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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
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(Classification)  
Unac.

Attachment 2

Official Translation

Draft

#31

TREATY  
BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
ON THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS  
IN EUROPE

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Conscious that nuclear war would have devastating consequences for all mankind,

Proceeding from the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America of May 29, 1972,

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Convinced that the measures reducing and limiting medium-range nuclear arms in Europe provided for in this Treaty will help to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war and strengthen international peace and security,

Guided by the principle of equality and equal security,

Recognizing that strengthening the stability of the strategic situation in Europe meets the interests of the Parties and the interests of international security,

Reaffirming their desire to take measures for the further reduction and for the further limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, having in mind the goal of ultimately ridding Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear arms,

Have agreed as follows: SECRET

16-M-0901



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Article I

Each Party undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, not to deploy in Europe or the adjacent waters of seas and oceans medium-range nuclear arms of new types, radically to reduce the medium-range nuclear arms it has as of June 1, 1982, in that region to limit them to agreed levels and to adopt other measures provided for in this Treaty.

Article II

For the purposes of this Treaty:

1. Medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) launchers are fixed or mobile land-based launchers of ballistic missiles capable of a range from 1000 km to 3500 km.
2. Submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers are launchers of ballistic missiles of types first flight-tested prior to 1965 and installed on submarines made operational prior to 1965.
3. Delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action are airplanes of the following types: for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Tupolev-22M, Tupolev-22 and Tupolev-16, and for the United States of America, F3-111, F-111, F-4, A-6 and A-7, and in the future, airplanes of these types, modernized in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.

[ In view of the above the Soviet side proposes that agreement be reached on the following Common Understandings to paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article II of the Treaty:

"First Common Understanding. For the purposes of this Treaty, MRBM launchers are all launchers which have been developed and tested for launching MRBMs. If a launcher has been developed



and tested for launching an MRBM, all launchers of that type shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching MRBMs. If a launcher contains or launches an MRBM, that launcher shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching MRBMs. If a launcher has contained or-launched an MRBM of some specific type, all launchers of that type shall be considered launchers of that type of MRBM.

"Second Common Understanding. For the purposes of this Treaty SLBM launchers are all launchers which have been developed and tested for launching SLBMs. If a launcher has been developed and tested for launching an SLBM, all launchers of that type shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching SLBMs. If a launcher contains or launches an SLBM, that launcher shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching SLBMs. If a launcher has contained or launched an SLBM of some specific type, all launchers of that type shall be considered launchers of that type of SLBM."

As for delivery airplanes, we propose the following Agreed Statements to paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty:

"First Agreed Statement. The term 'delivery airplane,' as used in paragraph 3 of Article II and other provisions of the Treaty, means airplanes of types initially constructed to be equipped for bombs or missiles.

"Second Agreed Statement. Having agreed that every airplane of a type included in paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty is to be considered a delivery airplane having a medium radius of action, the Parties further agree that airplanes which otherwise would be airplanes of a type of delivery airplane having a medium radius of action shall not be considered to be airplanes of a type of delivery airplane having a medium radius of action if they are distinguishable from delivery airplanes having a medium radius



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Article III

For the purposes of this Treaty, the zone of reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear arms shall be the entire territory of Europe, Turkey and Soviet Transcaucasia, with the adjacent waters of seas and oceans.

The Soviet side also believes it advisable to agree on the following Common Understandings to Article III of the Treaty.

"First Common Understanding. The zone of reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear arms is the land surface or the water surface, as well as the air space above them, to which the provisions of the Treaty apply.

"Second Common Understanding. The waters of seas adjacent to the territory of Europe, Turkey and Soviet Transcaucasia are: the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, the Norwegian Sea, the Barents Sea, the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic Sea, the Ionian Sea, the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the Ligurian Sea.

"Third Common Understanding. The waters of oceans adjacent to Europe are the waters of the Arctic Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, from 40° West longitude eastward to 60° East longitude.

"Fourth Common Understanding. The islands located in the waters of seas and oceans adjacent to the territory of Europe, Turkey and Soviet Transcaucasia are within the zone of reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear arms."

