarmament a conference will be convened with all countries participating.

III. All disarmament measures, from beginning to end, will be carried out under strict and effective international control, as follows:

a) immediately after the signing of the treaty a preparatory commission will be set up, with the task of taking practical steps to establish an international organization for the control of general and complete disarmament;

b) the control organization will be set up within the framework of the United Nations the moment the treaty comes into force. It will comprise all States, Parties to the treaty whose representatives will meet periodically as a conference to consider matters arising out of the implementation of effective control over disarmament. The conference will elect a Control Council, consisting of permanent and non-permanent members, which will have its own local organs. The Control Council will consist of representatives of socialist countries, of representatives of States now Members of Western military and political alliances, and of representatives of neutral States. Except where otherwise especially agreed upon, decisions in the Control Council will be taken by a two-thirds' majority of votes on substantive matters and by a simple majority of votes on procedural matters.

c) the Control Council will be responsible for the practical administration of the control system, will draw up instructions, and will in good time analyse and process the reports rendered to it. States will submit to the Control Council information about their armed forces and armaments.

d) in all countries parties to the agreements the control organization will have its own staff, recruited internationally with due regard for the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. The control organization will distribute its inspectors over the territory of States in such a way as to enable them to start discharging their functions the moment States initiate the implementation of disarmament measures. Each Party to the treaty will undertake to give the inspectors and inspection teams timely and unrestricted access within its territory to any place where disarmament measures
subject to verification are being carried out or to any area in which on-the-spot
inspection of such measures is to be made. To these ends, each Party to the treaty
will, for the account of the control organization, make available to the staff of
the control organization all means of transport needed for travel within its territory.

e) The staff of the control organization will enjoy in the territory of each
party to the treaty such privileges and immunities as may be necessary for exercising
independent and unrestricted control over the implementation of the disarmament
treaty.

f) All the expenses of the international control organization will be met by
the States Parties to the treaty. The scale of contributions of States will be laid
down in the text of the treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The control organization shall at each stage have powers in conformity with the
scope and nature of disarmament measures involved.

The basic disarmament measures will be spread over the three stages of the
programme of general and complete disarmament in the following way:

First stage

1. All means of delivering nuclear weapons will be eliminated from the armed
forces of States; their manufacture will be discontinued and they will be destroyed.
Such means include:
   - strategic and tactical rockets, pilotless aircraft of all types, and all
     military aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons;
   - surface warships that can be used as vehicles for nuclear weapons;
   - submarines of all classes and types;
   - all artillery systems, as well as other means, that can be used as vehicles
     for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

2. All troops will be withdrawn from foreign territories to within their own
national frontiers. Foreign military bases and depots of all kinds, both those
released after the withdrawal of troops and those kept in reserve will be eliminated.

3. From the very beginning of the first stage and until the final destruction
of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the placing into orbit or stationing in
outer space of any special devices, the leaving of their territorial waters by
warships and the flying beyond the limits of their national territory by military
aircraft capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction, will be prohibited.

4. The launching of rockets will be carried out exclusively for peaceful
purposes and in accordance with predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and
will be accompanied by agreed measures of verification, including inspection at the
rocket launching sites.
5. States having nuclear weapons at their disposal will undertake not to transfer such weapons, or to transmit information necessary for their manufacture, to States which do not possess them. At the same time, States not possessing nuclear weapons will undertake to refrain from manufacturing them.

6. States will reduce their military expenditures correspondingly.

7. The following control measures will be carried out during the first stage:

On-site international control will be established over the destruction of rocket weapons, military aircraft, surface warships, submarines and other means which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

International inspection teams will be dispatched to places where military bases are situated and troops stationed on foreign territories, in order to supervise the elimination of the said bases and the withdrawal of military personnel and troops to within their own national territories; control will also be established at airfields and ports, to ensure that they are not used for military purposes. At the same time, rocket launching sites, with the exception of those maintained for peaceful purposes, will be destroyed under the supervision of the international control organization.

The control organization will have the right to inspect without hindrance all enterprises, plants, factories and shipyards, previously engaged wholly or in part in the production of rockets, aircraft, surface warships, submarines and any other means of delivering nuclear weapons, in order to prevent the organization of clandestine production of armaments which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

International inspection teams dispatched by the control organization will have the right to carry out a thorough examination of rocket devices to be launched for peaceful purposes, and to be present at their launching.

The inspectors will communicate with the control council through existing channels of communication, being given such privileges as will ensure the prompt delivery of reports and instructions.

