
A. The ultimate goal is a secure, free, and peaceful world in which there shall be general disarmament under effective international control and agreed procedures for the settlement of disputes in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

B. The task of the Ten Nation Disarmament Conference should be to work out measures leading toward general disarmament, which can only be attained by balanced, phased, and safeguarded agreements.

C. All measures of disarmament must be observed and verified by an appropriate international organization.

I

The following measures are proposed with the recommendation that they be undertaken forthwith:

A. The establishment of an International Disarmament Organization by progressive steps following a joint study of the composition and functions of such an organization and its relationship to the United Nations (taking into account previous experience in this field).

B. Prior notification to the International Disarmament Organization of proposed launchings of space vehicles and the establishment of cooperative arrangements for communicating to the International Disarmament Organization data obtained from available tracking facilities.

C. The collection of information on present force levels (active uniformed military manpower) and on armaments pertaining to land, sea and air forces possessed by the various powers. The collection of information would be based mainly on declarations by States according to predetermined and mutually agreed criteria.
D. The coordinated reduction or limitation of force levels and conventional armaments upon the establishment of agreed arrangements and procedures for initial and continuing verification by the International Disarmament Organization as follows:

1. Initial force level ceilings to be:

   2.5 million for the Soviet Union
   2.5 million for the United States, and agreed appropriate force levels for certain other States.

2. Each State party to the agreement shall place in storage depots, within its own territories and under the supervision of the International Disarmament Organization agreed types and quantities of conventional armaments to be set forth in lists annexed to the agreement and bearing a relationship to the agreed force levels.

E. The submission by the various states to the International Disarmament Organization of data relating to: the operation of their financial system as it affects military expenditures, the amount of their military expenditures, and the percentage of their gross national product earmarked for military expenditures. The data to be submitted will be drawn up in accordance with predetermined and mutually agreed criteria.

F. Joint studies will be undertaken immediately on the following subjects:

1. Measures to assure compliance with an agreement that no nation shall place into orbit or station in outer space weapons of mass destruction, including provision for on-site inspection.

2. Measures to assure compliance with an agreement on prior notification of missile launchings, according to predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and on declarations to the International Disarmament Organization of locations of launching sites, and places of manufacture, of such missiles.

3. Measures to assure compliance with an agreement to discontinue the manufacture of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

4. Arrangements required to carry out an agreement to transfer, under international supervision and control, fissionable material from past production to non-weapons uses, including stock-piling.
5. Measures to give participating States greater protection against surprise attack with effective verification procedures including aerial inspection, ground observers at agreed points, mobile ground teams, overlapping radar, notification of aircraft flights, and appropriate communications facilities and arrangements.

6. Measures to verify budgetary information submitted by the various States to the International Disarmament Organization.

7. Means of preventing aggression and preserving world peace and security, as national armaments are reduced, by an international organization, to be an organ of, or linked to, the United Nations.

8. Timing and manner of extending a disarmament agreement so as to include other States having significant military capabilities, with a view to the holding of a disarmament conference.

II

The following measures will be undertaken as rapidly as possible upon successful completion of relevant preparatory studies outlined in I:

A. The prohibition against placing into orbit or stationing in outer space vehicles capable of mass destruction to be effective immediately after the installation and effective operation of an agreed control system to verify this measure.

B. Prior notification to the International Disarmament Organization of proposed launchings of missiles according to predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and declarations of locations of launching sites, and places of manufacture of such missiles, with agreed verification including on-site inspection of launching sites of such missiles.

C. The cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes immediately after the installation and effective operation of an agreed control system to verify this measure, conditional upon satisfactory progress in the field of conventional disarmament.

D. Agreed quantities of fissionable material from past production to be transferred under international supervision and control to non-weapons uses, including stockpiling, immediately upon the installation and effective operation of an agreed control system to verify the cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.
E. Establishment of appropriate measures to give participating States greater protection against surprise attack, including aerial inspection, ground observers at agreed points, mobile ground teams, overlapping radar, notification of aircraft flights, and appropriate communications.

F. A disarmament conference with other States having significant military capabilities, called to consider their accession to the disarmament agreement, including their acceptance of appropriate reductions or limitations of their respective force levels and armaments.

G. Force level ceilings for all militarily significant States and appropriate inspection and verification measures to go into effect simultaneously with the establishment of force level ceilings of 2.1 million for the United States and U.S.S.R. At the same time, each of the States participating shall agree to place in storage depots agreed types and quantities of armaments in agreed relation to the force level ceilings.

H. The establishment of measures to verify budgetary information.

I. Further progressive development of the International Disarmament Organization.

J. Initial establishment of the international organization to preserve world peace.

III

The foregoing represent measures which should be negotiated and put into effect as rapidly as possible. Below are additional measures which are regarded as necessary for achieving the ultimate goal:

A. Reduction of national armed forces and armaments by progressive safeguarded steps (after such further joint studies as may be necessary) to levels required by internal security and fulfilment of obligations under the United Nations Charter to the end that no single nation or group of nations can effectively oppose enforcement of international law.

B. Measures toward this objective, phased to coincide with the build-up of international law enforcement capability to preserve world peace, and with the extension of the International Disarmament Organization to provide necessary inspection and control, will include:
1. Prohibition of production of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other weapons of mass destruction.

2. Further reduction of existing stocks of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, further transfer of fissionable materials to peaceful use, and further steps, in the light of the latest scientific knowledge, to achieve the final elimination of those weapons.

3. Measures to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only.

4. Control of the production of agreed categories of military missiles and existing national stocks and their final elimination.

5. Establishment of effective international control over military budgets.

6. Completion of the establishment of international organizations and arrangements to preserve world peace.

7. Final reduction of military manpower and armaments to the levels required for the objective stated in paragraph A above, including the disposition of surplus armaments.

8. Control over the production of all remaining types of armaments to ensure that production is limited to that required for purposes specified in paragraph A.