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Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS  
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Article IV

1. Upon entry into force of this Treaty, each Party undertakes to reduce the numbers of its MRBM launchers, SLBM launchers and delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action so that five years after entry into force of the Treaty the aggregate numbers of such launchers and delivery airplanes in the zone of reduction and limitation do not exceed 300 on the side of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty Organization and on the side of the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

2. Subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall have the right to determine the composition of the arms it will reduce.

3. Reductions in the numbers of medium-range nuclear arms, required to comply with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article, shall be carried out as provided for in Article VII of this Treaty.

4. Subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall have the right to carry out modernization and replacement of MRBMs, SLBMs, their launchers, and delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action, in the zone of reduction and limitation.

Article V

1. The reductions and limitations provided for in this Treaty shall apply to those arms which are:

- (a) operational;
- (b) in the final stage of construction;

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(c) in reserve, in storage, or mothballed;

(d) undergoing overhaul, repair, modernization, or conversion.

2. The arms subject to the limitations provided for in this Treaty shall continue to be subject to these limitations until they are dismantled, or destroyed, or withdrawn behind the lines specified in paragraph 4 of Article VII, or otherwise cease to be subject to these limitations under procedures to be agreed upon.

3. In accordance with the provisions of Article VII, the Parties will agree upon procedures to implement the provisions of this Article in the Standing Consultative Commission established by the Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the United States of America Regarding the Establishment of a Standing Consultative Commission of December 21, 1972.

4. The limitations provided for in Article IV shall not apply to MRBM and SLBM test and training launchers and test and training delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action. MRBM and SLBM test and training launchers and test and training delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action are MRBM launchers, SLBM launchers and delivery airplanes used only for testing or training.

5. Upon entry into force of the Treaty, the Parties will notify each other in the Standing Consultative Commission of the numbers, by category and type, of MRBM launchers, SLBM launchers and delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action, used in the zone of reduction and limitation for testing and training in

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accordance with paragraph 4 of this Article. They will subsequently notify each other in the Standing Consultative Commission of changes in these numbers.

6. The Parties agree that in the zone of reduction and limitation there shall be no significant increase in the number of MRBM or SLBM test and training launchers or test and training delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action.

In order to ensure compliance with this provision the Soviet side proposes adoption of the following Agreed Statement and Common Understanding to Article V of the Treaty.

"Agreed Statement. The term 'significant increase,' as used in paragraph 6 of Article V of the Treaty, means an increase of fifteen percent or more. Any new MRBM test and training launchers which replace test and training launchers at test ranges will be located only at training centers and test ranges.

"Common Understanding. The term 'testing,' as used in Article of the Treaty, includes research and development.

#### Article VI

1. Each Party undertakes within the zone of reduction and limitation:

- (a) not to supply MRBM launcher deployment areas with ballistic missiles in excess of a number consistent with normal deployment, maintenance, training, and replacement requirements;



4. Subparagraph 1(a) of Article VI of the Soviet Draft Treaty contains the obligation not to supply MRBM launcher deployment areas with ballistic missiles in excess of a number consistent with normal deployment, maintenance, training, and replacement requirements. In this connection, it is proposed that the following Agreed Statement be adopted:

"The term 'normal deployment requirements,' as used in subparagraph 1(a) of Article VI of the Treaty, means the deployment of one missile at each MRBM launcher."

(b) not to deploy new types of MRBMs or delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action, that is, types not deployed as of June 1, 1982.

2. Each Party undertakes not to deploy within the zone of reduction and limitation, or outside thereof:

- (a) cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 km on sea-based launchers or land-based launchers, or launchers of such missiles;
- (b) ballistic missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 km for installation on waterborne vehicles other than submarines, or launchers of such missiles;



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- (c) air-to-surface ballistic missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 km;
- (d) fixed ballistic missile launchers for emplacement on the ocean floor, on the seabed, or on the beds of internal waters and inland waters, or in the subsoil thereof, or mobile launchers of such missiles which move only in contact with the ocean floor, the seabed, or the beds of internal waters and inland waters, or missiles for such launchers.

**I**n connection with the provision of the draft on banning the deployment of sea- and ground-launched cruise missiles the Soviet side proposes adoption of the following Common Understanding to paragraph 2 of Article VI of the Draft Treaty:

"For the purposes of this Treaty, cruise missiles are unmanned, self-propelled, guided, weapon-delivery vehicles which sustain flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of their flight path."

