

One Minute Statement

It is not possible for us to achieve security by keeping ahead in the arms race. For a period of time, we might be able to stabilize the so-called atomic stalemate by "keeping our powder dry" but as time goes on the character of the stalemate is bound to change. As more and more nations will rely for their defence on submarines capable of firing rockets, and all-out atomic war might erupt which neither America nor Russia wants. We must have general disarmament before the atomic stalemate deteriorates to the point where such a war is likely to erupt. At this juncture, it might not be clear whether disarmament is possible, but it is quite clear that disarmament will become necessary.

Five Minute Statement

Disarmament would not automatically guarantee peace. Even in a completely disarmed world, armies equipped with machine guns could spring up, so to speak, overnight. In such a disarmed world, we would be unable to protect the smaller nations which are located in areas geographically remote from the American continent and which we are morally - if not legally - committed to protect. Therefore, I believe that general disarmament may be acceptable to America only when it becomes possible to set up police forces operating under United Nations auspices which can take over the protection of the smaller nations.

There is reason to believe that the need to set up such police forces in the disturbed areas of the world is now fully understood by Russia also and that it is understood at the highest level of the Soviet Government. A centrally controlled police force operating under the command of the Secretary General of the UN is, however, not acceptable to Russia in the present circumstances, and it might not be acceptable to America in the circumstances that might prevail a few years hence. Therefore, in order to



be able to move towards real disarmament, America and Russia will first have to reach a meeting of the minds on what would constitute a satisfactory pattern for the control of Police forces operating under UN auspices.

It will not be possible to have disarmament unless there are satisfactory safeguards against secret violations of the provisions of a disarmament agreement. The Russians say that they are willing to accept effective measures of inspection if there is an agreement that would lead step by step all the way to general and virtually complete disarmament. Would Russia be willing to accept far-reaching measures of inspection to go into effect at the time when the first major step towards disarmament is taken? I believe that she would do so, provided this first major step goes far enough towards disarmament to make it possible for Russia to forgo the protection which she derives at present from military secrecy. It would follow that real progress towards disarmament may become possible when Russia and America reach a meeting of the minds on just how far the first major step towards disarmament must go in order to induce Russia to accept far-reaching measures of inspection.

No far-reaching measures of inspection will be acceptable to Russia if the agreement provides only for the cessation of bomb tests, because the cessation of bomb tests would leave large stockpiles of bombs in existence in America as well as in Russia. In this respect, the cessation of bomb tests is not a good first step towards disarmament, and it is doubtful whether it was a good thing for America to try to negotiate an agreement with Russia that provides for the cessation of bomb tests. This, however, is water over the dam, because we have in fact now been negotiating with Russia for several years on this issue, and the question now is whether we should break off these negotiations and



resume the testing of bombs. I agree with those who say that, if Russia were to develop her bombs by illicitly engaging in underground testing in violation of the test moratorium, she could put us to serious military disadvantage, and I believe also that we must not be trustful to the point of being irresponsible. But there is also such a thing as irresponsible distrust, and some of those who advocate that the testing of bombs should now be resumed, come perilously close to it.

It might not be possible for America and Russia to arrive in the near future at a formal agreement providing for far-reaching disarmament. But in the meantime, America and Russia must try to reach a meeting of the minds on what it would take to avoid an atomic war that neither of them wants while we continue to live with the bomb.