8. In the first stage joint studies will be undertaken of the measures to be implemented in the second stage relating to the discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and to the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons.
9. The first stage is to be completed within approximately 1 - 1.5 years. The international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the first-stage measures with a view to reporting on them to the States parties to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Second Stage

1. There will be a complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, with the cessation of manufacture and the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons.

2. The armed forces of all States will be reduced to fixed levels, those of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being reduced to a maximum level of 1.7 million men. Conventional weapons and munitions thus released are to be destroyed, and military equipment either destroyed or used for peaceful purposes. Military expenditures of States will be reduced correspondingly.

3. The following control measures will be carried out during the second stage:

Representatives of the control organization will conduct the on-site inspection of the destruction of all existing stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The control organization will have the right to inspect all enterprises which extract raw materials for atomic production or which produce or use fissile materials or atomic energy. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

There will be on-site international control over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments.

The duties of inspectors will include:

- supervision of precise and punctual compliance with decisions on the disbanding of military formations and units, elimination and destruction of the material of conventional armaments, military equipment and munitions;
- reporting to the control council and to the Government of the host country.

International inspection teams will include experts in the type of units to be disbanded and the types of weapons to be destroyed.

The control organization will have unhindered access to documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of States for military purposes, including all relevant decisions of legislative and executive bodies of States.
4. In the second stage joint studies will be undertaken of the following measures to be implemented in the third stage:

a) measures to ensure observance of the treaty on general and complete disarmament after the implementation of all the measures provided for by that treaty;

b) measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter under conditions of general and complete disarmament.

5. As in the case of the transition from the first to the second stage, the international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the second-stage measures with a view to reporting them to the States parties to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Third stage

1. The abolition of the armed forces of all States will be completed. States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which will be agreed upon for each country, and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

2. All remaining types of conventional armaments and ammunition, whether held by the armed forces or in depots, will be destroyed, and military equipment will either be destroyed or be put to peaceful uses.

3. Military production at all factories will be terminated, including the manufacture of conventional armaments, with the exception of strictly limited production of light firearms intended for the use of the contingents of police (militia) retained by States after the end of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

4. War ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations will be abolished. All military courses for reservists will be terminated. In accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, States will enact legislation prohibiting the military training of young persons and abolishing military service in all its forms.

5. The appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether from State bodies, from private individuals or from public organizations, will be discontinued. The funds released as a result of the
achievement of general and complete disarmament will be used to reduce or to do away entirely with taxes on the public, to subsidize the national economy and to furnish economic and technical assistance to the under-developed countries.

6. At the third stage, the following additional control measures will be introduced:

The international control organization will send inspectors to verify on the spot the abolition of war ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations, and the termination of military training and all other forms of military activity.

Control will be established over the discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes.

The control organization may, where necessary, institute a system of aerial inspection and aerial photography over the territory of States.

7. After the programme of general and complete disarmament has been carried out, the control organization will be kept in being to maintain constant supervision over the implementation by States of the obligations they have assumed. The Control Council will have the right to send mobile inspection teams to any point or to any establishment in the territory of States.

States will provide the control organization with information about the points at which the contingents of police (militia) are stationed, about their strength at every such point (crea) and about any movements of substantial contingents of police (militia) near State frontiers. International inspection teams will carry out comprehensive control to ensure that the strength of the police (militia) and their armament are in conformity with the quota agreed upon for each country.

8. Other measures designed to ensure compliance with the treaty on complete disarmament will come into force.

9. Measures for preserving peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations will be put into effect. States will undertake, where necessary, to place at the disposal of the Security Council units from the contingents of the police (militia) remaining at their disposal.

As the implementation of the disarmament programme and the reduction of military expenditure of States proceeds, part of the funds thus released will be used to give economic assistance to under-developed countries.

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Such is the Soviet Union proposal concerning the order in which general and complete disarmament should be carried out, taking into account the considerations of the Western Powers.

In submitting this proposal, the Government of the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to reach agreement on the implementation of disarmament on the basis of these proposals, which represent a development of the programme put forward on 18 September 1959. The most important thing is to conclude an agreement and at last to embark upon general and complete disarmament, for which the peoples are waiting and which the United Nations is urging. The Soviet Union Government is prepared to do so without delay, without wasting time, and expresses its sincere hope that other States will do likewise in full awareness of the responsibility for disarmament which rests upon the governments of all States, and particularly on the governments of the great Powers.

2 June 1960