In connection with air-to-surface ballistic missiles we propose that agreement be reached on the following Common Understanding:

"For the purposes of this Treaty, air-to-surface ballistic missiles are any such missiles installed in an aircraft or on its external mountings."

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3. Each Party undertakes, within the zone of reduction and limitation, or outside thereof, not to convert aircraft other than delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action into aircraft which can carry out the mission of delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action.

4. Each Party undertakes not to deploy outside the zone of reduction and limitation medium-range nuclear arms in such a way that the corresponding arms of the USSR could reach targets to the west of a line coinciding with the state border between the GDR and the FRG, and the corresponding arms of the USA could reach targets to the east of that line.

5. In order to enhance the viability and effectiveness of this Treaty, each Party undertakes:

- (a) to carry out in the zone of reduction and limitation collateral measures to limit nuclear arms capable of a range (radius) of action of less than 1000 km.

specific provisions in this regard are provided for in the Protocol to this Treaty;

- (b) not to circumvent the provisions of this Treaty through any other state or states, or in any other manner.

#### Article VII

1. Medium-range nuclear arms which would be in excess of the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraph 1 of Article IV of this Treaty, as well as nuclear arms prohibited by this Treaty, shall be dismantled or destroyed, or withdrawn behind the lines specified in paragraph 4 of this Article, under procedures to be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission.

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2. Dismantling or destruction, or withdrawal behind the lines specified in paragraph 4 of this Article, of nuclear arms which would be in excess of the aggregate number provided for in paragraph 1 of Article IV of this Treaty shall begin on the date of the entry into force of the Treaty and shall be carried out in approximately equal amounts each year over the subsequent five-year period.

3. In reducing medium-range nuclear arms, each Party may withdraw behind the lines specified in paragraph 4 of this Article no more than \_\_\_\_ percent (number to be agreed upon) of the total number of such arms being reduced.

4. The Parties agree that the lines behind which the nuclear arms specified in paragraph 3 of this Article are to be withdrawn shall be as follows:

- (a) for MRBM launchers and SLBM launchers,  
(geographic coordinates to be agreed upon);
- (b) for delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action,

#### Article VIII

Each Party undertakes not to assume any international obligations which would conflict with this Treaty.

#### Article IX

1. For the purpose of providing assurance of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall use national technical means of verification at its disposal in a manner consistent with generally recognized principles of international law.



2. Each Party undertakes not to interfere with the national technical means of verification of the other Party operating in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. Each Party undertakes not to use deliberate concealment measures which impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty. This obligation shall not require changes in current operating procedures or in current construction, assembly, conversion, or overhaul practices.

[ In connection with this provision the Soviet side proposes that agreement be reached on the following Agreed Statement: "Deliberate concealment measures, as referred to in paragraph 3 of Article IX of the Treaty, are measures carried out deliberately to hinder or deliberately to impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty." ]

4. If necessary, the Parties may, within the Standing Consultative Commission, develop cooperative measures contributing to the effectiveness of verification by national technical means.

#### Article X

1. To promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of this Treaty, the Parties shall use the Standing Consultative Commission.

2. Within the framework of the Standing Consultative Commission, with respect to this Treaty, the Parties will:

- (a) consider questions concerning compliance with the obligations assumed and related situations which may be considered ambiguous;



- (b) provide on a voluntary basis such information as either Party considers necessary to assure confidence in compliance with the obligations assumed;
- (c) consider questions involving unintended interference with national technical means of verification, and questions involving unintended impeding of verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty;
- (d) consider possible changes in the strategic situation which have a bearing on the provisions of this Treaty;
- (e) agree upon procedures for replacement, dismantling or destruction, or withdrawal behind the lines specified in paragraph 4 of Article VII, of nuclear arms in cases provided for in the provisions of this Treaty and upon procedures for removal of such arms from the aggregate numbers when they otherwise cease to be subject to the limitations provided for in this Treaty, and at regular sessions of the Standing Consultative Commission notify each other in accordance with the aforementioned procedures, at least once a year, of actions completed and those in progress;
- (f) consider, as appropriate, possible proposals for further increasing the viability of this Treaty, including proposals for amendments in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.

