Program for General and Complete Disarmament
under Effective International Control submitted by the delegation
of the United States of America to the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament
on 27 June 1960

Introduction

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

General and complete disarmament in a secure, free and peaceful world requires:

1. The disbanding, through progressive stages, of all armed forces of all States and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form whatsoever, except for those contingents of agreed size required for the purpose of maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens and for agreed contingents for the international peace force.

2. The cessation of the production of all kinds of armaments, including all means for delivering weapons of mass destruction, and their complete elimination from national arsenals, through progressive stages, except for those armaments agreed upon for use by an international peace force and agreed remaining national contingents.

3. Strict and effective international control, from beginning to end, of the carrying out of all disarmament measures, to ensure that there are no violations.

4. The establishment of effective means for enforcement of international agreements and for the maintenance of peace.
Controlling Principles

1. Disarmament under effective international control shall be carried out in such a manner that at no time shall any State, whether or not a party to a treaty, obtain military advantage over other States as a result of the progress of disarmament.

2. General and complete disarmament shall proceed through three stages containing balanced, phased and safeguarded measures with each measure being carried out in an agreed and strictly defined period of time, under supervision on an international disarmament control organization, within the framework of the United Nations.

3. Each measure within each stage shall be initiated simultaneously by all participating States upon completion of the necessary preparatory studies and upon establishment of the arrangements and procedures necessary for the International Disarmament Control Organization to verify the measure on an initial and continuing basis.

4. Transition from one stage to the next shall be initiated when the Security Council of the United Nations agrees that all measures in the preceding stage have been fully implemented and effective verification is continuing, and that any additional verification arrangements and procedures required for measures in the next stage have been established and are ready to operate effectively.

5. The treaties shall remain in force indefinitely subject to the inherent right of a party to withdraw and be relieved of obligations thereunder if the provisions of the treaty, including those providing for the timely installation and effective operation of the control system, are not being fulfilled and observed.

6. The International Disarmament Control Organization shall comprise all participating States whose representatives shall meet as a conference periodically as required. There shall in addition be a control commission and a director general. The specific responsibility and authority of the conference, control commission and the director general, the staffing arrangements and criteria, the responsibilities of participating States to the organization, and provisions for any necessary preparatory or interim group to aid in the establishment of the organization shall be specified in the treaty.

7. The specific arrangements, procedures and means required for effective initial and continuing verification of satisfactory performance of each measure by the International Disarmament Control Organization shall be specified in the treaties. These shall provide for all necessary means required for effective verification of compliance with each step of each measure. Verification of each agreed disarmament measure shall be accomplished in such a manner as to be capable of disclosing, to the satisfaction of all participating States, any evasion of the agreement. Specifically, from the initiation of implementation of each agreed disarmament measure, there shall be effective verification by the International Disarmament Control Organization; verification shall be in no
way dependent upon declarations by States for its effectiveness; verification shall include the capability to ascertain that not only do reductions of armed forces and armaments in agreed amounts take place, but also that retained armed forces and armaments do not exceed agreed levels at any stage.

Task of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament

The task of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament is to work out a treaty for general and complete disarmament under effective international control governed by the foregoing controlling principles as follows:

1. Negotiate and agree upon a treaty, to be preceded to in the first instance by the States represented on the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee, embodying the first stage of the program. This stage shall consist of those initial and controllable measures which can and shall be undertaken without delay by the States participating in the Committee to preclude the expansion of their armed forces; to bring to a halt the growth of their weapons stockpiles; to reduce the levels of their armed forces and armaments to the extent possible without jeopardy to their security; and to provide measures for protection against surprise attack.

2. In the course of negotiating such a treaty, arrange for and conduct the necessary technical studies to work out effective control arrangements for measures to be carried out in the program. These studies shall provide an agreed basis for proceeding with implementation of the measure studied in the appropriate stage. Among the early studies shall be a technical examination of the measures necessary to verify control over, reduction and elimination of agreed categories of nuclear delivery systems, including missiles, aircraft, surface ships, submarines and artillery.

3. After reaching agreement on a treaty on the first stage of the program, prepare for submission to a world disarmament conference an agreed draft treaty on the second and third stages of the program as set forth below, in accordance with the foregoing controlling principles.

4. Thereupon, arrange for a world-wide conference of all States, to be held at the earliest possible time, for the following purposes:

   A. Accession to the treaty covering stage one by States which have not already done so;

   B. Accession to the treaty covering stages two and three by all States.

Stage One

1. An international disarmament control organization shall be established within the framework of the United Nations, and expanded as required by the progressive implementation of general and complete disarmament.
2. The placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of vehicles carrying weapons capable of mass destruction shall be prohibited.

3. To give greater protection against surprise attack, (A) prior notification to the International Disarmament Control Organization of all proposed launchings of space vehicles and missiles and their planned tracks; (B) the establishment of a zone of aerial and ground inspection in agreed areas including the US and USSR; (C) exchange of observers on a reciprocal basis at agreed military bases, domestic and foreign.

4. Declaration of and institution of on-site inspection at mutually agreed operational air bases, missile launching pads, submarine and naval bases in order to establish a basis for controls over nuclear delivery systems in subsequent stages.

5. Initial force level ceilings shall be established as follows: 2.5 million for the US and the USSR and agreed appropriate force levels for certain other States. After the accession to the treaty of other militarily significant States and after these initial force levels have been verified, force levels of 2.1 million shall be established for the US and USSR and agreed appropriate force levels shall be established for other militarily significant States.

6. Agreed types and quantities of armaments in agreed relation to the established force levels shall be placed in storage depots by participating States within their own territories, under supervision by the International Disarmament Control Organization pending their final destruction or conversion to peaceful uses.

7. The production of fissionable materials for use in weapons shall be stopped upon installation and effective operation of the control system found necessary to verify this stop by prior technical study and agreed quantities of fissionable materials from past production shall be transferred to non-weapons uses, including stockpiling for peaceful purposes, conditioned upon satisfactory progress in the field of conventional disarmament.

8. The submission of the various States to the International Disarmament Control 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.

Stage Two

1. Force levels shall be further reduced to 1.7 million for the US and USSR and to agreed appropriate levels for other States.

2. Quantities of all kinds of armaments of each State, including nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of destruction in existence and all means for their delivery, shall be reduced to agreed levels and the resulting excesses shall be destroyed or converted to peaceful uses. Agreed categories of missiles, aircraft, surface ships, submarines and artillery designed to deliver nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction shall be included in this measure.
3. Expenditures for military purposes shall be reduced in amounts bearing a relation to the agreed reductions in armed forces and armaments.

4. An international peace force, within the United Nations, shall be progressively established and maintained with agreed personnel strength and armaments sufficient to preserve world peace when general and complete disarmament is achieved.

Stage Three

1. Forces and military establishments of all States shall be finally reduced to those levels required for the purpose of maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens and of providing agreed contingents of forces to the international peace force.

2. The international peace force and remaining agreed contingents of national armed forces shall be armed only with agreed types and quantities of armaments. All other remaining armaments, including weapons of mass destruction and vehicles for their delivery and conventional armaments shall be destroyed or converted to peaceful uses.

3. Expenditures for military purposes by all States shall be further reduced in amounts bearing a relation to the agreed reductions in armed forces and armaments.

4. There shall be no manufacture of any armaments except for agreed types and quantities for use by the international peace force and agreed remaining national contingents.

Following completion of stage three, the program for general and complete disarmament shall continue to be adhered to and verified.