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3. At regular sessions of the Standing Consultative Commission the Parties will, at least once a year, update the agreed data base on the numbers, by category and type, of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe, as established by the Memorandum of Understanding Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America Regarding the Establishment of a Data Base on the Numbers of Medium-Range Nuclear Arms in Europe.

In this connection, it is proposed that agreement be reached on the following Agreed Statement to paragraph 3 of Article X of the Draft:

"In order to maintain the agreed data base on the numbers of nuclear arms subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article X of the Treaty, at sessions of the Standing Consultative Commission the Parties will notify each other of changes in those numbers, by category and type, for: MRBM launchers, SLBM launchers and delivery airplanes having a medium radius of action."

#### Article XI

1. This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration.
2. Each Party shall, in exercising its national sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests. It shall give notice of its decision to the other Party six months prior to withdrawal from the Treaty. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events the notifying Party regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.



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Article XII

1. Each Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. Agreed amendments shall enter into force in accordance with the procedures governing the entry into force of this Treaty.
2. Five years after entry into force of this Treaty, and at five-year intervals thereafter, the Parties shall together conduct a review of this Treaty.

Article XIII

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification.
2. This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

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Attachment 3

Soviet Draft of Joint  
Soviet-U.S. Document

Handed over on May 27, 1962

Official Translation

# STATEMENT OF (OR ACCORD ON) INTENTIONS

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, recognizing the urgent need for finding mutually acceptable solutions on the problem of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe, declare that their purposes and intentions will be served by working out within the shortest possible time an appropriate treaty which will be based on the following.

1. In accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, the treaty will cover and take into account all medium-range nuclear arms, i. e., those with a range (combat radius) of 1000 km or more, stationed on the territory of Europe and in the adjacent waters of seas and oceans, or intended for use in Europe.

2. Proceeding from a common recognition of the need to lower the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe to the maximum extent, the sides have agreed to reduce their aforementioned systems so that five years after the entry into force of the treaty their aggregate number does not exceed 300 on the side of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty Organization and on the side of the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

3. Within the framework provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Statement, the sides will have the right to determine the composition of the arms to be reduced.

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4. Within the agreed reduced levels, the sides will have the right to carry out, at their own discretion, modernization and replacement of arms, the scope of which will be determined later. Modernization and replacement of the arms to be limited as well as other measures of a military nature in Europe and adjacent waters must not prejudice the effectiveness and stability of the obligations of the sides, upset the established balance or lead to obtaining unilateral military advantage.

5. The principal method of reducing medium-range arms will be their destruction, which does not preclude the possibility of withdrawing a certain portion of the arms behind agreed lines.

6. Provisions will be worked out to ensure adequate verification of compliance with the obligations under the treaty contemplated.

7. The treaty will be of unlimited duration and will be subject to a joint review at five-year intervals after the date of its entry into force.

8. In accordance with the above, the Delegations of the USSR and the U.S. will continue negotiations to work out specific provisions of the treaty.

9. For the duration of the negotiations the sides will refrain from activities involving deployment of new medium-range nuclear arms in Europe and adjacent waters. The medium-range nuclear arms of the sides already deployed at present in this region shall be frozen quantitatively and qualitatively. At the same time, each side may, at its own discretion, lower the



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existing level of medium-range arms. Verification of compliance with the accord on the moratorium will be carried out by national technical means of verification. Questions arising in this regard will be submitted for discussion to the USSR and U.S. Delegations negotiating the limitation of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe.

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Handed over on May 27, 1982

Official Translation

Draft

AGREED MINUTE

First. Within the aggregate numbers of arms specified by the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Nuclear Arms in Europe, the relevant nuclear arms of Great Britain and France shall be counted on the side of NATO.

Second. At present such arms include:

[REDACTED]

In all, [REDACTED] nuclear systems of Great Britain and France are counted on the side of NATO.

Third. In the event of substantial quantitative or qualitative changes in the composition of the nuclear arms of Great Britain and France, compared to the situation as of the date of signature of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Nuclear Arms in Europe, each Party shall have the right to propose that consultation be held with a view to maintaining parity in medium-range nuclear arms in the zone of reduction and limitation. Such consultations will be held at the earliest possible time, but not later than two months after the date on which one of the contracting Parties has provided official notification of its desire to hold them.

OSD 33(b)(6)